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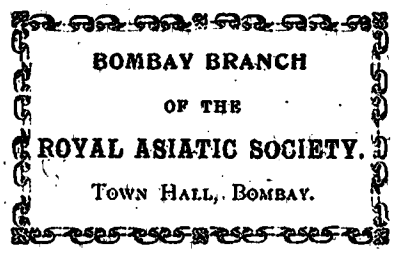

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TRAVELS

IN

GEORGIA, PERSIA, ARMENIA,

ANCIENT BABYLONIA,

&c. &c.

VOL. II.

W. A 23

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

TRAVELS

IN

GEORGIA, PERSIA, ARMENIA,

ANCIENT BABYLONIA,

&c. &c.

DURING THE YEARS 1817, 1818, 1819, AND 1820.

BY SIR ROBERT KER PORTER.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS OF PORTRAITS, COSTUMES, ANTIQUITIES, &c.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

W-a-23

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1822.

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TO THE READER.

THE persons to whose care the publication of this work was committed when business called its author abroad again, conceive that they cannot more aptly introduce the second volume to the public, than by referring the reader to the author's Preface in his first volume.

Having from childhood been an ardent lover and sedulous practiser of the arts, the study of antiquity, being connected with such pursuits, could not but share his attention; and the plains of Babylon, described in this volume, afforded him even ampler scope than those of Persepolis, depicted in the preceding. His second object was Courdistan, a picturesque country and people, hardly explored, and which he has now travelled over with much careful geographical observation, rendered particularly interesting by tracing the march of Xenophon. In several passages of both volumes, the author disclaims pretension to three branches of natural philosophy; namely, chemistry, botany, and geology; though he frankly brings forward his observations on some of their subjects, relying on the principle, that "one who is ignorant of physical science may yet be serviceable to science, in relating facts for the consideration of those who are able to reason on them."

The precise words of this old and necessary admission for the advancement of knowledge are borrowed from some remarks in the Quarterly Review for March, 1822, on Dobrizhoffer's Account of the Abipones. The same Number of the Review gives a few pages to the first volume of this work also, certain animadversions on which Sir Robert Porter's Editors would have thought it proper to notice here, were it not sufficiently apparent to all who have read the volume, and the Review, that the Critick (who in such a work cannot be otherwise than an *honourable man*,) must have too lightly passed over his subject to have been aware of the mis-quotations and interpolations presented to him by the amanuensis he had employed to select the passages from which he meant to form his opinion of the volume. To make another remark on the Review in question is unnecessary.

The author, in his Preface, intimates a plan of progressive recital, giving accounts of men and things according to successive opportunities of observation; and the reader will find it accordingly executed; subjects being elucidated in this volume, which were only glanced at in the preceding; and military and commercial statements respecting Persia and its frontiers particularly brought forward. It closes with details concerning the Turkish provinces of Valachia and Moldavia; and a route of posts from Constantinople to the Austrian lines.

May, 1822.

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Plans and Costumes in Wood-cuts throughout the Work.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Preface, page i. last line, *for* Olinen *read* D'Olenine.
Page 26. line 15. *for* police-officer *read* police-master.
151. ... 16. *for* Badku *read* Bakou.
304. ... 5. from bottom, *for* brother *read* nephew.
395. ... 7. *for* Pehliva *read* Pehlivan.
486. ... 10. *after* some *read* might.
611. ... 2, &c. instead of "The succeeding four figures carry articles of horse-furniture, one holding a sort of saddle-cloth and stirrup attached to it," *read* "The succeeding four figures carry articles of apparel, some probably with parts of horse-furniture or housings."
622. ... 9. (and wherever it occurs) *for* Sir William Malcolm *read* Sir John Malcolm.
712. ... 7. from bottom, *for* Russian *read* other European.
716. ... 14. *for* the king *read* the prince.
... ... 16. *for* the son *read* the brother.
719. ... 19. *for* gurmseer *read* garmseer.

VOL. II.

Page 46. line 2. from bottom, *for* naptha-pits of Badku *read* naphtha-pits of Bakou.
51. ... 7. from bottom, *for* Chorasan *read* Khorasan.
95. ... 2. *for* Ashur *read* Ninus.
... ... 3. *for* them *read* the latter.
... ... 4. *dele* that of.
142. ... 2. from bottom, *after* back, a comma for the semicolon.
143. ... 18. *before* When *read* But.
226. ... 9. *for* Omar or *read* Omar and.
... ... 10. *for* successor *read* successors.
253. ... 10. (and wherever it occurs) *for* Kerkook *read* Kirkook.
259. ... 14. *for* 14,000, *read* 1400.
339. ... 6. from bottom (and wherever it occurs), *for* Maclouba *read* Mukallíbé.
487. ... 21. *for* Kufri *read* Kifri.
596. ... 12. *for* intercharged *read* interchanged.

ERRATA OF THE PRINTS.

Page 334. *for* Plate LXXXII. *read* Plate LXXII., A view of Hillah.
349. *for* Plate LXXV. *read* Plate LXXIII., A plan of Babylon, with the Kasr.
350. *for* Plate LXXV. *read* Plate LXXIII.; and the same in pages 374. and 380.

TRAVELS

IN

PERSIA, BABYLONIA

&c. &c.

My retrograde movement from Shiraz to Ispahan, which I undertook so unwillingly, was not without the interest of passing over some new ground. I had travelled from the once splendid capital of Irak, to that of Fars, by what is called the eastern or winter road; which leads through Mourg-Aub, the ancient Pasargadæ. The route by which I was to return, is the most direct to Ispahan, and lies rather west of Persepolis; being impracticable in winter, it has the name of the summer road. The summer was indeed with us in all its consuming splendour; and to gain a cooler climate on the north of the mountains, we thought so desirable a change, that as soon as Dr. Sharpe pronounced myself and the convalescents of my party in strength sufficient to move, we lost no time in remarshalling our ranks; the heads of which were, the Mehmandar, Sedak Beg, my worthy physician, and his most grateful patient.

Starting on the 29th of July, 1818, soon after sun-set, we retrod my former path through the village of Zergoon to the

bridge of Poohl-khan; where crossing the foaming Araxes of the south (otherwise called the Bund-emir), we took our new direction northward to the east of the river, and across the valley of Merdasht. On the second evening of our journey we travelled a distance of five farsangs, and by eleven o'clock arrived at the village of Fatabad. Here we bivouacked on the extensive roof of the Méhman Khaneh, for the night was fine, with an air so bland and refreshing, that no hesitation could remain with half-breathless invalids, which to prefer, the sky-canopied platform above, or the close, smothering stone-work below. We left our quarters at five o'clock next morning, taking a course west-north-west; and after a march of six miles reached the entrance of a narrow valley, bounded on the right by a mountain, which our guide promptly named to be that of Istaker. But being a naked, perpendicular mass of rock, situated and formed in a manner that precluded fortress or town from finding a place on or beneath it, we felt no ceremony in assuring our informant he must be mistaken. The line of the valley carried us for a couple of miles more, in a direction nearly west; where, after an almost overpowering hot ride, we gladly found ourselves close to the green bank of the Bund-emir. At this point the river is crossed by a noble stone bridge of several arches. We left both it and the genial stream, to which we now bade farewell, to our left; pursuing our way between the scorching rocks and caverned defiles of the mountains. Near the western extremity of the valley rises a very lofty and insulated mountain, perfectly flat at the summit, and singularly precipitous on every side. The natives call it the Kala-Gul-Aub, or fortress of rose-water; seemingly, a not very appropriate name for one of the roughest heaps of earth and stone imagination can conceive.

I had first seen it from the ruins of Persepolis, rearing its scarred head pre-eminent in rugged wildness, amongst the varied and less savage aspects of the different hills which form a natural bulwark behind those still beautiful remains. The passes of the mountains, which, in the hands of the brave Ariobarzanes and his Uxians, proved such impregnable holds against the Macædonian legions, are yet formidable; but their possessors are changed. Bands of fierce barbarians descend from their interior fastnesses, and, when opportunity occurs, seldom fail to lay a heavy tribute on the lightly-defended passenger; often, indeed, to the loss of life as well as property. A vernal little valley extending northward, presents itself at the base of the Kala-Gul-Aub. It is traversed by two beautiful streams whose waters, if not claiming the actual fragrance of the rose, are quite as refreshing from their sweetness and exhilarating coolness. It is only in a land like this, of intemperate changes of season, that we can appreciate the Persian's idea of paradise, "Warmth without heat, and coolness without cold!" In riding up the little valley, we crossed these charming streams, and soon arrived at Mayan; a considerable village, situated in a circus of rocky steeps, with the delightful addition of being abundantly shaded with trees. Here we took up our quarters in a caravansary, and first became sensible to a comfortable change in the climate, the thermometer standing at 80° even in mid-day. This place is estimated at seven farsangs from Fatabad. Chardin calls it a large city, and honours it with the reputation of having been the residence of Job. If so, its present shrunk state bears no small resemblance to the dilapidated substance of its ancient inhabitant; but whether, like him, it will ever rise from decay, is a question only future times can answer. The grateful

shades of Mayan are the first signals, after quitting the plain of Merdasht, that mark a traveller's entrance on the summer route to Ispahan.

At three o'clock in the morning of August 1st, we left the caravansary, and turned our cavalcade into a north-western direction through another narrow valley; bounded on each side by craggy mountains, which were traversed by the most opposite and varied strata I had ever seen. A stream, equally clear and inviting with those of the Kala-Gul-Aub, flowed by our path, which lay under groves of wild almond, hawthorn, and mulberry-trees, intermixed with large bushes bearing a flower resembling lavender both in appearance and smell. Notwithstanding the vernal luxuriance of such a scene, the road itself was extremely desert and bad, being a continuation of rough, loose stones the whole way from Mayan to Iman Zada Ismael, a journey of three farsangs. This latter village is considered holy ground, and not only shows a general aspect of comfortable means, but an air of civilization seldom met with on this side of Ispahan. Every individual in the place claims his descent from Mahommed; hence they are all called Saieds, or sons of the prophet. A picturesque old caravansary nearly in ruins, and a high-domed building, are its most conspicuous objects. The hospitality of the natives seems to have rendered the former useless; and the latter, which gives its name to the village, covers the holy relics of the Iman Zada Ismael. Of his particular history nothing is now remembered, but that this is his tomb; the sanctity of which would of itself hallow the ground in its vicinity; therefore this spot has a double claim to reverence, being an abode of the living descendants of the prophet as well as of the dead.

We were lodged in the house of one of the ten thousand

branches of the great holy stock, where the most unexampled attention was shown to our convenience A principal division of the mansion was cleared entirely of its usual inhabitants, and the vacated apartments, above and below, appropriated to the sole use of ourselves, our people, and our quadrupeds. Every sort of provision that the village afforded was at our command, and due attendance to prepare and serve it. We were surprised by finding the women of the place not only walking about in freedom, but completely unveiled, and mixing promiscuously in discourse or occupation with the male inhabitants; neither did they retreat from their various domestic employments on our near approach. Their features are regular, with dark complexions, and large fine eyes; and their figures are good, with a general appearance of cleanliness, a grace not very common amongst the lower classes in Persia. The chief cause of such humble affluence and manifest content, lies in the sacred village being exempted from tribute of any kind. Neither does it furnish the customary quota of armed men, demanded on the part of government from all less holy districts, to attend the king in his wars or annual encampments; and, in addition to these privileges, the prince-governor of Shiraz pays a yearly sum of forty tomauns towards the repair and decoration of the Iman's tomb. The village is well constructed, clean, and at every point shows a flourishing condition. A large tract of garden-ground, abundantly stocked, and a corresponding space for corn in as favourable cultivation, stretch before the walls. The whole southern face of the mountain, wherever practicable, is clothed with quantities of grapes; and every little sheltered spot rendered some way profitable by these industrious people. They have not the advantage of even a single stream to assist their

labours, but are obliged to transport all the water they use, from wells; which increases the toil, and lamentably circumscribes the extent of their cultivation.

The day after our arrival in the village, Dr. Sharpe was attacked with a bilious fever; and became too seriously ill to allow of further travelling, till some favourable change should take place in the disorder. Hence, in spite of our mutual eagerness to proceed, I was obliged to supply the place of a more able practitioner in the application of calomel and tartar emetic, during twelve days' delay; and so made a more intimate acquaintance with the manners, public and domestic, of the holy race, than he or I had meditated on our entrance within the hallowed boundary. I found our landlord an active and intelligent man, with whom I went out almost every day before sun-rise, on shooting parties. The principal game were red-legged partridges, which abound in these valleys. There are bears also, of considerable size, which destroy the vines and bee-hives, the two great sources of this people's wealth; but amongst these spoilers of the field, our host was a very Antar. He was also as good-humoured a son of Mahommed as any who enjoys the privileges of his lineage; and in no way grudged himself the latitude the Koran allows. Amongst other indulgencies, he gifted himself with wives to the full complement; and added as many supernumerary handmaids, as his conscience could make room for. Consequently, where so numerous a collection of the livelier sex, with their several offspring, were together, we might expect any thing else for a sick man's comfort, than silence for his repose. Indeed, from the hour of rising, to that of going to rest, the house sounded with one continued chatter of female voices, mingling with the prattle of children, and the bustling clamour of varied

occupation. These women do all the laborious part of the household establishment, each having her own especial department, such as baking the bread, cooking the meat, drawing the water, &c. And, notwithstanding the latest espoused is usually spared in these labours, and the best drest, still the whole party seem to remain in good humour; no appearance of jealousy disturbing the amicable routine of their proceedings. Indeed I believe this representation to be the fact; for when their lord shews himself amongst them, it is like a master coming into a herd of favourite animals; they all rush forward, frisking about him, pleased with a caress; or frisking still, if they meet with a pat instead. Such is the power of education, in fitting all human beings for a general happy acquiescence in whatever state it is their lot to be born. Were it not for this beneficent law of Providence, operating on the human character in like manner with cultivation on the soil of a country, human misery would be augmented to an incalculable degree. The four wives of my worthy host, with their female auxiliaries, retire at sun-set from their domestic toils; and each taking her infant and its cradle to the roof of her division of the house, not forgetting the skin of water she has brought from the spring or well, she deposits the babe in safety; and suspends the water-case near her bed on a tripod of sticks, in order that the evaporation may cool it for the night or next day's use. To preserve the amity between these ladies, which had so excited my admiration, our communicative host told me, that himself, in common with all husbands who preferred peace to passion, adhered to a certain rule of each wife claiming in regular rotation the connubial attentions of her spouse. Something of this kind is intimated in the domestic history of the ancient Jewish patriarchs, as a prevailing usage in

the East, after men fell from the order of nature and of God into the vice of polygamy. Wherever this monopoly of many women to the passions of one man exists, there we find the softer sex, (originally formed to be his solace and his "better part,") regarded with a contempt which gives the loveliest bride, or the most respectable mother of his children, hardly a higher rank in his esteem than the best mare in his stud, or the dog that is his favourite to-day and totally neglected to-morrow. In proof of this Mahomedan disparagement of women in a general point of view, it would be deemed the height of impropriety, while addressing a person of noble quality here, to hint at the female part of his family; and were even the most beloved wife of his bosom at the extremity of some dangerous illness, did a male friend make the slightest enquiry after her health, it would be received as the grossest insult. There are private exceptions to these opinions and feelings with regard to wives; but then the more tender and respectful sentiment is confined to the particular women who awakened it, and not extended in the smallest degree to the sex in general. Hence the husband's outward conduct must remain the same, and the name of the most revered wife continue as much a blank in the community at large, as that of the lowest female slave in her establishment. But my honest Saied had less of his country's prejudices on this matter, and therefore even volunteered his information. These occult subjects, with the more privileged ones of the chase; and long stories of the hordes which at times hovered in clouds on the summit of the hills, or stole down their fissured sides, like creeping and malignant mists, to their acts of mischief below; beguiled the heavy hours, which the sad confinement of my friend cast on our host and his society.

At Iman Zada Ismael we had more than passed the threshold of the labyrinth of countless ravines, and formidable gorges, which intersect, in every direction, the vast chain of mountains extending from Ararat to the shore of the Persian Gulf. From the numerously diverging defiles near us, the widening valleys spread themselves over the whole surface of the country north-west, expanding, as they run, into vast and fertile plains, to the very confines of Courdistan. In the most inaccessible parts of this stupendous range, live the Bactiari, Feilly, and Mamazany tribes, or rather nations; the exhaustless bed of whose population stretches from the mountains above Kazaroon, to the immense piles in the vicinity of the Kou-i-zerd, whence they pour their streams on errands of peace or war. I have already given a general account of the milder groupes of these mountain wanderers, who descend from their heights in the summer months, and, under the name of Eelauts, take up a quiet residence for the season on the more fertile plains of the empire. (See Vol. I. page 474.) Conducting themselves blamelessly, and engaged in various manufactures, they live unmolested; and when winter recalls them to their more appropriate homes, they carry back with them a considerable profit from the sale of their wares. But the greater multitude of these sons of the mountain show themselves true brethren of Ishmael, and leaguing together by families and tribes, exist wholly by plunder. The great roads between Bushire and Shiraz, and those leading from the latter city to the very gates of Ispahan, offer a succession of prizes, whether in caravans or small parties of travellers, too tempting to be left unsought by the strong arm and stronger rapacity of these hereditary spoilers. The village of Iman Zada Ismael, by its visible prosperity and reputed wealth, holds out this fatal

species of attraction, and consequently has sustained some terrible attacks. Most have been made at the hours of rest; by which surprises, mine host told me, he had more than once occasion to defend the doors of his Anderoon. He also narrated, that about fourteen months ago, while in pursuit of a bear in the environs, two of these brigands in ambush fell upon him; but being always on the alert against such accidents, his toofan (matchlock) and knife soon freed him from their grasp, and the neighbourhood from their depredations. This extraordinary exploit may indeed be a *Persian tale*, and accordingly only half of it should be deemed the fact; however, the frequent necessities which do occur of trying a man's bodily prowess, may encourage some belief in the victorious valour of this well-armed son of Mecca. During the twelve days of Dr. Sharpe's illness, several travelling caravans were pillaged on the roads near us, and numbers of the people killed or wounded. After one of these frays, I saw, at only a few yards from the walls of the village, eight unfortunate travellers, covered with blood, lying under the shelter of a large tree, and begging piteously for water to slake their burning drouth. There was no want of hospitable compassion in the brethren of Iman Ismael, to their less holy countrymen; and even the Frangy's surgical bandages and balms were as frankly accepted as applied. The most desperate conflicts between the marauding tribes and travellers, usually take place a short way from the sacred village, in the dark and rocky gorge of a pass which conducts into a gloomy valley, along whose rugged depths lies the main road. Out of this valley, branch innumerable intricate defiles; through the overshadowed avenues of which, the loaded mules are speedily conveyed from the sight of their disabled and wounded masters; left, most probably, to perish with

loss of blood and inextinguishable thirst, before chance brings any better-armed passengers on the same dangerous route. These merciless depredators are careful how they attack horsemen, and especially when they are Europeans, being well aware that such sort of travellers are likely to defend themselves with skill as well as courage. The horde rarely attempts them, without a superior force, and taking positions to render victory almost certain. The situation of most public roads near their haunts, commands all they want, being full of places for ambush, and opportunities for instant retreat. Hence they commonly plant themselves under cover of the loose rocks which fill the sides of the narrow path, and taking aim like riflemen, bring down every man against whom they point their arms. Death does not always ensue, but few, when so marked, escape without a wound. From this system of attack, it is obvious that marching in divisions through these passes, is a safer plan than jogging on in one unbroken line.

August 15. Tolerably recovered health enabled Dr. Sharpe to pronounce himself capable of resuming our journey; and this day, at a little before sun-set, we took leave of our friendly entertainers; and found ourselves once more on the road; which extended along the valley of Iman Zada Ismael, for about three miles, where it terminated, and then, taking a direction due north, mounted the dreaded pass. We tugged up its rough acclivities for upwards of two hours; and for steepness, ruggedness, and savage desolation, I had hardly seen them exceeded, even by the stoney horrors of the Good Gara. When nearly at the summit, we reached a solitary tower, the station of a few officers of the custom, in waiting there to collect the toll or tax from passing merchandise. A certain number of musqueteers give the

little establishment something the appearance of power; but I am told the wild inhabitants of the mountains set the whole array, civil and military, at nought. The time occupied in descending the northern-side of the pass, was short in comparison with that consumed in reaching the rhaddary, or place of toll, from the southern base; but we found the steep and narrow road we were then literally clambering down, particularly acute and zig-zag, and perilously interrupted by huge loose fragments of rock encumbering the path. This is considered the most dangerous side of the pass, both on account of its hazardous natural construction, and the frequent sallies of its brigands; but neither on one side nor on the other did we meet the slightest molestation, or even see the shadow of an hostile arm. We were, however, on the alert; having our mehmandar, and another horseman, in advance about two or three hundred yards, all the way. After descending, and travelling a couple of farsangs along another banditti-like glen, we reached a cheerful little plain, where the nervous in our troop might begin to breathe freely; and following a gentle slope, opened into a fine and widely-extended vale, which soon brought us in front of a village and its caravansary, both nearly in ruins, but bearing the long-celebrated name of Oujon. The country, once the magnificent royal chase of the greatest monarchs of Persia, and studded with their pavilions, was now a neglected, though luxuriant plain, and spotted over with the black tents of the Nomade peaceable tribes. Having, before our approach, despatched a horseman to their chief, we were met by his son, who, welcoming us with the usual courtesies of his people, conducted our whole party to good quarters, where myself and friend were lodged in an excellent marquee, and then served with every attention their simple means

could bestow. We had reached the encampment at half-past eleven at night, having marched that evening about three farsangs. Our invalids were much tired; and when we lay down to rest, most of us felt the air exceedingly cold, when compared with the climate we had recently quitted. At Iman Zada the thermometer, in the shade, usually stood at 86°; and in the morning, just before sun-rise, we now found it from 64° to 68°.

The vale of Oujon is ranked amongst the most fertile in Persia, for natural richness of pasture; and is additionally renowned, under the name of the *Vale of Heroes*, from having been the favourite haunt of Baharam the Fifth, surnamed the Gour, and his princely train, in hunting the wild ass. The whole valley abounds in springs, some hid under marshy ground, and others open, in the shapes of pools or streams; but it is supposed all their sources communicate at a great depth. In the course of one of his excursions, near the western extremity of the plain, the king suddenly disappeared, leaving his astonished retinue in the wildest consternation. In the heat of pursuit, Baharam, who was much a-head of his followers, had dashed into a deep still pool of water, covered with green weeds, and, together with his horse, was instantly swallowed up. But what remains a wonder until this day, though immediate search was made for his body, not the smallest trace of either himself or the animal that perished with him, was ever to be found. Sir John Malcolm, in mentioning this circumstance, corroborates its probability, by recounting the melancholy catastrophe of a European in his own escort, who, although warned not to approach it too near, disappeared at the very spot pointed out as that fatal to the king.

The histories of this beloved monarch of the Persians, whose fame, they declare, is to "flourish with the roses of paradise,

filling the whole earth with fragrance for ever!" are fraught with highly interesting facts, as well as marvellously romantic legends. Educated, by the command of his royal father, by an Arab chief, he acquired all the simplicity and hardihood of that dauntless people; adding to their rough virtues, many which seem to belong to the most polished states of civilization alone. Education, perhaps, does almost every thing with mankind in general; and most men are, therefore, just what the existing manners of their country make them: but we find that in all ages, certain eminent human beings have been given to the world, princes or sages, born with extraordinary mental and moral powers, to be at once teachers and examples. Such were Numa, and Alfred; and such was Baharam Gour, a heathen prince in the fifth century, but one whose noble disposition could happily apply the fine practical lesson taught him by Acacius, the truly Christian bishop of Amida. During the wars between Baharam and the emperor Theodosius, many brave Persians were taken prisoners, and carried into bondage to Constantinople. When the two sovereigns ended their hostilities by a truce of a hundred years, Acacius declared to his emperor, that "vases of gold and silver were less precious ornaments of the church, in his eyes and those of God, than justice and mercy;" and therefore selling the church plate, "he employed the money it produced (continues the historian) in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with commiserating liberality, and dismissed them to their native country, to inform Baharam of the true spirit of that religion against whose followers he had raised his arms." The valour, clemency, and generosity of the Persian monarch, are the theme of every Persian pen; his munificence not being limited to favourites at court, nor to its mere vicinity, but ex-

tended over all his dominions, encouraging manufactures, and rewarding merit. We find it related in the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, that his liberality in this way was so unbounded, and his own style of living so rigidly simple, that his ministers thought fit to present a memorial to him, imploring his majesty to circumscribe his munificence; and to remember that these treasures might hereafter be necessary to support the dignity of his throne, and to maintain his power as became the greatest monarch of the East. Baharam made them this reply: "If I am not to confer benefits on my best subjects, by thus rewarding free men who render obedience to my laws, and so attaching them to my person and government; let those who framed these remonstrances, inform me, what better means I can employ to support this true dignity of my throne, to maintain this my undisputed power amongst the nations." The ruins of several of his hunting-lodges are still shown in the vicinity of the fatal plain.

August 16th.—We recommenced our journey this evening at an early hour, passing the tenantless village of Oujon; in the midst of whose mouldering walls stands the yet undecayed dome-topped cemetery of Saied Ahmet, a son of Shah Sefi. A narrow stream runs near the place, and is crossed by a stone bridge of nine arches, several of which are in a perilous state; but we went over them without accident, and were brought out on a good road, lying along the valley on its eastern side, and verging a little to the westward of north. From this point, the mountains gradually lower their elevation towards north-east and west, leaving the rough brow of the great pass from Iman Zada, which now towered behind us in unrivalled majesty.

We reached Ossipus, our halting-place, still in the range of the Eelauts, in four hours. The night was beautifully clear; and

having taken the usual precaution of sending our mehmandar before, while our horses and ourselves enjoyed the freshening air, when we arrived, we found well-furnished tents ready to receive us. The village itself consists of a few miserable huts straggling round the foot of an artificial mound, on the summit of which the remains of an old fortress are yet visible. The place boasted considerable consequence between three and four centuries ago, Shah Ismail, the renowned founder of the Seffean dynasty, having colonized it with Christian families from his conquests in Georgia; but time and disaster have reduced Ossipus and its inhabitants to mere remnants of what they were; and we see nothing but dilapidation, poverty, and wretchedness. The ruins of a spacious caravansary complete the desolate picture, by affording shelter to a few poor native families, quite as ragged and forlorn in appearance as their Christian neighbours. Besides having been a colony of manufacturers during the reigns of the Sefi monarchs, it was also a military station. A pass, equal in danger to that of Iman Zada, from the descent of the hostile mountaineers, commanded all ingress from the Ispahan road to this part of the valley; and to render it secure from depredators, the great Shah Abbas planted a strong garrison in the fortress of Ossipus; which, together with the immediate district surrounding it, was placed under the government of Sir Anthony Shirley; one of the chivalric brothers of that name who sought a soldier's fortune in Persia during the reign of that gallant prince. Shah Abbas used to speak of him as "the friend of his soul, who had daily drank out of the same cup with him, ever since they first met in his pavilion at Casvin;" and for whose sake, as well as on the best political grounds, he granted the most encouraging protection and privileges to the settlement of Christian mer-

chants in his dominions. It is said that the two British knights eminently assisted their benefactor in military tactics, and particularly taught him the use of artillery. In return for some of these services, he bestowed a lady of such reputed high rank on Sir Robert Shirley, that it is probable she was of the blood royal; it being no uncommon honour for the sovereigns of Persia to confer the hand of a daughter or a sister on a favourite minister. That the Shirleys were not of the national faith would hardly be an obstacle in the way of the universally tolerating Shah Abbas. These recollections of my brave countrymen could not fail to fill me with an additional sentiment of regret, when viewing the now abandoned spot, which once was so flourishing under their protection and influence.

A stream, that must have been considerable in the days of the settlement's prosperity, but now almost swallowed up in marshes, waters the valley; and on its firmer banks we saw the Eelaut encampments, stretching in shadowy darkness to a vast distance along the shore. At an early hour in the morning we received a visit in our tent from the Khan of the mountain. His wild dignity was amply supported by a train of rough attendants, whose habits, arms, and looks at once proclaimed the promptness with which they could make a desert their home, and, when necessary, furnish it with means of life from the stores of all travellers who dared approach the gates of their wilderness.

His mountain highness welcomed us in the style of compliment usually adopted by the chiefs of tribes who resort to the Shah's capital; but his general manners were more blunt and independent than his courtier brethren, though I did not find that he was a more strict adherer to the old-fashioned simplicity of truth. The common worldly system of keeping fair with all

parties, and particularly conciliating that from which advantage may be derived, European refinement denominates mere policy of conduct; a sort of prudent finesse, which disguises truth without uttering falsehood, and deceives without a stain to honour. But when we discover the same motive of self-interest actuating the ruder people of the East, where the mind is not yet educated to make or to understand these subtile distinctions of morals and niceties of speech, we see the principle of selfish circumvention in all its nakedness, hideousness, and vice: men lie, and flatter, and cheat, and betray, with no more touch of shame, than Lord Chesterfield probably felt when he wrote his political laws of simulation, dissimulation, &c.

Our present visitor had been only a short time one of the mountain-hostages at the court of the Shah; but almost all the chiefs of respectable tribes go in turns, as voluntary pledges for the fidelity and peaceable conduct of their several clans. Nearly the whole of these ancient people of the Persian highlands are now brought into such effective acknowledgment of the Shah's supremacy, as to yield obedience to his claim on their different tribes, for a certain number of their men properly armed, to serve him in his wars, whenever he may choose to demand them. About three years ago, two battalions of infantry were raised from the tribe of the chief in question. It may easily be imagined how unused the free-born, and in all respects untramelled, savages had been to discipline of any kind, and that refractoriness would be exhibited accordingly. Captain Isaac Hart, late of the 65th regiment, (who, with other brave Englishmen, had emulated the fortunes of the Shirleys in Persia;) was entrusted with the difficult task of bringing these rough sons of the desert to the smooth docilities of a European drill. He

told me, that he began with what people call "gentle means;" indulgence to their former habits, kind words, and persuasions. But all this only taught the men to believe themselves feared, and confirmed the insolent idleness with which they resisted every attempt to bring them to their duty. He had now recourse to the simple method of command, and exacting the penalty of disobedience. The strictest military law was proclaimed amongst them, and maintained without partiality or prejudice; and the consequence was, that before many more weeks elapsed, these lately mutinous recruits went through their parade duties with a steadiness in manœuvre not inferior to the best disciplined regiments at Azerbijan. Another miracle was performed, by the dexterous use of that knowledge of mankind which shows when to mix the principle of awe with that of gratitude; these newly disciplined soldiers loved their Frangy commander, and with an ardour of enthusiasm hardly to be comprehended by our phlegmatic natures of the north!

The Khan would fain have detained us a day or two, to enjoy with him the pleasures of the chase; and that it would have been abundant, we saw; both antelopes and mountain-goats scouring the valley in herds. Partridges, and various kinds of water-fowl, are also numerous; with the hoborrah, a very beautiful bird, regarded here as the most delicious of that species of game. In size it is between the bustard and pheasant, and covered with a brilliant silvery plumage, the tips of the wings alone being a jet black. The temptations our inviter held forth, might have been persuasive to some in our party, had our scarcely recruited strength been strong enough to allow the diversion of such violent exercise: we, however, steadily declined his offer; and when he found he could not prevail,

"still on hospitable thoughts intent," he proposed serving us in a different way; as we would not delay, to facilitate our safe passage over the neighbouring dangerous mountain, and its dependencies. To this end, he advised our starting early; to get clear of the pass, and most perilous defiles before sun-set; for after nightfall, such formidable bands of determined ruffians belonging to the Mamazany tribe beset every path, it is almost impossible for the strongest guard to promise any certain security. This might be true; though we had a shrewd guess that all the marauders likely to meet us, might not be of the Mamazany race; and our gratitude rose in proportion to the good faith with which our mountain host manœuvred to protect the gear of his late guests from falling, perhaps, into his own coffers. Adopting the Khan's advice, and accepting a safe-conduct, we remounted our horses at three o'clock, and, escorted by a sturdy band of musqueteers, commenced our march.

Almost instantly on quitting the tents, we began to rise the side of the mountain that overshadows Ossipus. When a little way up, I looked back, to take a farewell glance of the vale of Persian and British heroes; the scene of Baharam's death, the seat of Shirley's government. And why may it not have been the field of heroes far anterior to those of the Sassanian race? and originally been so named, from the famous hunting expedition of Merodach, prince of Assyria and Babylon! Xenophon tells us, it took place on some plain, celebrated for game, near the frontiers of the empire; and ending (like our Chevy Chace) in a fray between the Persian chivalry and that of the invaders, first "fleshed the maiden sword" of the young Cyrus in the breasts of his country's enemies. Whether this idea could be supported by any closer geographical argument, I did not take time on

the back of my horse, to consider; but it is not improbable; and the new images it presented to my mind, increased the interest of the prospect. The now deserted vale, or at least abandoned to the wandering tribes alone, lay in luxuriant wildness at the foot of the mountain. The tall rank herbage grew in deep green masses over the marshy soil; and where the water was not entirely mantled with weeds, its clear-flowing stream glittering through the waving foliage, or expanding in bright mirror into those fatal, fathomless pools, tracked the whole valley with brilliant lines of that feature in a Persian landscape which is most delightful, because most refreshing. The hills around exhibited every variety of form; rugged, beetling, towering, and romantic. There was the haunt of the gour and the antelope; and, stretching far to the south-west, these rocky barriers opened again into a still more extensive plain, spreading onward in broad magnificence. The nearer vale, which then lay directly under my own eye, offered a succession of picturesque objects to my pencil. The castellated hill, and ruined caravansary, with all the wild combinations of the Eelauts; their encampments on the banks of the many waters; their horses, and flocks and herds feeding; themselves strolling about, or sitting at their tent-doors; and the well-armed and simply-clad Asiatic figures of our native military escort, completing the romantic grandeur of the view, as they slowly proceeded up the side of the mountain. This pass is extremely rocky and narrow; and the road becomes inconveniently compressed, between the higher acclivities of the mountains. Our course, though winding, in general bore north 45° east, on a gradual ascent; and through so solitary a wilderness, that during two hours' travelling we did not meet a living being. At the end of that time we came out on a fine upland

vale, covered with rich pasture, but just as lonesome as the path which led to it; neither village, nor hut, nor wayfaring passenger, excepting ourselves, showing trace of human neighbourhood. This apparently untrodden plain stretches far to the south-east, to so distant a point, that I am told it joins the vast arid regions of Daly-nazir; the wild, deserted country where, two months before, we had lost ourselves in our way to Shiraz by the eastern or winter route. Having better guides on our present expedition, we jogged steadily forward up the northern line of the plain we were travelling; but all continued so drearily silent, that not even an animal of any kind appeared, nor the chirp of a bird, nor the hum of an insect, cheered the desert for a distance of twenty miles; at the end of which we reached a caravansary in almost total ruins. It was ten o'clock at night, and the village of Koosh-Kizar, the usual resting-place, upwards of a mile further. We had already travelled six farsangs from our last halt; and being tired, men and horses, though the rooms in the caravansary were scarcely habitable, we thought it best to make good our quarters, and send the least fatigued to the village for provisions.

We had hardly introduced ourselves into our dilapidated menzil, and disposed ourselves, some to rest, and others to supper, when we were disturbed by the arrival of new inhabitants,—Hadgé Bachire and his train! no less a personage than chief of the household to the royal mother of Hassan Ali Mirza, prince-governor of Shiraz! and who was now on his way to Ispahan, to bring back a captious favourite Moullah, who had quitted the capital of Fars on some trivial subject of discontent. The worthy comptroller, was a eunuch from Abyssinia, old and wrinkled; and, *sans ceremonie*, he presented himself before us,

took his seat near our nummuds, and declared himself the happiest of men in finding himself in the company of Englishmen; winding up his general compliments to our nation, with a particular eulogium on the talents and virtues of our countryman, the late Rev. Henry Martyn, who, he said, had passed some time under his roof, during his apostolic sojourn at Shiraz. A succession of kindly smiles brightened the black visage of the Hadgé, while he dwelt on the merits of the meek man of God; though it was in that city, and probably under his roof, that he composed many of the queries relative to the Mahomedan faith, none of which have yet been answered by the wisest sages and moollahs of Persia. Indeed, these staggering doubts cast upon the creed of Mecca, have afforded unceasing occupation to the pen of Mirza Bezoork, the devout and learned minister of Abbas Mirza; but, after eight years' consideration, discussing, and writing on these stubborn points, still his labours, like the web of Penelope, seem *sans fin*; for, dissatisfied with what is done, he frequently obliterates in one day what has been the toil of a year at least.

August 18th. At half-past four o'clock in the day, we bade adieu to our good-humoured companion; and to the joy of his crammed-up numerous attendants, left them room to stretch themselves in our vacated quarters. The weather was fine, and the road excellent, running along the valley north-west. At the distance of about twelve miles we came to a particularly wild track, watered by a narrow stream, and crossed by an old bridge of three arches, considered by our guards the very den of the thievish tribes; and many dreadful narratives were recounted of the robberies and murders committed on or near the spot: but all here appeared equally free from hostile footstep as the rest of

the pass we had traversed; and continuing our route unmolested, we gradually ascended to nearly the highest ground in this part of the empire, through a succession of romantic glens, embanked with low rocky hills. Eight miles of this winding path brought us to the high walls of a very extensive caravansary, called Karilaw, but we did not halt there; and eight more, housed us in one of less dimensions, close to the village of Degger-doo, or Dey-girdoo, which stands quite in the cleft of the valley, or rather in a deep hollow embattled with towering and broken cliffs. It was half-past twelve at night before we arrived at the 'gate of our menzil;' and the lateness of the hour in so high a region, brought on intensity of cold, to which for some time we had not been accustomed. The thermometer stood at 60°. From the temperature of the place, the harvest is so backward, that corn, which grows here in very scanty crops, is yet perfectly green; and the small quantity of fruit produced is also far from ripe. However, there was no dearth of provisions; and having been lodged comfortably, we left our little caravansary much refreshed the next evening at four o'clock, taking a direction north 20° west. The road was tolerably good, but sinuous, and generally shut up between dwarfish hills, immediately backed by high and craggy mountains. Having followed this winding track for a distance of four farsangs, we found ourselves, if not perfectly benighted, at least involved in almost total darkness; the black over-shadowing rocks entirely excluding any remaining gleams of day. At this juncture, we came to a pass called that of Koutel Nakshi-Khanah, defended by a tower, which is now a station for the Rhaddary. The district around had as ill a name as any we had travelled; and accordingly we were furnished with a body of musqueteers to attend us to the valley of Yezdikast;

the broad ravine, or rather natural fosse, which forms the boundary between the government of Fars, and the country of Irak Ajem.

After descending the mountain-ladder of the Koutel Nakshi-Khanah Pass, we went forward on a less formidable road, rendered picturesque by the moon-lit turrets of a dilapidated fortress, and the vaulted roof of an Iman Zada's tomb, which raised its grey head from amongst the ruins of a tenantless village. It was indeed '*the wan cold moon*' that '*held her pale lamp*' over the pilgrim's grave; for when she rose between the hills, she brought one of the most piercing winds from the north-east I ever endured on this side the Caucasus; and which unwelcome companion never quitted us, till we gained the more open ground near the frontier of the province. Most of the night was consumed in tortuous circuits through mazes of rock and hill, hemming in the road like walls on each side; but, at intervals, these narrow windings opened into wider glens; and, at last, delivering us to the more expanded regions about Yezdikast, at twelve o'clock we gladly entered its caravansary; having travelled this evening (the 19th of August) eight hours, that is, a distance of seven farsangs.

We had not been long retired to rest, when the Abyssinian and his suite rode by our quarters towards the town. I have already described its peculiar situation; built on the table summit of a precipitous rock, and moated round by the wide ravine in which it stands. (See Vol. I. page 456.) All Persian travellers of distinction, in passing between the two governments, are lodged on the lofty level of this rock; few other strangers, whether Persians of inferior stations, or foreigners however considered, being ever permitted to sleep within its walls.

Early the next morning, we were surprised by a train of servants from the kind-hearted Abyssinian, all bearing presents of various kinds; in short, every thing it was possible to think of for the convenience or luxury of travellers; and what was more, he strictly forbade his servants receiving any gift whatever in return. Such rare munificence could only be repaid by personal acknowledgement. Hence it became absolutely necessary that I should seek admittance to the town, to repair immediately to his quarters and speak our thanks. Besides, I was pleased to have a feasible excuse for making any demand that might pass a grateful foreigner over the interdicted lines. I therefore set forth, and meeting no opposition, passed the bridge of communication; which conducts to a succession of narrow streets, arched overhead in the manner of bazars. Following through them, I was brought to the house of the Ketkhoda, or chief magistrate, and ushered into a large room overlooking the ravine to the south, where I found the munificent steward of the royal Lady of Shiraz seated on his carpet, and surrounded by all the great men of the town. His office gave him rank with the highest. The moment he saw me, there was good cheer in his very welcome. He started up, and, with animated eyes and voice, held forth his hands. There is a something in a truly benevolent nature that finds brothers in all men, and makes a friend of every man. The circle round the good Hadgé Bachire looked as if they loved him; and not confining his cordial greeting to words and smiles, the whole party had the finest services of fruits, sweetmeats, and kaliouns placed before them. But the object of greatest interest to me, was one of the guests themselves; the once-doomed victim of Nackee Khan's rapacious cruelty, whose miraculous escape from the death to which he had been condemned, I slightly men-

tioned in my former visit to the neighbourhood of this place. The benignity of his countenance, united with the crippled state of his venerable frame, from the effects of his precipitation from the terrible height of execution, redoubled my more than curiosity to enquire into the particulars of so amazing a preservation. Perhaps he read this wish in the frequent turning of my eyes towards him; for entering into conversation on the amiable characters of the reigning royal family of Persia, and comparing the present happiness of his country under their rule, with its misery during the sanguinary usurpation of the tyrant Nackee Khan, the good old man, who had himself been so signal an example of that misery, was easily led to describe the extraordinary circumstances of his own case. Being connected with the last horrible acts, and consequent fall of the usurper, a double interest accompanied his recital, the substance of which was nearly as follows: —

Having by intrigues and assassinations made himself master of the regal power at Shiraz, this monster of human kind found that the governor of Ispahan, instead of adhering to him, had proclaimed the accession of the lawful heir. No sooner was the news brought to Nackee Khan, than he put himself at the head of his troops, and set forward to revenge his contemned authority. When he arrived as far as Yezdikast, he encamped his army for a short halt, near the tomb on the north side. Being as insatiable of money as blood, he sent to the inhabitants of Yezdikast, and demanded an immense sum in gold, which he insisted should instantly be paid to his messengers. Unable to comply, the fact was respectfully pleaded in excuse; namely, "that all the money the city had possessed, was already taken away by his own officers, and those of the opposite party; and

that, at present, there was scarce a tomaun in the place." Enraged at this answer, he repaired full of wrath to the town, and ordering eighteen of the principal inhabitants to be brought before him, again demanded the money, but with threats and imprecations which made the hearers tremble. Still, however, they could only return the same answer — "their utter inability to pay;" and the tyrant, without a moment's preparation, commanded the men to be seized, and hurled from the top of the precipice, in his sight. Most of them were instantly killed on the spot; others, cruelly maimed, died in terrible agonies where they fell; and the describer of the dreadful scene was the only one who survived. He could form no idea of how long he lay after precipitation, utterly senseless; "but," added he, "by the will of God I breathed again; and, on opening my eyes, found myself amongst the dead and mangled bodies of my former neighbours and friends. Some yet groaned." He then related, that in the midst of his horror at the sight, he heard sounds of yet more terrible acts, from the top of the cliff; and, momentarily strengthened by fear of he knew not what, for he believed that death had already grasped his own poor shattered frame, he managed to crawl away unperceived, into one of the numerous caverned holes which perforate the foot of the steep. He lay there in an expiring state the whole night, but in the morning was providentially discovered by some of the town's people, who came to seek the bodies of their murdered relatives, to mourn over, and take them away for burial. The poor man, feeble as he was, called to these weeping groups; and to their astonishment and joy, they drew out one survivor from the dreadful heap of slain. No time was lost in conveying him home, and administering every kind of assistance; but many months

elapsed before he was able to move from his house, so deep had been the injuries inflicted in his fall.

In the course of his awful narrative, he told us, that the noise which had so appalled him, as he lay among the blood-stained rocks, was indeed the acting of a new cruelty of the usurper. After having witnessed the execution of his sentence on the eighteen citizens, whose asseverations he had determined not to believe, Nackee Khan immediately sent for a devout man, called Saied Hassan, who was considered the sage of the place, and for his charities greatly beloved by the people. "This man," said the Khan, "being a descendant of the prophet, must know the truth, and will tell it me. He shall find me those who can, and will pay the money." But the answer given by the honest Saied, being precisely the same with that of the innocent victims who had already perished, the tyrant's fury knew no bounds, and, rising from his seat, he ordered the holy man to be rent asunder in his presence, and then thrown over the rock, to increase the monument of his vengeance below.

It was the tumult of this most dreadful execution, which occasioned the noise that drove the affrighted narrator to the shelter of any hole from the eye of merciless man. But the cruel scene did not end there. Even in the yet sensible ear of the Saied, expiring in agonies, his execrable murderer ordered that his wife and daughters should be given up to the soldiers; and that in punishment of such universal rebellion in the town, the whole place should be razed to the ground. But this last act of blood on a son of the prophet, cost the perpetrator his life. For the soldiers themselves, and the nobles who had been partizans of the usurper, were so struck with horror at the sacrilegous murder, and appalled with the threatened guilt of violating women

of the sacred family, that they believed a curse must follow the abettors of such a man. The next step, in their minds, was to appease heaven by the immolation of the offender; and, in the course of that very night, a band of his servants cut the cords of his tent, which instantly falling in upon him, afforded them a secure opportunity of burying their poniards in his body. The first strokes were followed by thousands: so detested was the wretch, that in a few minutes his remains were hewn and torn to pieces. It does not become men to lift the veil which lies over the whole doom of a ruthless murderer; but there is something in the last mortal yell of a tyrant, whether it be a Robespierre or a Nackee Khan, which sounds as if mingled with a dreadful echo from the eternal shore.

While the above particulars were relating, it was a shuddering glance that looked down from the open side of the Ketkhoda's saloon, on almost the very spot where the unhappy victims had breathed their last. It recalled to my remembrance a similar window, for similar purposes, at Erivan, where the governor of that place used to dispose his malefactors the moment sentence was pronounced. And, while listening to the hideous details of a sort of punishment so common in the East, I could not but recal similar descriptions in ancient writers on these countries, which showed how old had been the practice of taking offenders to a height, and casting them headlong; sometimes from a rock, at others from high battlements, and often from a window which commanded a sufficient steep. We have a dreadful picture of this most tremendous mode of punishment, in the second book of Kings. It describes the death of Jezebel, when, by the command of Jehu, she was thrown from the palace-window of Jezreel, during his triumphal entry, and her blood was

sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses, and he trode her under their feet; and when he sent to bury her, no more was found of her than the scull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands. Nearer home, the classic reader has only to remember the various precipitations from the Tarpeian rock, to see what chastisements the sages of antiquity, in almost every country, devised for the reformation of mankind. Blessed indeed are these latter times of the world, when such fierce punishments are neither necessary to appal vice, nor would their barbarous outrage on human sympathy be tolerated. The change has been wrought by the ameliorating effects of Christianity; and, therefore, only in countries where the religion of mercy has not yet been received, do we find the dregs of heathenish cruelties remain.

Amongst the company who, with myself, were paying their morning compliments to the worthy Abyssinian, was the Moollah Bashi, or chief priest of the town; and in the course of our mixed conversation, he mentioned that his mosque contained a curious piece of ancient marble, evidently of the remotest ages of the fire-worshippers; the figure of the sun, and other pagan characters of those misbelievers, being marked all over its surface. This description naturally excited my curiosity, and I asked him to favour me with a sight of it; but, with a civil embarrassment at doing what might be felt an incivility to a stranger, he refused; alleging in excuse, the impossibility of allowing a Christian to look at any religious remains in his country, and particularly since these were now in the sacred precincts of a building dedicated to the true faith. The good-natured comptroller burst out at this, and said, "That as the marble had doubtless belonged to the old misbelievers of the country; and as all misbelievers must be alike, in a religious

point of view, to a true follower of the prophet; no difference could justly be drawn between a Christian and a Guebre; and, therefore, the marble being more the property of the Frangy than of the Moollah, the Frangy had every right to see it." This ingenious argument had the desired effect; the Moollah declared himself ready to attend me; and taking leave, with reiterated thanks, of my kind advocate, I proceeded to the mosque with my conductor. But my disappointment was fully equal to my curiosity, when I found the reported piece of antiquity nothing more than what had been the base of a round column of white marble, stuck flat-way against the wall of the mosque; its surface bearing the rough marks of the chissel, the imagination of the priest had construed them into ancient hieroglyphics and characters. He told me, it was discovered in the town, amongst similar fragments; but none in such legible preservation, as he had supposed the writing on this to be. The size of the slab is large, and must have been the base of a considerable column; which probably formed one of the portico or colonnade of some superb temple of Yezdikast's ancient days. The commanding situation of the town, being on the bounding line between two long-celebrated countries, would alone be a presumption for the antiquity of its station; but tradition testifies that it was so, and these remains support the evidence. Eben Haukel does not mention Yezdikast by name; but omissions are no grounds for conclusive arguments.

August 20th. On the afternoon of this day, at four o'clock, we set forth from the valley of Yezdikast; and reached Mexiobeggy at ten. I was now retravelling the same road I had passed over hardly three months before, therefore shall not repeat descriptions of the country; but, during our way thither, we were

overtaken by Hadgé Bachire, who told us that he was hastening on to Koomishah that night; but in his course through Mexio-beggy, where we proposed to halt, he would order that the house built for the travelling reception of his royal mistress, should be made ready for our arrival. We thanked him for his promise; and found it duly performed, with an excellent supper prepared for our board, and sleeping apartments clean and comfortable. Indeed, since the *avant couriers* of Abbas Mirza preceded my steps, I never had been so attentively and sumptuously provided; and felt no little obligation for myself and companions, to the disinterested hospitality of the generous Abyssinian. He was brought a boy from his native country, and sold to a master in Persia, where he was soon rendered capable of fulfilling all the most delicate duties of the Anderoon. Good talents, and as worthy moral qualities, brought him with credit from post to post, till at last fixing him where he is, in the royal household, he became possessed of the most powerful influence at Shiraz; and is now reported to be rich, both in money and landed property.

August 21st.—The extreme heat of the day on the morrow, detained us in our particularly pleasant quarters till five o'clock in the evening; and then, under a cooler temperature, we leisurely proceeded on our way, and reached Koomishah about half-past nine o'clock at night. The dreariness of the far-stretching ruins was dismally increased by the shadowy hour of our approach; and being again in the region of the Bactriani descents, our own flitting shades as we passed between old mouldering walls and the moonlight, sometimes bore an alarming interpretation. Our mehmandar was ready to embattle every frowning heap with a murderous legend; but Sedak Beg re-

minded him, we had heard them all on that very spot before*; and that as lingering there might possibly produce a new subject more agreeable to the relator than to the sufferer, it would be most prudent to push on, lest talking of the devil should prompt him to show his horns. When we arrived at our menzil, we found there had been grounds for more than panic-fears; and that the Bactiari were then hovering in formidable bands over almost every path in the neigbourhood.

August 22d.—Notwithstanding all this danger walked abroad in the darkness, we did not venture under such heat as that of the day to recommence our journey, so could not leave Koomishah till six in the evening. After about an hour's quiet jogging on, we were roused by the sudden appearance of a troop of Bactiari to the number of thirty or forty horsemen. They moved in a desultory way at a little distance on our flank, twice coming within pistol-shot, and twice falling back. We were a considerable body in ourselves, and having a good guard of musqueteers on foot, the troop seemed undecided about making an attack. Perceiving this hesitation, we continued our march with a steady pace, but keeping a sharp look out, both to the right and left. Our threatened assailants totally vanished for a time, and then made a third appearance, but not quite so near; however, the discharge of a shot or two at some of our mules in the rear, put their design out of doubt, and proclaimed the business begun, that was to bring them better acquainted with our property. The shots increased, and we had no alternative but to answer them in their own way; keeping them off by a brisk fire whenever they drew more in a line with our march.

* See Vol. i. p. 453.

This kind of skirmish continuing along a considerable extent of our road, showed they intended to lessen our numbers before they determinately brought up their own to attack us hand to hand. But the bells of a caravan approaching from the other end of the valley, startled them; and evidently aware of our advantage, should we be backed by such a reinforcement, they gradually drew off, and took refuge behind an old mud-wall on our right. During the running fight, there had been no slackness in returning fire on either side; and we could plainly discern, now and then, amongst the rank of our enemy, that he had here and there received a shot too much. We escaped to a marvel, while my own people, with those of Dr. Sharpe, and our trusty Zuffanchees (musqueteers), did their duty with bold and steady fronts, neither quickening nor slackening their pace; and when they saw the troop retire, no alteration took place in their deportment, every man holding his pistol or musquet ready, in case of a *ruse de guerre.*

On coming up with the caravan, we found it rich in merchandise, but not very strongly guarded; and having made our salute, we apprised the owners of the light-fingered gentry they were likely to meet on the road; recommending them to fall back with us to the post they had last quitted, and augment their protection. But these straight-forward people declared themselves perfectly satisfied with the sufficiency of their escort, and taking their leave, coolly proceeded into the tyger's den. We went on our way towards Mayar, and reached it without further molestation, at ten o'clock.

August 23d.—We were lodged comfortably at Mayar, though in the still neglected caravansary of the Sefi race; but fatigue makes rest grateful under any shelter; and here we found room

for repose undisturbed, and ample means of refreshment. While yet enjoying the cool cells of our quarters during the extreme heat of the ensuing day, we were more concerned than surprised at the hasty return of some of the Kofla travellers we had passed the preceding evening, and who, having followed their own obstinacy rather than our warning, had been beset, attacked, and robbed by the Bactiari horsemen. Some of the unfortunate people had fallen, and others fled, while a great part of their laden mules were carried off by the successful troop. On our musqueteers hearing the circumstances of an event we had almost anticipated, they were seized with a desire to rescue the booty; and saying, if we would allow them to attend us to a place where they could secure us another escort, they themselves, who knew the pass the robbers must take in conveying their plunder into the mountains, would engage to be on the spot in full time to dispute the booty. Previous disposition, they said, would give them every advantage, in such a gorge, over superiority of numbers; and they did not doubt bringing off in triumph, what, in a more open field, they might not have been able to defend. We should have been sorry to damp this sort of spirit, and accordingly set off rather before our usual starting time of six in the evening; and on reaching the broken arches of an old caravansary, (now a depôt for the native military, who act as guards over caravans or travellers, against the native robbers,) our former escort turned us over to ten other well-appointed musqueteers; and then wheeling round with one accord, scoured the country in full career towards the mountains in the west.

At six o'clock we commenced descending the tremendous pass of Ourtchiny, the natural difficulties of which put all appre-

hension of human traverses out of our heads; perpendicular precipices, and fathomless darkness, opening before us at every step. The ascent had been terrific when we accomplished it in our way to Shiraz; but the difficulties of its descent were tenfold dangerous. These, too, however, were surmounted without accident; and having reached the plain of Ispahan, we did not take the main road to that capital, but leaving it on our left, in about a couple of hours arrived at the village of Ispanek, computed at six farsangs from Mayar. Here we halted; but having only eight miles farther to go to reach Ispahan itself, we rose next morning before the sun, and in two hours found ourselves in view of the old Sefean capital.

August 24th. — The approach to the southern side of the city is infinitely more magnificent than the entrance on the north. Amongst the first objects that struck our eyes in the present view, were the numerous nobly-constructed bridges, each carrying its long level line of thickly-ranged arches, to porch-like structures of the finest elevations; some fallen into stately ruin; others nearly entire; but all exhibiting splendid memorials of the triumphal ages of the Sefi race. These bridges, once the scenes of many a glorious cavalcade of prince and people, were now, though deserted, still unimpaired, and indeed superb prologues to tenantless palaces, and a city in ruins. All spoke of the gorgeous, populous past; but all that remained in present life, seemed lost in silence, shrinking from the increasing flame of a morning sun that burnt like mid-day. Happily, a covert path presented itself; and after enjoying our ride beneath the cool arcades of its long mouldering cloisters, we entered the southern gate of the town, and immediately came out into one of those umbrageous avenues of trees which render the interior of Ispahan

in this quarter, a very paradise. It terminated at the great bazar of Shah Abbas; the whole of which enormous length of building is vaulted above, to exclude heat, yet admit air and light. Hundreds of shops, without inhabitant, filled the sides of this epitome of a deserted mercantile world; and having traversed their untrodden labyrinths for an extent of nearly two miles, we entered the Maidan Shah, another spacious soundless theatre of departed grandeur. The present solitude of so magnificent a place was rendered more impressive by the distinct echoing of our horses' footsteps, as we passed through its immense quadrangle to the palace that was to be our temporary abode. On entering beneath its gold and marble portico, I felt the pleasurable sensation of old acquaintanceship, if not an actual glow of something like home; for this was the very one of the Hesth Beheste, or Eight Palaces, which had been my residence during my first stay at Ispahan. The coolest, and therefore most delightful range amongst its splendid apartments was prepared for us; and to add to the immediate refreshment of "fruits, flowers, and the limpid spring," we had the agreeable information that our friend Hadgé Bachire was the inhabitant of the suite nearest to ours. It was not now difficult to guess whence had flowed the cornucopia before us. Mutual visits were soon paid; and we had more and more reason to remember with respect and gratefulness, the good Abyssinian of Shiraz.

During my present sojourn in the fading courts of the Sefi, I had more frequent opportunities than before of mixing with what, in Europe, would be called the society of the place. I had become more intimate with the general manners of the country, in the course of my travelling; and hence better understood the Persian character in general, and more clearly distinguished

peculiarities in classes or individuals. Besides the usual visits of punctilio from the great authorities in the town, both Khans and Khet-khodes, that is, nobles and magistrates, came to us now on the most sociable terms; and for this advantage we hold ourselves indebted to the familiar friendship of Hadgé Bachire, who in a manner domesticated with us, daily passed two or three hours in our apartments, attended by his guests.

The variety of character amongst these people is equally interesting and extraordinary; and that variety does not exist more in certain dissimilarities distinguishing one individual from another, than in those very dissimilarities often meeting in one man. The Persian's natural disposition is amiable, with quick parts; and on these foundations, the circumstances of climate and government have formed his character. Perhaps a stronger proof could not be given of the former trait, than that we find in their history no terrible details of sanguinary popular tumults. The page is blotted in a thousand places, with massacres done by order of a single tyrant; but never a disposition for insurrection, and wide murderous revenge, in the people *en masse*. Fonder of pleasure than ambitious of the sterner prerogatives of power, they seek their chief good in the visions of a fanciful philosophy, or the fervours of a faith which kindles the imagination with the senses. The dreams of their poets, the delights of the Anderoon, the vigour of the chase; these, with services at court, whether to the Shah, or to his princely representatives over provinces, or to their delegated authorities in towns and villages, all alike form the favourite pursuits of the Persian, from the highest Khan to the lowest subject in the empire. This bland docility of mind, so amiable to a certain point, and dangerous beyond it; different, indeed, from the

vigorous, upright temperament, which stands by its own rights and those of others, to the sacrifice of all personal enjoyment and safety; and which, too, may be exaggerated to the most ruinous extreme; — this gay, contented disposition of the Persian, makes him, of all people, the easiest to be governed. As a second proof of this, I need only mention that the state revolutions so often occurring in this country, have not been those of the people, nor over the people; but the result of struggles between different claimants for the crown. The conflict has been fought between prince and prince, at the head of their embattled friends; and according to the decision of the day, the country, perfectly quiescent, like the transfer of an estate, has passed from one dynasty to another. But though the people take no real part in these transactions, neither impeding the return of peace, nor disturbing it when present, with political considerations or movements of any kind, yet it is from these frequent changes of dynasty that most of the evils in Persia arise. An irrepressible sense of insecurity on both sides, keeps up an apprehension in all; and the most apparent means of maintaining power, and conciliating its possessor, being riches, an avidity for money has become the ruling passion of the whole nation. That quickness of parts, which more liberal views would turn into channels to promote the true wealth of the country, is now solely directed to the sordid accumulation of gold; and to the subtlest ways of concealing its acquisition from those who might have the wish, as well as the power, to appropriate it to themselves. Hence comes the spirit of over-reaching, of extortion, and of all despicable and detestable methods of collecting money; with answering habits of dissimulation and falsehood, to disguise and retain their ill-gotten wealth. Not that these vices are universally

the attendants on the possession, or seeking the means of money in Persia; but they belong to the principle on which it is amassed, and the consequence is very general.

I have already mentioned, that the peculiar temperament of the Persian is lively, imitative, full of imagination, and of that easy nature which we in the west call "taking the world lightly;" and that hence he is prone to seek pleasures, and to enjoy them with his whole heart. Amongst these, the gaiety of his taste renders him fond of pomp and show; but his fear of attracting suspicion to his riches, prevents him exhibiting such signs in his own person, beyond an extra superb shawl, a handsomely hilted dagger, or the peculiar beauty of his kaliouns. The utmost magnificence of his house, consists in the number of apartments, and extent of the courts; of the rose-trees and little fountains in the one, and the fine carpets and nummuds in the other. But vessels of gold or silver are never seen. The dinner-trays are of painted wood; and those on which the sweetmeats and fruits appear, are of copper, thickly tinned over, looking like dirty plate. Neither gluttony nor epicurism is a vice of this nation. The lower classes also live principally upon bread, fruits, and water. The repasts of the higher, consist of the simplest fare; their cookery being devoid of any ingredient to stimulate the appetite. Sherbets, of different kinds, are their usual beverage; and tea and coffee the luxuries of ceremonious meetings. In this general abstinence from what is usually styled the pleasures of the table, we find a nearer resemblance to the manly frugality of ancient Persis, or Iran, (which the admirable institutions of the First Cyrus extended from that people to the less temperate Medes,) than to the manners which prevailed even in so short a time as a century after, under the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

the brother of the younger Cyrus; of whose changes Xenophon relates, "The rules of the great Cyrus are no longer regarded, which taught the practice of Persian simplicity and temperance; conforming only in dress to the elegance of the Medes. But now the severity of Persian demeanour is quite extinguished, and nothing is seen but the effeminacy and luxury of the Medes; new dishes are invented for the table, and sauces also, for cooks are provided to supply a variety in both." This perversion was not likely to be reformed by the Macedonian conqueror, or his successors; nor can we suppose much improvement nearer our own times, when we find the Sefi race painted their bacchanalian orgies on the walls. Therefore, seeing what we see now, we must conclude that either the members of the court alone could be meant in these descriptions, or that a very extraordinary happy influence has been effected over all ranks, in so amazingly short a time as since the accession of the present family. But I am rather inclined to think, that the people at large have generally been moderate; and are now only following their ancient customs; with the additional sanction of an admirable example from the throne. Some, however, indulge in the inebriating powers of the vine; but so far from regarding it as a social pleasure; either from fear of exposure, or insensibility to its exhilarating effects, they retire secretly and alone; and quaff bowl after bowl, until the solitary toper makes himself as happy as he intended, that is, perfectly stupidly drunk. This is the utmost a Persian can conceive of the enjoyment of wine; and not being able to comprehend the gratification Europeans find in sipping its refreshing cordial from a small vessel, while animating the gentle stimulus with convivial conversation, his astonishment is unbounded at hearing that the best company always rise sober from

a festive board. From the earliest times, the breeding of fine horses has been a passion in the East; and in no country more than Persia, where indeed a man and his horse are seen in such constant companionship, that custom has in a manner identified them with each other, and hence the most beautiful steeds are never brought in proof of any extraordinary riches; a Persian being well mounted, though the clothes on his back may not be worth half a tomaun. Their mules too, are a stately, useful race. I have already noticed, that horse-racing is not pursued here as with us, to produce a certain prodigious swiftness in a short given time; but to exercise the limbs of the travelling or courier-horse, to go over a considerable number of miles in one day, or more, at an unusual rate, without slackening his pace, or suffering by the exertion. The fleetness of a Persian horse in the chase, is equal to that of any country; but his exquisite management in the military sports of the girid, &c. cannot be equalled on any other field. In these exercises we see something of the latent fire of the chivalric *Shah Sevund*, breaking forth in their descendants, and lambently playing on the point of their lances. The dexterity of the evolutions, the grace of their motions, and the knighthood-gallantry of their address, unite in giving an inexpressible charm to these scenes. But it does not end there. This *gaieté de cœur*, and courtesy of manner, pervading every class, renders the society of the higher ranks particularly amiable; and communication with the lower free of any rudeness. Nay, indeed, the humblest peasant, from the old man to the boy, expresses himself with a degree of civility only to be expected from education and refinement. Quick in seeing, or apprehending occasions of service, high and low seem to bend themselves gracefully to whatever task their superiors may assign; besides talent

seems to contend with inclination, in accomplishing its fulfilment. In short, this pliant, polished steel of character, so different from the sturdy nature and stubborn uses of the iron sons of the north, fit the Persians to be at once a great, a happy, and a peaceable people, under a legitimate and well-ordered monarchy. Of what good they are capable, has been proved under the rule of Cyrus; to what evil they may be perverted, the same biographer testifies in his account of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon; and nearly the same form of government, whether under Guebre or Mahomedan, has continued until this day. The effects of the Mahomedan creed of fatalism, upon the conduct of its followers, whether as subjects or men, we may all comprehend, because we daily see it before our eyes; but what might have been the political influences of the Guebre faith, we have no opportunity here of judging; the few remains of that degraded race being no more a people.

When, towards the middle of the seventh century, the Caliph Omar sent his merciless Arabs over the Euphrates, to force a passage into Persia, they found the monarchy enfeebled by the distracting interests of several pretenders, and the people either absorbed in self-indulgence, or exhausted by the exactions of so many claimants. Yezdijird, doomed to be the last of the Mithratic kings, as he was of the line of Sassan, vainly opposed the torrent of an invasion, urged at once by hope of earthly dominion and a heavenly paradise. He collected an army of a hundred thousand men, but the ancient discipline of his brave ancestors had long been lost, and the greatest number of these raw troops perished in the field of Kudseah. In the heat of battle, Saad Ben Wakass, the Arab commander, was so lucky as to take the Durufsh-i-kawanee, the standard which for centuries had been

regarded as the palladium of Persian independence; and the moment so important a piece of superstitious reverence fell into his hand, he ordered it to be held aloft, and proclaimed himself master of the empire. But the country was not entirely conquered till the following year, when one last effort was made by Yezdijird, on the plain of Nahavund. He gathered together the relics of his former army; and, with better hearts than fortune, they maintained their ground against the enemy, till their bodies covered it. That day, the sceptre of Darius passed into the grasp of an Arabian caliph, and the temples of Zoroaster sunk before the mosques of Mahomet. Yezdijird did not perish in the field; an assassin's hand drew the last blood of Cyrus; but the laudable respect was paid to his remains, of sending them to Persepolis to be entombed with his ancestors. In him, as I before observed, terminated a race that derived its stock from Darius Hystaspes, and the great founder of the empire; but the memory of which, in its latter branch, is still revered in the names of Ardashir, Shapoor, Baharam Gour; and Noushirvan the great Chosroes, in whose reign the arch-impostor of Arabia was born. After the final defeat of the Mithratic king, the victorious army of the caliph over-ran the whole empire; destroying with bigot fury every memorial of past greatness, every symbol of what had hitherto been deemed sacred in that unhappy land. A large proportion of the inhabitants, preferring a new creed and their old possessions, to their old faith with poverty and oppression, swore allegiance to the laws, civil and religious, of the prophet of Mecca. Others, disdaining to barter the faith of their fathers, for any favour in the eyes of their enemies, retired, self-exiled, into distant countries. Some few indeed, poor, and stedfast to their creed, not having it in their power to seek a distant asylum, remained

in a kind of bondage on their native soil: worshipping the bright luminary of heaven, with eyes ever bent to the ground, and pouring tears for lustral water on its dishonoured shrines. Whilst the richer multitudes fled to the mountainous frontiers, or to the shores of India, this devoted remnant found a sort of hopeless security in their poverty and utter wretchedness; and wandering away to Yezd and Kerman, as places least in the notice of their conqueror, sought and obtained something of a refuge. Yezd still contains about four or five thousand of their descendants; and from the comparative respectability of so considerable a body, they more openly exercise the offices of their religion there, (and, from the same reason, in Kerman,) than is ever attempted by the poorer Guebres in the villages about. These people are excellent husbandmen, gardeners, and mechanics; and some few follow the occupation of merchandise, though on a very limited scale. The liberal spirit of Shah Abbas tolerated their existence at Ispahan; where, afterwards, the Afghan Mahmoud gave them a mart, and enlarged their suburb, still called Guebrabad: but, like that of the Armenian colony from Julpha, it is fallen to decay; nothing now inhabiting its ruined streets, but houseless dogs and the refuse of the people. Fars, the ancient Persis, and the very college of the Mithratic faith, where the sacred books of Zoroaster were laid up in the bosom of the rock on which its capital stood, and the Magi had towns and castles allotted to their residence; this province has not now a single asylum for that repudiated race. Eben Haukel mentions, that, so late as the tenth century, a remnant worshipped in the Guebre temples at Kazeroon; and we find that the same privilege continued to others of the faith, near the naptha-pits of Badku; a place superstitiously reverenced by all of the religion, as one of the most sacred fountains

of their eternal fire. Pilgrims openly resorted thither, even so late as the middle of the last century. But now, if perchance any lonely little community of this utterly desolate people, is found amongst the villages of Persia; if they wish to perform any of their religious rites, they must be done in the closest secrecy.)

Indeed, from the restraints and fear under which they have been held for so many generations, both the doctrines of their faith, and the most solemn rites of their worship, having sunk into nothing more than a few hasty prayers, muttered to the sun as supreme god; and what they call commemorative ceremonies, are now only sad confused shadows of their former religious festivals; for the little that is left of the Mithratic creed, amongst the remnant of its priesthood in Persia, is so faintly comprehended, that all the flame of the sacred fire, still kept burning at Yezd, is insufficient to throw a gleam, of any retraceable connection between their present vague belief, and the once venerated faith of their ancestors.

What can be more sublime, and indeed demonstrable of a one great primeval revelation to man, than the idea attributed to the early Persians of the nature of God, and the duty of man! Newton particularly remarks on it with admiration, as the original of the magian's pure system of religion; but which they afterwards corrupted into Mithratic dreams, and the superstitions of an idolatrous worship. In the very earliest times, under the Paishdadian dynasty, or Distributors of Justice, the religion of Persia was certainly of this unadulterated kind, namely, "a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and governs it by his providence; and that he demands from man, a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence of parents and

aged persons; fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." This divine code, breathing such general happiness over the whole earth, seems to have been too simple and benign to remain long unperverted by human fancies and human passions; and to excite our astonishment as well as regret, we find that those whose guardian care ought to have preserved it in purity, were the first to confuse and destroy it, by the introduction of types of omnipotence, which they caused to be worshipped under various forms, and with as many misleading ceremonies. When the corruption of the spiritual system of divinity took place, the first step in the path of darkness was to identify the sun with the Deity; regarding it as the most perfect emblem of the Supreme Being, from whose genial influence all nature appeared to receive birth or re-animation. The high priests of this new doctrine, in the midst of the confusion of ideas it wrought, would still talk of a superior God, the one eternal Ormuzd, who was the source of all others, and creator of this very sun, which was his emblem, and therefore animated by a mediatory intelligence, known to men by the name of Mithra. His orb, together with six of the planets, filled in like manner with each its celestial habitant, was supposed to revolve for ever round the throne of the Most High. Certain peculiar powers, and influences on the fates of men, were imagined to belong to these subordinate deities; and hence prayers and rites were devised, suitable to their supposed character, and proffered up to them accordingly. Here, then, began all the idolatry of the world. They first worshipped these seven tutelary divinities, in the orbs which were their *Sacella* or tabernacles; and then worshipped the orbs themselves, as the body of the celestial Being, which it animated

as the soul does that of man. Under these impressions, when they paid their devotions, they always looked towards the planet to which they directed their prayers. But when these orbs, in the course of their revolutions, became hidden below the horizon, the worshippers were at a loss where to point their adorations; and to remedy this, the priests had recourse to the invention of symbolical images, into which they taught that these divine intelligences descended; and were as present by their influences, as in the planets themselves. Here we see the origin of image-worship; for to these symbols, they gave the names of the gods whom they adored in the heavenly host. After this, a notion prevailed that eminent men, after death, had an interceding power with the divinity; and to propitiate their departed spirits, in the same way as was done by the intelligences of the planets, images were graven to their honour, and, by similar means, identified with the immortal beings they were meant to represent.

In consecrating these symbols, the most extravagant incantations were used to draw down into them from the stars, the influential presence of the benign spirit they were to typify, whether it were an actual divinity, or only a deified man. From the same wild source of idolatry, we see, sprung all the phrenzy of enchantment, witchcraft, and, in one word, magic; the vain resort of the magi, (the first magicians,) to support the unstable structure of their new and pernicious doctrines. We learn from Scripture, how early these perversions were introduced into the religious practices of the east; and in consequence of this apostacy from the pure faith of Noah, "worshipping the one God in spirit and in truth," Abraham was called from the land of Chaldea, to be in his own person, and that of his descendants,

a separate and lasting repository of the true knowledge of the Divine Being, his moral laws, and universal providence.

The Persians themselves intimate the regular and quick progress of this debasement from the original faith, inculcated by their prophet, king Kaiomurs. First, it was corrupted by the introduction of fire-worship, under Houshung, the immediate descendant of the foregoing monarch; and, secondly, it was rendered altogether idolatrous by the introduction of images, the invention of Tahamurs, the father of the renowned Jemsheed, to whom the founding of Persepolis is attributed. From Laban's household-gods being the first actual notice of idolatry mentioned in the Scriptures, we may venture to presume on it as an argument that idolatry really did originate in the countries east of the Euphrates; and it seems the more likely, when we consider that both Pharaoh and Abimelech, the sovereigns of Egypt and Palestine during the sojournings of Abraham, acknowledge with pious deference the judgments of the true God. Hence we may conclude, that since the stream of mankind flowed from the east to the west, principles and opinions would follow in the same direction; and that when idolatry prevailed at Babylon and Tackt-i-Jemsheed, it would soon spread itself to the colonies of Egypt; and thence over Canaan, Grecia, and the western world. The worst consequences of these perversions in theology do not appear to have shewn themselves in the usual demoralizing effects on the Persian empire, till after the death of Cyrus; when, probably, his conquest over the eminently voluptuous Babylonians, introduced their luxurious customs into the Spartan halls of ancient Iran, and polluted the more polished courts of Media with a subtle code, which transformed treachery into wisdom, and made sensual pleasures the occupation and

object of life. In this state of accumulated corruption of doctrine and practice, overwhelmed with a multitude of gods, and defaced with impious ceremonies, unchaste and odious, Zerdusht, (the Zoroaster of the Greeks,) found the religion of his country. Moved by ambition, or, we may hope, a better principle, he exerted his influence as head of the magi, with Darius Hystaspes, then king of Persia, to sanction him in the restoration of the Persian faith in all its primitive simplicity: but, certainly, not the simplicity of the Kaiomur faith, which worshipped the paternal Deity alone; but the apostate Mithratic creed of Houshung, who added to the adoration of the Creator, an idolatrous homage to the sun or the fire, as his emblem. From the time of Zerdusht, the religion of Persia continued nearly in the same reformed state in which he left it, till the invasion of the Greeks overwhelmed it again with all the gorgeous incumbrances of polytheism; and the accession of the Arsacidæ rather increased than subtracted from the load. But when, at the beginning of the third century, the Kaianian, or line of Cyrus, was revived in the person of Ardashir, a hero and a sage, he attempted to repeat the reformation of Zerdusht; and, though imperfectly accomplished, the Mithratic, henceforth, was regarded as the established faith for three hundred succeeding years; till the sacred flame, and the royal race, were finally extinguished together, in the breast of Yezdijird at Merv in Chorasan, where a traitor's hand gave the last blow to the ancient religion and empire of Cyrus.

The modern Persian Guebres, as well as their brethren in India, hold a mixed creed, apparently borrowed from both states of the Mithratic worship. It comprises a belief in one supreme God, who directs all things by his power, and preserves all

things by his mercy; and that he makes his will known to man by seven divine intelligences, or agents, each of whom has his especial office in the economy of the universe. Man is the peculiar care of the first in dignity; the second presides over the animals of the earth; the third over the earth itself; the fourth over fire; the fifth over the waters; the sixth has every kind of plant and vegetation in charge; and the seventh preserves all nature from whatever might defile it. Subordinate to these super-eminent deities, are an infinity of minor gods who attend mankind, administering to their necessities, or governing their passions. The Guebre faith also admits a malign spirit with his demons, who busy themselves in thwarting the benevolent purposes of the seven protectors; but likewise believing that the power of goodness is always stronger than that of evil, prayers, and a firm dependance on Ormuzd and his heavenly agents, are deemed fully sufficient talismans against all the powers of darkness. To this end, the pious have particular days in every month, dedicated to the adoration of the Supreme Deity, on whom they call in the presence of his sacred emblem, their secretly cherished fire; which, they continue to affirm, is the purest, and therefore most proper type of the divinity. But how far their general doctrine accords with that of the ancient magi, may in some measure be judged, by reading the books of their faith, said to have been compiled from the oral records of the Dustoors, or priests of the Guebres, several ages after the Mahomedan destruction of the sacred parchments at Persepolis. Doubtless, in these documents some part of the original Mithratic system may be traced; but much more is to be found of the polytheistical innovations which degraded the once spiritualized religion of Persia, into the grossness of general idolatry.

Of the Zendavesta, and Boundehesh, two of these books, we have translations by Mons. Aquitel du Perron; and, besides, are in possession of two, also deemed ancient, the Dabistan and Desatir, lately discovered in India; and both of which that great orientalist, Sir William Jones, considers to be genuine works, and unexceptionable authority. From these, we find a decided belief in an all-powerful and supreme God, whom they considered the first object of adoration; then follows the host of heaven, commonly known under the names of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. These seven intelligences of the ancient magi, together with their attendant spirits, agree with the seven divine agents and their satellites of the modern Parsæ and Guebre. In the Dabistan, the peculiar symbol under which each planet was to be worshipped, is described; the whole bearing a striking similarity to many of the idols of the Hindoos, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and to the cylinders of Nineveh and Babylon. A coincidence that bears out the idea of idolatry having originated in the East, and that ancient Assyria was indeed the parent of pagan worship.

The modern Guebres of Persia are far outnumbered by a continually increasing sect, deemed as old as the times of the Mithratic establishment, and which existed through all the various innovations of augmented polytheism. The Dabistan mentions these opinionists by the name of Suffi; and they bear the same appellation at this day. The word is spelt by different writers in a variety of ways; for instance, Suffi, Sooffee, Sefi, Suphi. The Arabic term, which bears all these spellings, means wise, holy, and is supposed to be derived from صفي, be pure, clean; and the sect who assume that title, arrogate a peculiar degree of wisdom and purity beyond all other believers. Some

writers are of opinion, that as these philosophizing theologians existed in Persia before the Arabian conquest introduced its language amongst them, the appellation in question might as reasonably be deduced from the Greek masters of the country, and their Σοφοι (Sophoi) wise men, be the root of the Eastern sage; in short, whatever be the name they bear, whether in old or in modern philosophy, the same common vanity of human reason that has misled enthusiastic and self-confident minds from the beginning of man's history until now, may be recognised in the self-deifying theories of these wild deists. Inflamed by the poetic fancies of an ardent imagination acting upon high notions of their own mental capacities, the idea of any order of spirit being superior in its original nature to theirs, they deemed impossible; nothing seeming to them too exalted for their conceptions, too sublimely pure for their participation; in fine, deriving their existence from God himself, not by creation, but by emanation; they set forth with so peculiar and mystical a pretension to holiness, that the ignorant vulgar, confounded with the excess of light to which they pretended, yielded implicit credit and consequent homage to such superior sanctity. Indeed, the great reputation acquired by Sooffee (or Sefi)-u-deen, one of the most eminent of these philosophic devotees, smoothed the road for his descendants to mount the throne of Persia. Ismail the First, of the posterity of this celebrated ascetic, became king A. D. 1500; and in honour of his holy ancestor, the dynasty he founded took the name of Sooffee, Sefi, or Suphi; and hence came the monarchs of that race to be designated, even in European courts, by the name of *the Sophi*, without any additional title. But the princes of the Sooffee descent were too sensible of the value of stationary laws, moral and religious, to

support those vague dreams abroad, which attracted so mysterious an interest about the enthusiast in his cell. Indeed, most of the Sooffee professors kept within the formal pale of the established religion, for the sake of security, and the facility of making proselytes. They avowed themselves believers in one God, that Mahomet was his prophet, and Ali the legitimate successor of the prophet, to the exclusion of Omar. So far they were perfectly orthodox according to the Persian rule of faith, but the creed was only from their lips, while their real tenets were as much calculated to charm a vivid imagination, as to mislead it into consequences unsuspected and dangerous. They represent themselves as men devoted to the search of truth, and incessantly occupied in adoration of the Almighty, a re-union with whom is to be the end and the perfection of their being. They describe all creation, and therefore themselves, as having proceeded immediately from the bosom of God, "who poured his spirit on the universe, as the general diffusion of light is poured over the earth by the rising sun; and as the absence of that luminary leaves the world in total darkness, so the partial or total withdrawing of the divine splendour or light, causes partial or general annihilation." And this doctrine relates, not merely to the power of life, but to the power of moral action. The distinct and finite nature of the human soul being denied, and man declared a pure emanation or ray from the divine essence, he owns no individual responsibility for the good or evil of his actions; and, attributing both alike to the infinite being of whom he is already a part, and into whose almighty essence he is to be re-absorbed, he goes on through life without other check to his appetites and passions, than what may happen to lie in a just taste, delighting in imitating the celestial purity it

contemplates. For once take away from man the principle of responsibility, and his virtue is at the command of accident. But these consequences are not always considered by the philosopher in his closet: there the passions, asleep under the musing eye of reason, lie like a calm sea beneath a summer moon; but when the business of the world calls the one to awake, and its wintry blasts rouse the other into tempest, what would man do in either case, without a positive law of conduct, without a compass to direct him through the storm? But even in countries civilized to the perfection of mortal means, and possessing that guiding light, (if they would use it!) which Socrates longed to behold, and did not, the Light of Revelation! in those countries we often find men *Sooffees* in principle, pure self-idolaters, too proud of their own mental powers and fancied stoic virtue, to understand, till experience forces their comprehension, that human nature is the infancy of immortality; and that laws and penalties, with answering rewards and punishments, are as necessary to the conduct and well-being of the wisest man, as parental discipline to the tuition and government of youth. That this lofty idea of innate perfectibility, frequently led the Sooffee fanatics into the most extravagant inconsistencies, we need look no further to shew, than the sect of the infamous Hassan Subah, mentioned by the historians of the Crusades under the name of *The Old Man of the Mountain;* he, and all his sanguinary crew, deriving their impious dreams of partaking the divine nature from the Sooffee doctrines. The wild and mystic theories of these teachers, are offered to their disciples in the place of moral duties and pious observances; and their free opinions on all religious dogmas and established rites, with their own claim to a particular communion with the Deity, being cal-

culated to subvert belief in the common faith, the prevalence of such opinions cannot but be regarded by the rationally-thinking part of the empire, as little better than a gradual advance to general infidelity. The government, it has been said, see it in this view, and, consequently, a very discouraging eye is cast upon all its avowed professors.

The conversations in which many of these remarks were made, took place, sometimes in the apartment of our friend the Hadgé, and oftener in our own; where the good gifts of Pomona also were poured upon us in daily abundance, not only by himself, but in extra presents from his and our own hospitable visitants. The variegated floors of our rooms were nearly covered with heaps of the finest apples, pears, and every sort of melons; besides the most beautiful grapes I ever beheld; all piled up in high pyramids, and glowing with the rich colours and various bloom of fruit, whose delicious freshness was more grateful to the eye, than a palace's most usual gorgeous furniture. The fragrance and beauty of flowers mingled with nature's sweet banquet round us; but when we partook of its luxuries, our European palates found most of them too luscious for our colder tastes; the grapes, in particular, though possessing many different flavours, were invariably too cloying for refreshment. The fruit of highest zest, is a small red plum, in shape like our green-gage, with something of the same taste, but much more exquisite; and this was our favourite dessert. At this time of the year, the country around Ispahan teems with fruit of every description, allowing the lower orders to purchase a load of the common sort for a few pieces of copper money. In consequence of this plenty, and the fondness of the people for so light and cooling a food, it is rather devoured than eaten, and in such immoderate quantities, that the effects

on their bowels carries off whole families, and even districts, as if swept by the plague. Many of these poor people, suffering under the consequence of their imprudence, thronged to the morning and evening humane levées of Dr. Sharpe, who gave them medicines and advice; the one, to antidote the dire effects of the evil they had incurred, the other, to warn them against its repetition.

It was now the end of August, when the climate of Ispahan is really enchanting; the mornings until ten or eleven in the forenoon, and the evenings from five o'clock, (and through the whole balmy night,) are most refreshingly delightful. The air is bright, clear, and light, and an almost constant breeze blows from the south-east; this modifies the general influence of the sun, which, so far from giving an oppressive heat here at this season, creates only 82° of Fahrenheit in the shade. The time I allowed myself to repose in this genial atmosphere, was barely a week; but I found it sufficient to rebrace me for the prosecution of my journey; and, having derived many kind attentions from the Ameen-a-Doulah during my sojourn in Ispahan, he, as governor, added every other which could promote my comfort while travelling through the remainder of the districts under his command. Accordingly, a guard was appointed to attend me to Hamadan, and one of his own confidential servants to be my mehmandar; he also furnished me with introductions to several khans, whose residences lay on my route; and a letter, in particular, to the vizier of Hamadan. That title is given to the prime minister of the place, which is under the government of a young prince, the son of Mahmoud Ali Mirza.

All my preparations being ready, I took a thankful leave of Mahomed Hossein Khan, the munificent Ameen-a-Doulah; but affection united with gratitude, in the farewells I bade to Dr.

Sharpe, and the friendly Hadgé Bachire. When I shook the latter by the hand with an, indeed, hearty *God bless you!* he said something of the regrets he felt when saying adieu to my countryman, Henry Martyn, "whom," added he, "I saw no more!" but he hoped that our parting might be, to meet again. Nothing, I thought, was less probable on this side of eternity; but, with an answering emotion of kindliness, I echoed the wish, and then, most likely, bade a last farewell to this amiable Abyssinian; who seemed a brother in heart as well as occupation, to him who was "great in authority under Candacé, Queen of the Ethiopians."

August 31st, 1818. At the pleasantest time of the afternoon of this day, I left Ispahan through what is still called the Hamadan gate, pointing to the old capital of Media; and accompanied by Sedak Beg with my own people, and the Ameen-a-Doulah's mehmandar and escort, took a direction north 45° west, for full four miles amongst the ruined walls and houses of the deserted suburb of Gueberabad. The Zeinderood flowed on our left, in a bending course, at the foot of the mountains, which form a noble amphitheatre of successive heights around this part of the plain; their rugged sides and summits contrasting sublimely with the rich and verdant scene below. We passed the insulated *Attush Kou*, or hill of the Fire-worshippers, but stopped a few minutes to observe a picturesque effect of the hour on its form and situation. The mouldering fragments of building on the top, stood bright in the declining sun; while the hill itself verged down in deepening shadows to the dark heaps of ruins beneath. Beyond them, lay the country in a sort of mellow glow; undulating corn-fields, melon-grounds, vineyards, and gardens, varied the road, with tracts of fine grown trees, stretching their luxu-

riant foliage over us as we pursued our delightful ride. For a distance of three farsangs from the walls of Ispahan, our way wound through these singularly beautiful environs; no other city that I had seen in Persia presenting any thing like so copious a display of nature's bounties, mixed with such features of the loftiest and the loveliest lines of landscape beauty. The termination of these three farsangs brought us to Nourshirvan, a small, but flourishing village; where, however, we were obliged to take up our quarters in a crowded caravansary. I found it filled with people of all descriptions, going on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Ali at Kerbela; and this devout assemblage kept up such an unceasing uproar all night, what with their own anomalous noises, and those of their horses, asses, and mules, that I was glad to prepare for starting next morning, before the rising sun should set the whole host again at their most tumultuous orisons. Accordingly, we were all in the stirrup at dawn, and left the gate of the caravansary by half-past four o'clock. The morning was fresh and fragrant; and bearing a little more to the north than our chart did the preceding day, we went cheerily on over an exceedingly stoney road, winding amongst the most romantic embankments. Having travelled nearly three farsangs, we passed a large place on our right, lying in fine masses of ruin. The great plain of Ispahan stretched away in that direction, shewing its gently swelling detached hills covered with verdure and knots of trees; and the castellated towers of innumerable villages, animating the scenery as far as the eye could reach, where Guz and Moorchikord distinctly marked the horizon. At this point, we ascended a chain of low hills, containing rich veins of iron; where, however, no thriving works appeared visible; but clusters of human habitations, lying at the western foot of the hills,

abandoned, and fallen to utter decay, proclaimed there had once been an industrious colony on that spot. Four miles further, brought us to Chalasea, where we found a good and quiet caravansary, and the thermometer, at mid-day, standing at 86° Fahrenheit.

September 2d. — Soon after one o'clock this morning, we were again mounted, and, crossing the plain north 23° west, for rather more than three farsangs, reached a pass called Hazarmauny. The road continued on a level, between low hills parting into narrow rocky glens which ran up into the mountain valleys, amongst whose eagle regions the Bactiari tribes of this district roam at large, in unapproachable security. The escort which were to be my guardians past the mouths of these suspicious defiles, consisted of fifteen musqueteers, of the same race with the mountain hordes. Some of them being of less ferocious dispositions than their wilder brethren, and having no objection to the acquirement of gain, when it can be done in peace with the institutions of the empire, engage themselves to government for a certain hire, to act as a kind of military police, and protect travellers from the depredations of the lawless bands. Indeed, it does not require the policy of a court, to create, or maintain a constant jealousy between the different tribes in this country, whether of a radically different origin, or of the same patriarchal stock; private feuds, and contentions about tracts of pasturage, or any other simple matter, of consequence to the habits of these independent people, being sufficient at any time to arm the mountain hordes against each other: and so, probably, for ever will prevent them from uniting in any one common interest that might be dangerous to the royal government of the country.

For about a farsang of the Pass of Hazarmauny, our escort

seemed much on the alert, looking out on each side of our road into which the issues of depredation opened, for the flashes of a few long guns in preparatory ambush, or the rush of a troop, determined on something more than a dispute of passage. However, our protectors moved on without any hostile demands on their courage; and, descending gradually amid scenes whose rugged aspects agreed well with the expected rencontre, we entered on a small plain surrounded by mountains, and traversed by a winding and dry hollow, which at certain seasons of the year is the deep and wide bed of the spring torrents. An insulated chain of straggling hills stretched along this vale on our right; and, at the base of some of them we found the villages of Alooy and Hoosny, with their little home environs of fields and gardens; pleasing objects amidst so extensive a theatre of savage sterility. Hoosny is distinguished by the lofty walls of an immense caravansary, built of hewn stone, but now, like too many vestiges of departed greatness, falling to decay. Not far distant from it, are still more extended remains of considerable buildings; bearing, also, their silent witness of past prosperity. The day was very hot, and the nature of the country calculated to make us feel it with redoubled violence. The hills became more arid at every step; and the naked cliffs, assuming a chalky whiteness, reflected an unsufferable glare with the scorching heat. Close ravines, and pit-like hollows, sometimes lay in our path; and the suffocation from their burning air is not to be described. Having travelled four additional farsangs along this panting road, we arrived at the gorge of a narrow vale, whose jaundiced-faced hills threatened no hope of gentler atmosphere; and they did not deceive us; for through this furnace we marched, till the village of Deyhawk gladdened our eyes with the sight of its sheltering

walls, and a few leafy trees. We had travelled full nine farsangs, that is, eight hours, and entered our menzil parched with thirst, and our skins burnt to cinder. Since leaving Shiraz, I had never felt heat so oppressive as that day; the thermometer at twelve o'clock, was 94° of Fahrenheit; this, with the confinement of our quarters in the half-tumbled down apartments of an old ruined mansion, rendered our whole sojourn almost unbearable. The caravansary was too abundantly filled with pilgrims for us to put our heads in there; indeed, the first steam from its yawning gate, was like the breath of the Simoom; and we were glad to find a less pestilential atmosphere, even in the "haunt of the jackall, and the lair of the wild fox."

September 3d. At two o'clock this morning, we exchanged our vaulted cells for the canopy of heaven, and re-commenced our journey under one of the clearest and most brilliant star-light mornings that ever looked with the eye of beauty on the sleeping earth. So bright was the general illumination diffused over the whole surrounding country, I could distinguish every distant range of mountains by their varied and tender shades. But when the dawn began to break, then the scene became enchanting; the light shadows, tinged with a thousand magic hues, which appeared hovering over the hills, gradually vanished into the sea of golden glory unfolded by the rising sun. Soon after quitting the narrow vale which inclosed our last evening's lodging, the view opened magnificently to the westward, bounded along the pale silvery horizon by a vast amphitheatre of mountains; which shot forward from their bases ramifications, of minor heights, that traversed the lower country in various directions. The road was excellent, and in the bearing of yesterday, N. 23° W.; but often taking a course along the valleys between the subor-

dinate hills, we found ourselves in the track of the free-booters, and accordingly kept a few of our musqueteers in advance. When near the gorge of one of these gullies, connected by many a wild intricacy with the remoter heights, I was roused from meditation on their singular forms, by the report of several musquets, and immediately saw the dark figures of our corps of observation disappear amongst the rocks on our left. We, naturally, were putting our horses to the speed to come up with our guards, who might be attacked by odds, when the remainder of the escort requested us rather to go gently forward; alleging, that their comrades would not have turned into the ravine in that sudden way, but on an advantage; and therefore we had best proceed in our journey, leaving the finishing of the affair to them, while keeping ourselves prepared for any new sally. Accordingly we went quietly on, and passed the entrance of the hollow whence the flashes had gleamed, but all was now still, not even the sound of a distant foot being to be heard. We continued our route; and full an hour elapsed, before we were rejoined by the party we had seen disappear. They came up just at the dawn of morning, and told so long a story of so desperate a pursuit, that I began to doubt the whole to have been any thing more than a trick of their own, to raise my respect for their zeal, and the amount of the reward I might bestow at our parting. Pursuing our march, we passed a large town on our left, called Hametabad, part of which covered the side of an immense artificial mound, and the rest stretched to a considerable distance over the low ground at its base. Nearer to the western mountains, lay several villages, the names of which I could not learn; but we halted at the ruinous remains of one, called Dour, where a couple of wretched caravansaries, both in the most de-

solate state of dilapidation, are all the quarters reserved for travellers. So savage was the immediate scenery around, and so much had the place itself the appearance of entertaining the rudest inhabitants, that it seemed to me as if just vacated by some of the bandit hordes themselves, who had not only sacked the spot, but the neighbourhood also; so difficult did we find it to procure provisions for ourselves, or forage for our cattle. Owing to some oppressive measures of the present governor of the district, most of the natives had deserted the village; and the Ketkhoda in particular, not only abandoned his trust and the place, but, with a few desperate followers, joined himself to a band of Bactiari. Having thus outlawed himself, he accompanies his new friends in their descents, and conducts them by ways best known to himself, to the plunder of the poor peasantry over whom he once presided; whenever the gathering of their fruit, or the reaping of their harvest, holds forth adequate temptation to his rapacity and violence. In consequence of these disasters, government has stationed a small body of well-armed men to be always on the spot, to protect the little remains of Dour husbandry; and they so far exonerated the chivalrous pretensions of my guard, as to assure me they did not doubt that a detachment from the rebel Ketkhoda had been on the prowl, and that it was some advanced scouts from him, which my people had made take to their heels.

September 4th.—We quitted the caravansaries of Dour at two o'clock this morning, marching under the same starry sky as before, in a direction north 30° west along the plain; which, notwithstanding its name, like most other extensive tracts of similar nomination in this land of mountains, was full of hillocky irregularities. On our left rose a chain of undulating minor hills, intervening between us and our former magnificent view

of the great boundary on the west. We held our course close to the foot of the mountain limits on the east, which reared themselves to an immense height in gradually ascending sweeps. After a ride of three farsangs, we came to the termination of this chain; at which point an expanding opening towards the rising sun, burst upon us. A precipitous pile hemmed it in to the north, over whose colossal heads appeared the still more stupendous giants of mighty Taurus, which overshadow the town of Kashan. But here their distance is so great, and the effect of the medium atmosphere so magical, as to make those huge alps of earth and stone, seem the heaven-lit pass to some celestial country. The intervening chain, which, bounding the great plain to the north, formed a fine contrast to the aerial heights I have just described, is connected by some of its far-stretching branches, with the lengthening valleys which open into the western side of the vast salt-desert towards Khorasan. From the spot whence we viewed this magnificent prospect, to the town of Gilpaigon, was four farsangs. When descried from a distance, the place had an air of consequence; standing at the foot of a very lofty and bold height, and bearing its stately towers north 45° west. Here the vale we had passed through, formed an angle, which united it with the fine plain, just noticed, to the north-east.

We reached Gilpaigon by eight o'clock in the morning; a journey estimated at seven farsangs from Dour. The country, for several miles as we approached the town, gave evidence of an industrious and flourishing people. Corn, melons, castor, and other products of good husbandry, enriched its fields and gardens; which, on one side, only terminated at the rocky walls of the mountain. But, perhaps, nothing had so much to do

with this impression of general prosperity in the place, as its appearance of perfect repair; there being no ruinous suburbs, or dilapidated out-works of any kind, to speak of past opulence and present decay: the usual tale told by the mourning genius of almost every place, in this once great empire; the mind's eye for ever seeing her seated in the dust by the way-side, "lonely, and wasted with wretchedness." Gilpaigon has another peculiarity; it is not begirt by fortified walls; which opportunity being embraced for the extension of the streets, and the planting of gardens and trees round the principal houses, gives a singular appearance of freedom, airiness, and luxuriance of shade to the town and its cultivated environs. The only bulwarks of military strength that it commands, are a couple of towered enclosures, about a pistol-shot from the town; and into these, doubtless, the male inhabitants would put their valuables, animate and inanimate, should any hostile circumstance make it necessary for them to take arms.

The domes of four or five mosques of respectable dimensions, greatly embellish the view of the town; but when we visited them near, I found time had committed some spoliation on their preservation; though the style of the buildings, and the rich porcelain coating, (while it remains,) must always constitute them striking ornaments of the place. Gilpaigon is the provincial capital of a khan, who governs the small district from which it takes its name. The town itself is supposed to contain about two thousand persons. Nearly a couple of farsangs before we reached this little rural metropolis, we found the road divide itself; one branch leading to the village of Gohikaw, the regular halting-place, in the way to Hamadan, and the other to the town which we had chosen for our menzil. Gohikaw, with two other

villages of less dimensions, but promising equal refreshment, from the number of trees which mingled their gay green with the rustic dwellings, spread themselves along the base of the same line of hills which cover the town of Gilpaigon, and seemed quite in as good condition. The impression this sight, with its accompanying cultivation, made on my mind as I approached, can hardly be conceived by a European who has never wandered from happy Christendom: so beyond imagination is the difference, between the populousness and aspect of countries, which own such different governments as those of Asia and Europe. Here, in the East, with regard to population and its habitations, this vast tract of country, (once the very well-spring of emigration to all nations of the earth,) appears like the dry bed of some former great river; where the depth, and the space, evidence the mighty flood by which it might have been filled; and a few pools of stagnant water, dotting the marshy surface, remain vestiges that such an element really did fill it. No man can enter Persia, without remembering he is about to tread a land which a long line of native princes covered with cities, and towns, and fertility; a country, which even its Grecian conquerors embellished with the noblest structures, and Roman invaders adorned with bridges, aqueducts, and castles. But of all these towns, villages, and structures, the erections of so many different ages and generations of men, few remain of any kind that are not sunk in ruin, or furrowed with decay. Where were once cities, and hamlets, and cultivated fields, are now vast solitudes; without house, or hut, or tree, or blade of grass, for many, many miles. Indeed, so frequent are these monotonous tracts, dreary to the eye, and dismal to the heart, that the glimpse of a mouldering wall, round some long-abandoned vil-

lage seen from afar; or a distant view of the broken massive arches of a lonely caravansary, surrendered to the wild animals of the waste; being memorials that human footsteps once were there, are sights of welcome to the cheerless traveller, way-wearied by such unvaried scenes of desert-solitariness. Besides such really melancholy sources of the *ennui* which so often accompanies the European through these burning tracts, is the unchanging serenity of the sky. Day after day, nay, month after month passes, and not a film is seen on its dazzling surface; not a cloud, even light as the thinnest vapour, varies the towering summits of the mountains by its fleecy shroud, nor tinges the vale beneath with its flitting shadow. In vain we look here, for those sweet concealments of nature, which at times hide her beauties in a veil; or those sublime mysteries, which give infinitude to grandeur, by the occasional darkness in which she envelopes it. At no season of the year, in this southern part of Persia, can we see the storm gathering in the heavens; nor the thirsty earth opening its bosom to receive the milder shower, pouring abundance and beauty in its bland refreshment. In fact, I have not seen a single drop of rain since the morning of my quitting Teheran; and dew seems equally interdicted. I have often thought, while panting through this waveless sea of shadeless heat, that if those of my countrymen who indulge themselves in murmurs against our cloudy, humid climate, were only to be transplanted hither for one summer-journey, they might find a parallel example to the unhappy lover of riches, who obtained the object of his passion to so grievous an extent, that whatever he touched became gold; for, wherever they go here, they would meet dryness, and cloudless, fervent sunshine.

At several farsangs' distance from our present quarters, and to the south-west, lies the ancient town of Consar, or Khonsar, situated in a narrow valley on the slopes of two parallel chains of hills. Its site is singularly romantic, filling the bottom of the valley, and mounting the acclivities of the hills; and its immediate vicinity, abundant in every fruit of the climate, with the delightful addition of water-springs, flowing from the mountains down upon the terraced gardens, and bowery courts of the town beneath. The traffic of the place, I am told, principally consists of dried fruits, and a kind of chintz; but it is celebrated as having been known by its present name at the time Alexander marched to Ecbatana. Gilpaigon does not possess the like classic associations; but it is hardly inferior to its venerable rival, in salubrity of situation; and it has the warlike reputation of manufacturing excellent matchlock guns, the common weapon of the south-eastern soldier-peasantry.

September 5th.—We left the latter town this morning at five o'clock, escorted by a gallant array of horsemen; most of whom were armed with long bamboo spears, pistols, and a small round shield. The last appendage much increased the antique picturesque of their appearance, and well assorted with our mental visions in passing through the conquests of the Macedonian hero. Soon after we quitted Gilpaigon, our little band crossed a bridge of three arches, over the wide but now empty channel of one of those mountain-rivers which at this season yields not a single rill; but when the spring-thaws prevail for any time, then a flood rolls down from the heights in torrents, forming a considerable river; which pours rapidly along the deep hollow of its bed, till it mingles its waters with the Koudkônah, not far from the celebrated bridge of Poohl-Dowlak, in the way to

Koom. Proceeding in our course, we wound in a north-western direction up the steep side of the rocky acclivity that forms the angle of the two valleys; and continuing our march over an exceedingly bad and stony road for nearly three farsangs, beheld ourselves, as it were, in a vast ocean of mountains; their interminable ranges extending, on our left, in a line with the elevation we had attained, while their various billowy heads resembled nothing so much as the waves of some preternatural sea, arrested in their course, and petrified to marble. Having gained the highest point of our ascent, we began to descend on the opposite side, and came down into a plain more extensive than any we had lately crossed, with numerous villages chequered with trees, scattered over its level ground. We also found two cheering little streams, winding round the gentle undulations which, at intervals, varied the surface of the plain from being perfectly flat. Their course was eastward, and we crossed them frequently in our straight-forward path in a western direction. Our menzil was to be Kumi, one of the pretty shaded hamlets I had admired at a distance; and which we approached by the picturesque addition of a fine bridge of three arches, thrown over the bed of a dry river. This place is distant four farsangs and a half from Gilpaigon; and, with the plain on which it stands, is considered in the district of Kanarah. The peasants of Kumi told me, that upwards of sixty villages, in as respectable a condition as their own, animate this fine stretch of country; and, if they are correct, we must consider it nearly equal in population to that of Ispahan.

September 6th.—We started from Kumi, (where my escort took their leave,) by five o'clock in the morning; our road lying across the plain in a direction north 45° west, in pursuing which

we passed many of its villages; and, observing some of more prosperous appearance than others, found that they were chiefly inhabited by Armenians, of the stock formerly brought into these parts of the empire by Shah Abbas. Daneyan, and Kandigan, were the most conspicuous of these; but all bore signs of industrious emulation, cultivation covering the landscape as far as the eye could reach: corn and castor seemed the leading objects of their husbandry. After enjoying this fertile scene, and its attendant genial atmosphere for nearly three farsangs of our way, we bent more to the north; turning through an arid rocky valley, whose bare and lens-like cliffs, proved a scorching contrast to the cooling verdure we had left behind.

Between seven and eight miles of this sort of purgatory, brought us to something of a more grassy track, near the tumbling-down walls of a miserable, thievish looking village, called Rhabad. A few of its wretched natives were without the gates, scattered about in gipsey-like groups, separating the grain from the straw of the present harvest: near them ran a small clear brook. In our countries of ample rivers, it would have been called "a poor little half-starved naiad!" but here, every rill, or trickling of water from a rock, is hailed like Hagar's fountain. A few willows dipped their branches in this limpid stream, and under their shade we took up our quarters. The authorities of the village came out to us, but not with any idea of welcome. At Rhabad, for the first time in Persia, I experienced incivility from a Ketkhoda; indeed, I should call it brutal insult, both to the traveller who appeared before him, and to the sovereign under whose safe-conduct he presented himself. When my two mehmandars, one from His Majesty, and the other from the Ameen-i-Doulah, opened to him the firman of the King,

commanding hospitable services to myself and my people throughout the whole of his dominions, this chief magistrate not only refused me supplies, (though I offered to pay any remuneration he would demand,) but exclaimed in a tempest of passion, "that both his majesty and the rackham might go to hell!" adding, "that if we did not look sharp, he would take care, before morning, to teach us a lesson that would for ever prevent our halting at his village again." On some observation of the mehmandars, he repeated his menace in grosser terms, telling them, that "only a few weeks ago, he had driven from the very spot on which their Frangy master then stood, a prince and a Mussulman; and did they think he would shew more respect to a Guebre!"

The man spoke truth; for it was Futteh Alí Khan, the last of the royal branch of Zund, whom he had so daringly outraged; and from all appearances around, we had every reason to believe that in our case also, he would be as good as his word. His wrath grew, under utterance; and with fury amounting to frenzy, he threatened the most signal punishments to any one of his subjects who should venture to lend us the smallest assistance. Most of them seemed ready to be as savage as he wished; but from two or three we contrived to obtain a little provender for the cattle. During the time I was taking my slender repast *al fresco*, this doughty hero went amongst my people, doing all in his power to provoke them to some resentful act of aggression. But they were too well aware of his object, to fall into the snare; and treating him with the same scorn, with which he tried to incense them, his rage re-awakened to all its ungovernable madness; and pouring forth the most indecent and abusive language, he swore he would hold no terms with any of the party, but put the whole to death; and with the menace, he instantly drew

out his dagger and rushed towards the spot where I was sitting. He yelled aloud, with the cry of a wild beast, for his followers to assist him in the work of slaughter. Seeing that something more than threats, was now to be put in practice, I started on my feet, and, with those who were near me, seized our pistols. This show of resistance a little checked the impetuosity with which our assailant was crossing the stream, though he still came on, with his eye and arm particularly directed against Sedak Beg; who, I know not how, had excited his most particular denunciations of vengeance. Five or six of the sturdiest of his villagers, followed the call of their master; and, on observing their approach, we put ourselves in a better attitude of defence. The odds, as to efficient arms, were then in our favour; and the fellows, appearing to think the same, instead of pressing on to obey the commands they had received, pinioned their foaming chief; and drew him pretty far out of harm's way, while his imprecations of revenge for a while were alike levelled at them and at us. But, though at last turned from making a second open attack upon us, by persuasions we could only guess at, we saw that the intent was still in his mind; for he would not leave the ground. Sheathing his poignard sullenly, he sat down, with some of his people round him, not far distant from us, (though the stream was still a separation,) scowling, grumbling, and muttering to himself, till the sun nearly sunk; when he and his train disappeared. Shortly after, a single horseman came out at the gate of the village, into which the chief had vanished; and took a suspicious road into the mountains opposite to our halting-place. The Ameen-i-Doulah's mehmandar assured me, this man and his probable errand were no symptoms of safety to us; and I might rely on it, that should we

stay the night, our open menzil would be attacked, both by the Rhabadites and their brethren from the mountains. The position we had taken up was within a pistol-shot of the village walls; and having at this juncture no other guard than my own people, part of whom, from sickness, were incapable of any service in action, a council was held, what was best to be done. 'Amerat, our next halting-place, lay at little more than four farsangs distant; and, for my part, thinking with Sir John Falstaff, that "discretion is the better part of valour," I gave orders for a timely retreat. At any rate, we thought, should our unprovoked enemy make a sortie before we were off, it was more in order to be found up, mounted, and armed, than surprised in the night, with one half of our able-bodied men most likely asleep. In such a case, the sick and feeble would have been put to death immediately, and without mercy, by these stationary robbers; for that, I understand, is the title they deserve; the Ketkhoda himself, having impudently told us that he was a fearless brother of the Fielly tribe, an independent race. Our quadrupeds and baggage must have fallen an easy prey; as each of us would have had enough to do to defend himself against superiority of numbers. Indeed, we might have sold our lives at a dear rate; but the chance of saving them would not have been worth a sous; robbery and murder being substance and shadow with these brigands; and, besides, the death of a Christian would rather have been considered a meritorious act, by the best of the horde.

The Persian laws, with regard to murder, operate both on cities and tribes. By them the murderer is held responsible to the family of the slain, to repay, with his own, the blood he has shed; and the act of justice is to be performed by the nearest of

kin to the deceased. But such sanguinary revenge is not always taken; the offender generally having it in his power to compound for his life, with a sum of money, to the family of the murdered person. This compromising mulct is usually rated from 50 to 100 tomauns. But if a Christian happen by any evil chance to kill a Mussulman, and gold be preferred to blood as a compensation, 200 tomauns is then the sum commonly exacted.

But to return to our Rhabad adventure. Having given orders for quietly reloading the mules and saddling the horses, we were mounted and on our march by seven o'clock the same evening. Some of our little host thought it probable we should be waylaid by the Ketkhoda, or assaulted by his auxiliaries in some of the defiles we must pass through; and, as something of this was possible, we marshalled our array, front and rear, with all the strength of our battalion. The road we were then upon lay north 45° west, still pursuing a long course up the Rhabad valley. The bases of the mountains, whose jutting and rocky sides walled it, often approached so close as almost to encavern us; and in other places, they receded so far apart as to leave a free passage of nearly a mile. In this way we travelled about a farsang, neither seeing nor hearing any trace of a pursuing or ambushed foe. We passed the village of Khoramabad, of rather a wild aspect; and, having gone a farsang farther, paid the same compliment to Helimabad. At that point, we had yet two more farsangs to travel, before we could reach our purposed menzil; but, notwithstanding we had come so far without molestation, still we were not to consider ourselves quite out of the snare, till we had got beyond the boundary of the Ketkhoda, and his Fielly allies. In our advance, we entered an extremely narrow, but level pass, the huge cliffs of which ran up to a prodigious

height; this led direct to our expected menzil, namely, the village of Amerat. It is situated at the opening of a long, and beautiful glen, flanked on either side by mountains, whose lofty brows, of less savage forms than those we had lately left, looked down on their own verdant bosoms; the shelter of a variety of sweet shrubs nestling amidst the rocks, and deriving nourishment from the little streams which veined their surface. A few hundred yards from the village, and close to a projecting rock of a singularly sloping form, issues an abundant spring of the purest water. Near to this favoured spot, the inhabitants of Amerat have erected their mesched, or mosque, and dug a spacious tank in the middle of the building, furnished with water by the constant flowing of the neighbouring fountain. It forms a delicious bath for the ablutions of the worshippers, and a no less welcome refreshment to the way-wearied stranger, where the spirit of charity repeats the lesson of Cana, and converts all nature to a sacred use. The front of the mesched is entirely open to the south, commanding a beautiful view of Amerat, its silvery streams, gardens, and alpine back-ground. In this part of the consecrated building we took up our quarters, and found it, indeed, a sanctuary of peace and rest. There we passed the night, after a fatiguing additional march of four hours and a half. To the sick in particular, such repose was paradise; and those who did not sleep quite so sound as others, lay, gazing at the fine mountain-scenery before them, or at the stilly, starry heavens, or listening to the bubbling fount, whose cooling waters embalmed the air they breathed.

Just as the morning began to dawn, I was a little disturbed by the approach of three or four venerable personages, who, as a religious rite, stripped themselves and plunged into the sacred

reservoir, near to the edge of which I slept. Ablution previous to prayer, and also before eating, is one of the ordinances adopted by the Koran; but only the very strict observers of the law immerse themselves from head to foot: of this class were these matin devotees, who went through the regular routine of their pious offices, without the smallest apparent surprise or displeasure at seeing so many people lying about. Indeed, so much otherwise, that when the whole party awoke, and the good men discovered it belonged to a Frangy, so far from considering their temple defiled by having given shelter to a European and an unbeliever, they exclaimed "*Hoshe Omudi!*" (You are welcome!) and hurried off with the mehmandar, to send back whatever the village afforded. His return brought every provision we could desire; and the leading persons of Amerat followed their hospitality, by coming out to us with every respect, and to offer us any further attention in their power. The contrast of manners, and of decency in their style of living, was certainly very striking between these well-ordered, industrious, and kind-hearted people, and the insolent, idle ruffians of Rhabad, whose boasted independence appeared to have engendered nothing within their walls, but rebellion against law, and contempt of humanity.

Amerat is in the district of Kazaz, and is one of its two hundred and sixty villages. If the others be in an equally prosperous state with this, and the rest of the country over which they are ranged at all resemble the vale of Amerat in fertility, the district of Kazaz must be one of the richest in the empire. On making enquiry into the most abundant produce of the place, I was informed, that a vast quantity of corn is sent every year from the valley, to supply the markets of Ispahan and its vicinity. My informant told me, that the winters here are rather long; the

snow commonly falls about the middle of October, and seldom disappears much before the feast of the Nowrooze; even at present, so near the commencement of its renewal, the remains of last winter's snow may be discerned in the upland hollows of the highest mountains to the north of the vale. This command of climate, from the various situations and altitudes of the mountains, affords the luxury of ice all the year round, in almost every town and village of the kingdom. At Ispahan and Shiraz, it is sold in the bazars to the people at a very trifling price. The thermometer at mid-day, in Amerat, stood at 74° of Fahrenheit.

September 8th.—We left our delightfully tranquil abode of yesterday, at four o'clock this morning, (having halted there the whole of the 7th for the sake of our invalids,) and took a course up the valley, under the slope of its eastern bank, and in a direction nearly north. We then traversed it obliquely, almost due west, leaving an immense stretch of vale on our right, running along between its sublime avenue of mountains, till its extremity was lost in their vast shadowy forms. On reaching the foot of the western chain, we found a passage through them, by entering a deep and narrow glen; but which, instead of introducing us, as is usually the case, into a labyrinth of wild ravines, shortly opened into a noble vale still more extensive than the one we had left. Nature smiled here, as before, and we scarcely proceeded a mile, without passing some pretty inclosed village, surrounded by trees. At half past nine o'clock, A. M., we approached Kazaz, our halting-place; which, from its size and numerous population, ought rather to be called a town than a village. It is built on the slope of an insulated chalk-coloured hill, projecting into the valley, and the houses being erected of the same rock, their

white appearance makes the place a conspicuous object: a few willows are the only trees near it. My quarters were in the house of one of the principal inhabitants, and I found them clean and plenteously served, though the host himself, a melancholy looking man, in the midst of his civilities indulged heavily in complaints of poverty and distress, owing, he said, to the exactions of the kalentour, or deputy-governor of the valley. The hakim, or governor, Uzuph Khan, is the present chief of the royal goolams, or *garde de corps* of His Majesty; and, therefore, must be a constant resident with the Shah; consequently the whole management of the district rests with the kalentour. His duties are to levy the revenue and occasional contributions; and, that it may be done with justice, part of his train are to be employed in learning the character, and estimating the property of each inhabitant of the soil. He also ought to hear the grievances of the peasant, and report them for redress, when he makes his annual visit to his master at court. But *middle-men* of all countries seem to have nearly the same inclination towards the gravitating point of baseness and oppression. And many of these deputy-governors in Persia, far from the eye of their employer, appear to care as little about the principle of uprightness, as any tithe or tax man in the world. Not doing the first duty, of examining into the means of the people, such a man will hardly perform the second, of carrying their grievances before his lord; and the consequences too often are, rapacity, extortion, checked industry, poverty, and a bankrupt exchequer. Thus, unreflecting avarice defeats itself, in drying up the very source of wealth; which comprehensive blessing to a country, all wise governments regarding as the vital spring of their power, amongst many judicious remarks on the subject, we find one

from the great Ardashir Babigan, king of Persia, who observes, that "The authority of princes must be maintained by taxes; all taxes must at last fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can only flourish under the protection of justice and moderation." These observations might give a useful lesson to many of the deputy-governed provinces of this country; but all Persian deputies, no more than all middle men with us, are not of the unworthy stamp; and I should surmise, that in the case of the kalentour of Kazaz, mine host saw, rather through his own constitutional spleen, than the presence of facts. The prosperous and happy appearance of the whole valley, seemed to me two witnesses that might be believed in behalf of the deputy. Kazaz is five-farsangs from Amerat. Both own the same master, and I heard no complaints against him from my friends of the mesched.

September 9th. — Having at last got into a land of streams, the members of my party, whom the more arid climates had rendered sick and weak, now strengthened every hour; and, this morning at four o'clock, I may say invited by the laving sounds of the many waters which flowed near our quarters, we eagerly issued from close apartments into the open air, to literally enjoy a passage through the refreshing element, whose influence alone had already been so genial to us all. On quitting the gates of Kazaz, we proceeded north-west along the valley, under the occasional shade of thick groves of trees; and on a road which lay in the shallow bed of a little river, now in full stream, and through which we gaily took our way; the good people of my train splashing the water about themselves and their horses, with all the delight of happy children. After the enjoyment of this new and amusing style of road, for nearly a

mile, it terminated by emerging from the stream, and entering a very wild and beetle-browed ravine amongst the hills, which, gradually bending westward, conducted us to a low bridge of three arches, over a deep and rapid water. This current also ran in our direction, and we followed its winding course for nearly a farsang; shut in, at many places, from the glimmer of star or moon-beam, by large masses of detached rocks, which had fallen from the threatening brows of this dismal pass, and half-way down, closed a tremendous vaulting over it. During this nocturnal march, for the first time in my life I heard the repeated roarings of some animal of more appalling sounds than the yells of jackalls; and our guide told me, that this dell was particularly infested by a small species of leopard, and bears also. After so unwelcome a serenade, we gladly saw the day dawn, and our road open upon a little circular vale, bounded all round with finely sloping hills, cultivated to their very summits. This fertile scene began the district of Malyar; a part of the province that is under the jurisdiction of a younger son of the king. Several villages appeared along the western semi-circle of the vale; and near its banks, continued the stream which had been our winding guide through the darkling passage of the rocks. Here it flowed clear and unencumbered, towards an opening in the hills to the south-east. The direction we had now taken was north 45° west; crossing the level country for about eight miles. We then entered another narrow way, between two contiguous hills, but free to the sky above. The verdure on its sides, and the cheerful light of day, rendered its tortuous paths pleasant; which, after a little more deviation than was necessary, brought us out at last before the village of Parry.

This place is celebrated, as having been a residence, for some

years, of Kerim Khan. It stands at the foot of a strong fortress, now in ruins, built on a conical hill, and surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. The palace of this truly memorable man still remains; and is seen elevated high above the mouldering walls of the castle, commanding a fine view of the circumjacent country. In passing through the village, we found it overflowing with pilgrims; and as, from their numbers, they generally play the locust wherever they alight, we hastened our pace, to occupy the ground of our journey before them. The valley we were now in, was one of uncommon beauty, both from natural, and added circumstances. Besides its general features of farming cultivation, it abounded in wood and water; and the lines of its undulating grounds, and minor hills, were of the most varied and romantic forms. One scene which presented itself, absolutely stopped me to gaze on the perfect picturesque. It was the fortress-rock and village of Chagasia, rising from amidst thickets, and groups of trees; over whose tops the bold and precipitous cliff reared its embattled head. Beneath, peering through the openings of the green foliage, appeared the flat-roofed houses of the village, whose brown walls deepened the rich shadows of the wooded fore-ground. A stream of considerable width, washes the foot of this insulated height; and then flowing onwards for several miles along the valley, pays the tribute of its waters to the most beautiful border-groves of willow and plane. The high range of mountains which back all this fine scenery, connects itself by a succession of branches with the great chain not far from Kermanshah. The spot we were on, when making these observations, was in the very heart of Louristan; a part of ancient Media, and formerly the country of the Elymaitæ, Parataceni, and Cossæ. It is now considered the

most fruitful district of Irak, being copious in water, and full of luxuriant pasturage. Its mountains still possess the bold barbarians of older times; for the Bactiari, Lack, and Fielly tribes, frequent them in formidable hordes.

We halted at a village called Zanguina, having travelled five farsangs this day. It is a respectably large place, situated close under the mountains on the north-eastern side of the valley. Here also, I found houses, and streets, filled with pilgrims; indeed, I came in with a troop at my heels. They had encountered me on the road, and to escape them was impossible, the very earth seeming to swarm with them. In short, they are for ever passing, and repassing, on this route; it lying so immediately in the direction to their most holy shrines. The raising of these peaceable regiments is a very lucrative business to the enlister, who also generally leads the van. Such a man, animated by religious zeal for the Prophet, or Mammon, unfurls his holy flag; and setting forth the exhaustless benefits of pilgrimage, ascends to the top of some conspicuous tower, and thence proclaims, that on such an hour, in such a day, from such a certain rallying point, a holy caravan will commence its march to Kerbela, or Mesched Ali, or any other place of noted beatitude. From each of the pilgrims their leader receives a stipulated sum, which is repeated when the pinnacles of the sacred shrines are first perceived. Each company has its peculiar flag, according to the town or district to which the devotees belong. I was at last so completely beset, by these multitudinous parties issuing in all directions from every passable road, that it was no longer in my power to hold my own aloof from mingling with their company; so, making a merit of necessity, I civilly appeared to share the pleasure they expressed in marching in and

out with myself and people. Indeed, the more ignorant amongst them, regarded me as a devout Mussulman Frangy, on my pilgrimage also; and the same idea often prevailing where I lodged, the women in particular were amazed that I did not bring my wives with me: that being an appendage seldom left behind, by even the humblest of these holy trampers in sackcloth and ashes.

September 10.—We quitted Zanguina at four o'clock this morning, on a road still north 45° west, lying close to the south-eastern edge of the vale, which takes its name from the capital of the district, called Chumeen. Twice during our route we had to pass over high, ridgy promontories, which ran so far out into the valley as to constrain the road to take their climbing ascents. On descending the last, we arrived at a pretty little village, deeply embosomed in trees, gardens, and vineyards; to which the inhabitants have given as pretty a name, *Gul-Aub*, meaning rose-water. This is a favourite appellation with the Persians, when they mean, figuratively, to describe any thing very pleasant; and hence it frequently occurs.

About four miles beyond Gul-Aub, we arrived at Chumeen. A few years ago it was little more than a village; but being selected as the residence of Sheik Ali Mirza, the prince-governor of the district, it has increased in extent and population, and become a most respectable town. His royal highness is a younger son of the Shah by a Zund lady. And thus his majesty, in providing for his numerous offspring by establishing each with a little court, over the most considerable districts of his empire, maintains its whole delegated power in the hands of his own family: by this means consolidating its influence, and more firmly fixing his throne and dynasty. The town, as we advance

towards it, has a fair and inviting appearance, from the regularity, newness, and neatness of its walls and towers; with an additional beauty, (not quite so common, as of old, in Persian cities,) the battlements are shaded by the finest trees. On entering the gate, every thing corresponds with the impression of its distant view; almost all within having been recently erected, is fresh, clean, and handsome. The bazars, though small, are good, and well fitted with shops and business. The streets are wider than in the old style of building; and the whole proclaims a rapid progress to more than ordinary prosperity and comfort. Indeed, the young city, and the young governor, appear to give the fairest promise together; and none can leave it without wishing the amplest fulfilment of every hope, to the industrious natives, and to the amiable prince by whom their labours are encouraged. This miniature metropolis lies four farsangs from Zanguina.

September 11th.—We quitted Chumeen at five, P.M.; our road being now a point or two to the eastward of north, it wound up the brow of a hill just over the town. Having gained its summit, we soon lost sight of the fertile and lovely vale, and found ourselves again in the wildernesses of nature; coming in amongst a succession of rugged heights, narrow ways, and abrupt, gaping precipices. Such a wild-goat route possessed one advantage; it was left to ourselves: its ups and downs, and shelving intricacies, not agreeing with the crowds and turmoil of the pilgrim phalanx, men, women, children, dead and alive; for a train of coffins made part of the procession; asses, horses, and mules; and all the paraphernalia of bedding, cooking utensils, and votive offerings. These could in no way follow our alpine track; so taking a temporary leave of the Mussulman Frangy,

they turned their continually gathering columns, through the valleys, in a western direction, to Kungavar.

After journeying for some time over these upland successions of hill and dale, the summits of the far-spreading and towering mountain, called Elwund, were pointed out to me. No doubt remains of its being the celebrated Orontes of the ancients, and I checked my horse to observe it. From the spot where I stood, it presented the appearance of a vast range of separate mountains; so various were its forms, though no very distinguishing points projected from the apparent line of its head. This immense mountain-region, commences with a gradual ascent from the north-east; and covers, it has been said, upwards of sixty miles of ground, forming a gentle curve to the south-west. To the whole prodigious mass, the name of Elwund has been given; but I believe, Orontes Proper, at a point of whose base the ancient capital of Media stands, does not occupy more than half that extent of country; and that this portion of the range is completely cloven from its more northern branches; which are also recognised by the names of the Giroos and Sahund: all, indeed, being parts of the vast stem of Taurus; whose countless ramifications filling this quarter of Irak Ajem, or ancient Media, gave rise to its common appellation of *Al Gebal*, or *Al Jebal*, the Mountainous.

As night drew on, we passed two or three villages amongst the least rugged parts of the hills, where the partial cultivation which the natives were able to draw around them, by mingling some vestiges of human civilization with the untameable forms of nature, increased the wild picturesque of the scene. Our descent from these rough heights was difficult, and the hour of the night made it more so at every step; but at last we reached a fine

open valley, where, the animals being tired, we halted at Kandalan, a small place about four farsangs distant from Chumeen. Here, the country again appeared after our own taste, since we could discern numerous intersecting springs glittering in the starlight. We found a clean and hospitable mesched, like that at Amerat, where we spread our nummuds, and took a few hours' repose. But having once had a view of Orontes, my impatience so increased to visit the ancient remains in its vicinity, that I summoned all my people before dawn, and was off again by five in the morning.

September 12th.—We found the valley abundant in fine crops of corn, already gathered, and safely stowed near the house of each proprietor. The road lay in a direction north 10° west, on what, in this mountain country, is denominated a plain; but its actual line was a long and gentle ascent, while the surface of the ground heaved up and down into the various shapes and elevations of countless low hills. This track had nothing to boast, but its being in the neighbourhood of more desirable districts; for here, all was inexorable rock, and black sterility. Having thus regularly ascended, for about four farsangs, over heights and depths, which traversed our path like furrows in a ploughed field, we at length gained the top of the acclivity, and, bending a couple of points eastward of north, commenced our descent towards the valley of Hamadan. Still shut out from any extensive view, by similar obstacles to those which met us on the other side of the eminence, we yet, at times, had a momentary sight of the fair and classic vale to which we were descending, by occasional glimpses through openings in the hills. But, as our path now lay nearer the stony skirts of Elwund, our eyes wanted no food for contemplation. At a point of particular

romantic beauty, the road divides; the division to the left, taking a more westerly course, still amongst low hills and winding paths, but with a different aspect, having verdure and vineyards, and shewing numerous towered hamlets, through the interstices of the rocks. The road to the right, which we followed, ran gradually down to a deep ravine, through which dashed a turbulent stream, roaring as it poured along over its broken channel, like some of our cataracts of the north. The sides of its bed were steep and craggy, projecting in abrupt ridges, or hollowed into cavities, over or through which a constant influx of tributary springs, appearing at almost every hundred yards, augmented its foaming waters. A couple of miles brought us from this sequestered spot, to a little retired valley thickly clad with trees, vineyards, and gardens, and whose high upland boundaries were yellow with the stubble of the recent harvest. All around, lay heaps of untrodden corn on a bed of verdure, where the luxuriance of the wild flowers enamelled and perfumed its green threshing-floor. Travelling onward, we found bands of peasants engaged in the different rural occupations of the season; some separating the grain from the straw, others cutting down the corn that had been left standing, but performing the business with a sickle so far unlike ours, as to be scarcely bended in the blade.

The threshing operation is managed by a machine, composed of a large square frame of wood, which contains two wooden cylinders placed parallel to each other, and which have a turning motion. They are stuck full of spikes, with sharp square points, but not all of a length. These rollers have the appearance of the barrels in an organ, and their projections, when brought in contact with the corn, break the stalk, and disengage the ear.

They are put in motion by a couple of cows, or oxen, yoked to the frame, and guided by a man sitting on the plank that covers the frame which contains the cylinders. He drives this agricultural equipage in a circle, round any great accumulation of just-gathered harvest, keeping at a certain distance from the verge of the heap; close to which a second peasant stands, holding a long-handled twenty-pronged fork, shaped like the spread sticks of a fan; and with which he throws the unbound sheaves forward, to meet the rotary motion of the machine. He has a shovel also ready, with which he removes to a considerable distance the corn that has already passed the wheel. Other men are on the spot, with the like implement, which they fill with the broken material, and throw it aloft in the air, where the wind blows away the chaff, and the grain falls to the ground. The latter process is repeated till the corn is completely winnowed from its refuse, when it is gathered up, carried home, and deposited for use in large earthen jars. The straw also is preserved with care, being the sole winter food of the horses and mules. But while I looked on, at this patriarchal style of husbandry, and at the strong yet docile animal which, for so many ages, had been the right hand of man in his business of tilling and reaping the ground, I could not but revere the beneficent law which pronounced, "muzzle not the ox when he treads out the corn."

The village where we halted, and engaged ourselves with these simple, and ever respectable labours of man, is called Yalkalin; distant about five farsangs from Kandalan; and which furnished us with comfortable quarters.

September 13.—We were on horseback this morning at six o'clock; having little more than a farsang to ride before we should reach the ancient city of the Medes. I had dispatched

my Ispahan mehmandar some time before dawn, to apprise the vizier of Hamadan of my approach; that I might meet no avoidable delays on my arrival, with regard either to my quarters, or the objects of my journey. The country we passed over to-day, like that of yesterday, was a regular inclined plane; and being covered in the same way as the former, with minor hills and dales, it was not till we had surmounted the summit of the last acclivity of this sort, and were within two miles only of the place itself, that we had any glimpse of the town. But from this elevated spot, it lay before me; and I may truly make use of that word, to express the effect of its appearance. I had not expected to see Ecbatana as Alexander found it; neither in the superb ruin in which Timour had left it; but, almost unconsciously to myself, some indistinct ideas of what it had been, floated before me; and when I actually beheld its remains, it was with the appalled shock of seeing a prostrate dead body, where I had anticipated a living man, though drooping to decay. Orontes, indeed, was there, magnificent, and hoary headed; the funeral monument of the poor corse beneath. Having, for a few moments, gazed at the venerable mountain, and on the sad vacuum at its base; what had been Ecbatana, being now shrunk to comparative nothingness; I turned my eye on the still busy scene of life, which occupied the adjacent country; the extensive plain of Hamadan, and its widely extending hills. On our right, the receding vale was varied, at short distances, with numberless castellated villages rising from amidst groves of the noblest trees; while the great plain itself, stretched northward and eastward to such far remoteness, that its mountain boundaries appeared like clouds upon the horizon. This whole tract seemed one carpet of luxuriant verdure, studded with hamlets, and wa-

tered by beautiful rivulets. On the south-west, Orontes, or Elwund, (by which ever name we may designate this most towering division of the mountain,) presents itself, in all the stupendous grandeur of its fame and form. Near to its base, appear the dark-coloured dwellings of Hamadan, crowded thickly on each other; while the gardens of the inhabitants, with their connecting orchards and woods, fringe the entire slope of that part of the mountain. Its higher regions exhibit every variety of picturesque forms, and indigenous vegetable production, whether in scent or hue; while from its rocky crest the brightness of the risen sun was reflected, mingling its rays with the brilliantly clear springs which wind in rills amongst its upland paths; or roll in accumulated streams, down upon the plain below, inviting, and assisting the hand of industry. If the aspect of this part of the country now presents so rich a picture, "when its palaces are no more!" what must it have been when Astyages held his court here; and Cyrus, in his yearly courses from Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon, stretched his golden sceptre over this delicious plain? Well might such a garden of nature's bounties be the favourite seat of kings, the nursery of the arts, and all the graceful courteseys of life: every thing was here, to incline the mind to urbanity, taste, and elegance; to endear his country to the brave Mede; and to polish the manners, which Heaven had fated, from the time of Cyrus, to be long the model of nations. It does not appear from history, notwithstanding all the courtly graces of the Medes, and the splendour of their dress, that either they, or the Persians who adopted their habit and demeanour, were voluptuous or effeminate and consequently debased, till a lengthened intimacy with the Babylonians, whom they had subdued, degraded their characters by contamination

with the vices of the vanquished. Indeed, so long as nearly three centuries after the first Cyrus, we find from Xenophon, in his account of the expedition of the second Cyrus, where he describes the fatiguing marches by which that prince led his army of mingled Greeks, Persians, and barbarians, into Babylonia; that once, where the road was narrow, and so deep that the carriages could not be dragged along without the greatest difficulty, Cyrus stopped in the midst of his most distinguished officers, and ordered the leaders of the waggons to take some of the barbarians belonging to the army, and apply them to the carriages to help them through. But observing that they went sullenly, and slowly to the work, he affected to look contemptuously on their want of energy; and with an air of perfect certainty of being obeyed, he briskly commanded the noble Persians who were around him, to displace those idle fellows, and assist the carriages in getting through the clay. In a moment the whole circle were dismounted, and throwing off their purple robes which encumbered the free action required, ran, as if it had been for a prize, down a very steep hill, amongst the mud and clay. They were all clad in costly vests, and embroidered drawers; some even with chains about their necks, and bracelets on their arms; and leaping into the dirt without any regard to these ornaments, they lifted up the carriages, and dragged them with rapidity to the feet of Cyrus. The barbarians were ashamed, and the Greeks lost in admiration.

This part of modern Irak Ajem, which, in former times, was a division of Media, occupies the midland and elevated tract commonly known under the name of Al Jebal; but the whole of the Median country, in the earliest ages, comprised a very wide extent. All writers on the subject agree in its having been one

of the first countries peopled after the deluge. The stream of mankind, at their descent from Ararat, naturally flowing along the valleys which diverge on all sides from the great mountain, spread over the lands which fill the vast space between the approximating point of the Euxine, the Caucasus, and the south-eastern limb of the Caspian. Consequently, the extensive tracts of Azerbijan and Irak Ajem, which composed ancient Media, must have been colonized before any other territory south-east of Ararat, these lands lying in the way to further emigration in that direction. Hence, after the first necessary dividing of the families of the earth from their primary house in the plains of Ararat, if we trace their progress in the oldest book extant, the Bible, we shall find their multitudes of the third generation, exactly where we might expect to meet them, winding down from the over-populated regions of fertile Media, (and so coming from "the East!") in a south-western direction towards the plains of Shinar. Thither Nimrod led his tribes of the Cuthite race, to plant cities independent of their brethren and their God, and to be still farther scattered by their rebellion. Media, we may understand from the same venerable authority, was occupied by the generations of Madai, one of the sons of Japhet; while Elam, the son of Shem, gave his posterity and name to the countries afterwards called Persis and Susiana. Hence, it may not unreasonably be believed, that the first cities of the post-diluvian world were erected in these primeval seats of the immediate descendants of Noah. Babel and Nineveh, are recorded as owing their origin to the grandson of Ham; and why may not Tackt-i-Jemsheed have been founded by the son of Shem? and Ecbatana by Madai, the son of Japhet? While these early settlements of mankind appear to be peaceably pur-

suing their different destinations, the first disturber we hear of, is Nimrod, "the rebel of the Lord." His son Ashur, inheriting the countries of Babel and Nineveh, gave them his name; whence arose that of the Assyrian empire, which, in the course of time, gradually extended itself by conquest and alliance over the whole of the East; and so remained, till about 747 years before the Christian era, when it was broken up at the death of Sardanapalus, after having held the supreme sceptre for more than thirteen centuries. The relics of ancient Persian histories unite with Grecian testimony in many of these accounts, only a little clouding the facts with something of fable; excepting this air of the marvellous, which exaggerates its objects, their description of the empire and dynasty of Zohawk, the dragon chief, agrees precisely in time and place with our scripture notices of Nimrod, and the old Assyrian tyranny.

At the death of Sardanapalus, who held his court at Nineveh, two of his late viceroys, Arbaces governor of Media, and Belesis governor of Babylon, partitioned the empire between them: Arbaces receiving Media, with its dependencies, and Nineveh, for his portion, removed from the seat of his late government to that great city of Assyria, and hence took the title of King of Assyria. Meanwhile, Belesis remained at Babylon, in the midst of the wide territories of Chaldea, &c., and began the race of Babylonish kings. Arbaces, king of Assyria and the Medes, was the Feridoon of the Persian writers, and the Tiglath-pileser of Holy Writ, who, in his war with Pekah king of Israel, carried away the first captives of that nation who were brought to the East. This event happened about 739 years before Christ; and in less than twenty years afterwards, his son Salmaneser (the Enemessar of the Book of Tobit) completed the captivity of the

ten tribes, and planted them, along with their brethren of the former conquest, on the banks of the Gozen in Media. I noticed the situation of some of these cities, (whence so few of them returned,) in my account of this celebrated river, by its present name of the Kizzilouzan, or golden stream.* It was during the reign of Sennacherib, (Salmaneser's immediate successor,) that the Medes revolted from the Assyrian yoke; and, placing Dejoces at their head, declared him not only of the blood of Arbaces, but in every way worthy to be their king. This prince is the Kai-Kobad of the Persian writers, and the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith. As king of the Medes, he naturally fixed his royal seat in the usual central residence of the former delegated governors of Media; and Herodotus, as well as the author of the Book of Judith, assures us, that he enlarged and beautified the city so essentially, that he might well be called the builder of Ecbatana. Rhages, no doubt, partook of his occasional presence, when he visited the north-eastern division of his kingdom; but Ecbatana was the station of his court. He was the founder of the Kaianian line, or dynasty of Cyrus, by the maternal side; that prince's mother, Mandana, being a grand-daughter of Dejoces; while his father was Cambyses sovereign of Elam, or Persis; which, if not a tributary kingdom to Media, was at least its sure ally. The account which Xenophon gives of the manners of the court of Astyages, when the young Cyrus is brought thither, impresses the reader with a high idea of its pomp and refinement; and, from the relative situation of Ecbatana with regard to other places in the country, I should be led to deem it the principal capital of Media from the very earliest ages, whether under the

* See Vol. I. page 284.

authority of native patriarchal chiefs, or the residence of delegated rulers. When Arbaces kept his viceroy-court there, we may suppose that the ambitious spirit which afterwards compassed the dominion of Assyria, would, meanwhile, make his provincial capital imitate the style of an independent principality. But when he became sovereign in fact, he left the lesser grandeur for the greater, and, quitting Ecbatana, took up his royal residence at Nineveh. The Median city then fell again into the hands of deputies; reserving for his reputed descendant, the brave and virtuous Dejoces, to free that fine country from the Assyrian bondage, and to begin the career of Ecbatana's real greatness. No expence of money, no exertion of the arts, were now spared, to render the capital of the Medes the noblest city in the world. Its palaces, public edifices, and circuits of walls, became the envy of the neighbouring kingdoms. Year after year added to its grandeur; and Amytis, the queen of Nebuchadnezzar, drew the model of her celebrated hanging gardens at Babylon, from the magnificent mountain-terraces of Ecbatana. Nay, even a thousand years after this its recorded time of highest glory, in A.D. 303, when Tyridates, king of Armenia, became possessed of Antropatia (Azerbijan), he lavished the most enormous sums on Tauris (Tabreez), its capital, to make it equal, if not transcend, the boasted metropolis of Media; and so transported was his admiration of that splendid city, he even changed the name of Tauris to that of Ecbatana. Herodotus, in writing of the ancient capital of the Medes, describes it as "built on a gentle ascent, about 12 stadia (3 miles) from the foot of Mount Orontes, and in compass 150 stadia, (about 36 miles.) It had no surrounding walls, but possessed a strong citadel, bulwarked by seven circles of them, each varying in material and elevation,

according to the purpose for which it was designed, the most interior having battlements of plated silver and gold." By this, I should understand parapets over-laid with those precious metals, in the same style that Diodorus Siculus describes the "palisades of copper on the summit of the inner wall, or square cut in the mountain, that supported the palace-citadel at Persepolis." When I was there, I myself observed on the edge of the third or highest terrace of the great platform, towards its southern face, marks in the rock where a strong range of railing, or balustrade had been fixed, also deep holes, where the pivots had turned which belonged to the gates. This is a point of resemblance that cannot fail being striking, and, in both places, these ornamental defences crest the wall which immediately surrounded the royal habitation and its dependencies. I have already described those on the platform of Persepolis; and, with regard to Ecbatana, Herodotus goes on to say, that within those golden battlements, stood the palaces, treasury, and other offices of state. From the year 709 B.C., when Dejoces began its first noted aggrandisement, Ecbatana increased in architectural splendours through the successive sovereigns of Media, till it reached its acmé with Cyrus the Great; who, having re-united all that had ever belonged to Assyrian or Babylonian empire, under the one commanding name of the Persian, dispersed his presence progressively through all its different kingdoms. These changes were made in succession with those of the seasons; the monarch residing at Persepolis, Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana, accordingly as he courted heat or avoided it. Euripides, in his tragedy of the Bacchæ, briefly and accurately describes the climates and scenery of this vast empire, from "Persia's plains, unsheltered from the sun," to the "frozen soil of rocky Media." In these

regular removals of his court, the great founder of the empire was imitated by all his successors of his own line, till the unfortunate Darius Codomanus lost it to the Greeks; and then we find, that even the conqueror followed this ancient usage of the country, marching from one capital to another, giving sumptuous entertainments in all; and, according to the humour that struck him, playing the benefactor or the tyrant. To see Alexander in the latter light, is a glimpse of human character, perhaps more painful when considered with relation to him, than did it belong to almost any other hero of ancient story; there was so much to admire, in the splendour of his talents, and to love, in the general magnanimity of his conduct to friends and enemies, that we cannot but doubly deplore the final dominion of acquired vices over so much natural virtue. His unshaken reliance on the good faith of his physician, Philip; his noble behaviour to the family of Darius, and his generous grief over the remains of Darius himself; all these, and many more instances of the most amiable and magnanimous mind, might be produced, to show how worthy Alexander might have been, of the empire of the world. But after he became its master, he laid aside the temperate habits of a soldier and a great king, by which it had been won. He feasted, he caroused, he gave his company to flatterers, and to courtezans; and, in the phrenzy of their drunken orgies, we already have seen what an ending he made of his visit to Persepolis. At Susa, his better spirit was with him; he there married Statira, the daughter of Darius, and celebrated the rites with a nuptial banquet, as full of munificence as splendour. But when he came to Ecbatana, and took up his residence in the golden palace of the Medes, he appears to have forgotten all humanity in his self-deification of the son of Ammon. Greece, as

well as Persia, was ransacked to afford amusements for the demi-god; and three thousand actors crossed the Hellespont, to perform the sublimities of Eschylus, the terrors of Sophocles, the subduing tenderness of Euripides, before the inebriated deity, on the theatres of Mount Orontes. In the midst of these festivities, Hephestion, who was always called the Patroclus of this Achilles, fell suddenly ill of a fever, and died. Inflamed by the various intoxications of these scenes, to a state bordering on madness, the king's grief was furious; he did not shed tears, but blood. He ordered that the physician, who had suffered his beloved Hephestion to die, should be crucified; that all merriment should cease; and, that the groans and anguish of multitudes might accompany his own, he sallied forth at the head of a part of his army, attacked a defenceless neighbouring district, and put all the inhabitants to the sword: this he called sacrificing to Hephestion's ghost; and, not satisfied with the immolation of these human hecatombs, he sent a solemn deputation, to enquire at the shrine of Jupiter Ammon, what further honours he could yet pay to the memory of the hero. Meanwhile, he ordered a sepulchre of such extraordinary magnificence to be prepared for his friend's remains, that ten thousand talents were to be expended in the preparations; and the celebrated Stasicrates, the boldest and most lofty architect of Greece, was employed to make and complete the design. How far it was carried into execution, cannot now be said; for, after all, it is not exactly known where Hephestion was buried; whether the gorgeous monument was erected here, and is now crumbled into dust; or that the lamenting king took the embalmed relics with him to Babylon; and soon both the mourned and the mourner slept under the same cemetery. Some writers speak of the favourite's ashes

having been consigned to a magnificent tomb at Casvin. Various authors give these various suppositions; though it appears to me as most probable, that the hero would be buried where his dreadful funeral rites were performed; and, therefore, I should look for his grave somewhere within the shadow of Orontes. Indeed, I brought away from Ecbatana several old coins of Alexander, of different sizes. And, it is not unlikely that some were struck on the spot, as part of the commemorating honours in these extravagant obsequies.

The identity of this ancient city's situation, with that of the present Hamadan, seems to be established beyond a doubt; the plain, the mountain, and the relative position of the place with regard to other noted cities, agreeing in every point. The site also of the modern town, like that of the ancient, is on a gradual ascent, terminating near the foot of the eastern side of the mountain; but there all trace of its past appearance would cease, were it not for two or three considerable elevations, and overgrown irregularities on, and near them; which may have been the walls of the royal fortress, with those of the palaces, temples, and theatres, seen no more. I passed one of these heights, standing to the south-west, as I entered the city, and observed that it bore many vestiges of having been strongly fortified. The sides and summit are covered with large remnants of ruined walls of a great thickness, and also of towers, the materials of which were sun-dried bricks. It has the name of the Inner Fortress, and certainly holds the most commanding station near the plain. The city stands in latitude 34° 53′, and longitude 40° E. When it lost the name of Ecbatana in that of Hamadan, it seems to have lost all its honours too; for while it preserved the old appellation of the capital whence the great kings of the

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Kaianian race had dictated their decrees; and where "Cyrus the king, had placed in the house of the rolls of its palace the record wherein was written his order for the rebuilding of Jerusalem," it seems, with the retention of its name, to have preserved some memory of its consequence, even so far into modern times as three centuries after the commencement of the Christian era. It was then that Tiridates attempted to transfer its glories to his own capital; and, according to Ebn Haukel, the gradual progress of six added hundred years, mouldered away the architectural superiority of the ancient city. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it received its final blow under the arms of Timour the Tartar, who sacked, pillaged and destroyed its proudest buildings, ruined the inhabitants, and reduced the whole, from being one of the most extensive cities of the East, to hardly a farsang in length and breadth. In that dismantled, and dismembered state, though dwindled down to a mere clay-built suburb of what it was, it possessed iron gates, till within these fifty years; when Aga Mahomed Khan, not satisfied with the depth of so great a capital's degradation, ordered every remain of past consequence to be totally destroyed. His commands were obeyed to a tittle. The mud alleys, which now occupy the site of ancient streets or squares, are narrow, interrupted by large holes, or hollows, in the way, and heaps of the fallen crumbled walls of deserted dwellings. A miserable bazar or two are passed through in traversing the town; and large lonely spots are met with, marked by broken low mounds over older ruins; with here and there a few poplars, or willow trees, shadowing the border of a dirty stream, abandoned to the meanest uses; which, probably, flowed pellucid and admired, when these places were gardens, and the grass-grown heap, some stately dwelling

of Ecbatana. In one or two spots I observed square platforms, composed of large stones; the faces of many of which were chiselled all over into the finest arabesque fretwork, whilst others had, in addition, long inscriptions in the Arabic character. They had evidently been tombstones of the inhabitants, during the caliph rule in Persia. But when we compare relics of the seventh century, with the deep antiquity of the heaped ruins on which they lie, these monumental remains seem but the register of yesterday. For what purpose, or when they were disturbed from their original destination, and arranged in their present order, are subjects of no easy conjecture. The only thing that appears for some years to have kept the place in any degree of notice with the modern Persians, is the manufacture of a superior sort of leather; but the very article of traffic proclaims the low order of population to which it has been abandoned; and as I passed through the wretched, hovelled streets, and saw the once lofty city of Astyages, shrunk like a shrivelled gourd, the contemplation of such a spectacle called forth more saddening reflections than any that had been awakened in me on any former ground of departed greatness. In some I had seen mouldering pomp, or sublime desolation; in this, every object spoke of neglect, and hopeless poverty. Not majesty in stately ruin, pining to final dissolution on the spot where it was first blasted; but beggary, seated on the place which kings had occupied, squalid in rags, and stupid with misery. It was impossible to look on it and not exclaim, "Oh! Ecbatana, seat of princes! How is the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!" Some attempts are indeed making, to dislodge the fiend of waste and wretchedness from this once noble city. Within these twelve months it has been created a royal government, and committed

to the care of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, a son of the Shah's. In consequence of this appointment, plans are now laying, to raise it to a more equal rank with other provincial capitals. Palaces for his royal highness, and mansions for his ministers, are erecting in the most desirable situations; and new bazars, with mercantile caravansaries, have had more than their foundations laid.

On my arrival at Hamadan, the prince-governor was not there, but his vizier gave me welcome, and lodged me in a splendid though unfinished suite of apartments, in the royal residence. Indeed I may justly say, that his mode of reception was more in character with ancient Ecbatana, than modern Hamadan; hospitality was so blended with magisterial dignity, and polish of manners with both. During the course of the first day of my arrival, I was visited by all the authorities of the new establishment; and conversed with them, without restraint, on the place and its growing prospects. At present it does not number more than 9000 houses; one-third of which do not increase the revenue to the crown, 3000 of them being inhabited by persons in the employment of the state, who are therefore not included in the taxation of the town. The population is calculated at between forty and forty-five thousand souls; amongst whom are about six hundred Jewish families, and nearly the same number of Armenians.

As the officers of this little court are at present almost strangers to the place, I could not gain any satisfactory intelligence from them respecting its objects of interest, or remains of antiquity. Indeed some of my questions surprised even the vizier's high-bred courtesy, into a smile; but when I told him that one of my leading objects in visiting Persia, was to see the ruins of Tackt-i-Jemsheed, he looked in amaze; and then ap-

peared as if he solved the problem to himself, by supposing me somewhat mad. In short, all I could learn from him or his guests on these subjects, was, that the summit of Mount Elwund possessed a tomb containing the body of a son of Solomon; and that certain ravines of the mountain produced a plant, not only capable of converting all kinds of metal into gold, but likewise of virtue to cure every possible disease. Of course, none of the company had seen any of the metal so transmuted, nor any of the people so cured; but, nevertheless, their belief was firm on the subject,—that, could they be lucky enough to discover the clefts where the herb grew, the philosopher's stone, and the elixir vitæ, might then be deemed at their disposal.

Having failed in gaining the information I desired from the satrapes of the place, I had recourse to persons of less dignity; but received just the same kind of fabulous legends, with an additional story about a stone in the side of Mount Elwund; which, they said, contained an inscription in cabalistic characters, unintelligible to every body who had hitherto looked on it; but if any body could read them aloud, and understand their import at the same moment, an effect would be produced that might shake the mountain to its center; it being the spell which protected ingress to an immense buried treasure, which, when once pronounced, must instantly be unfolded by the genii of its subterraneous cavern, and laid at the feet of the fortunate invoker of this golden *sesamé*. The Jewish part of the inhabitants with whom I conversed, shook their heads at the history of the Judean tomb on the mountain, but entered with a solemn interest into the questions I put to them, respecting the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai; the dome roof of which rises over the low, dun habitations of the poor remnant of Israel, still lingering

in the land of their captivity. This tomb is regarded by all the Jews who yet exist in the empire, as a place of particular sanctity; and pilgrimages are still made to it at certain seasons of the year, in the same spirit of holy penitence with which in former times they turned their eyes towards Jerusalem. Being desirous of visiting a place, which Christians cannot view without reverence, I sent to request that favour of the priest under whose care it is preserved. He came to me immediately on my message, and seemed pleased with the respect manifested towards the ancient people of his nation, in the manner with which I asked to be admitted to their shrine.

The character of Esther, as it is given in both books that bear her name, has ever appeared to me one of the most lovely pictures of female perfection; a beautiful example of what might be called female heroism, without any of that hardness of mind which gives the idea of an Amazon. In short, she exhibits the most heroic self-devotion, in the cause of her unhappy nation, mixed with all the attractive softness of feminine delicacy and tenderness of heart. She shrinks from the act of exposing her life to the open shame of the violent death she yet steadily resolves to dare, for the purpose of saving her people from the execution of the decree pronounced against them. Thus, with all the natural apprehensiveness of a delicate woman, trembling at the thought of her blood being shed by a private or public executioner, she warns Mordecai of the danger she must incur, in preferring her petition. She implores him to pray that the penalty may be averted, while she declares herself determined to run the desperate risque:—"Go, (said she,) gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night nor day; I also, and my

maidens, will fast likewise. And so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law: and if I perish, I perish."

I accompanied the priest through the town, over much ruin and rubbish, to an enclosed piece of ground, rather more elevated than any in its immediate vicinity. In the center was the Jewish tomb; a square building of brick, of a mosque-like form, with a rather elongated dome at the top. The whole seems in a very decaying state; falling fast to the mouldered condition of some wall-fragments around, which, in former times, had been connected with, and extended the consequencce of the sacred enclosure. The door that admitted us into the tomb, is in the ancient sepulchral fashion of the country, very small; consisting of a single stone of great thickness, and turning on its own pivots from one side. Its key is always in possession of the head of the Jews, resident at Hamadan; and, doubtless, has been so preserved, from the time of the holy pair's interment, when the grateful sons of the captivity, whose lives they had rescued from universal massacre, first erected a monument over the remains of their benefactors, and obeyed the ordinance of gratitude in making the anniversary of their preservation, a lasting memorial of Heaven's mercy, and the just faith of Esther and Mordecai.

"So God remembered his people, (saving them from the conspiracy of Haman,) and justified his inheritance. Therefore those days shall be unto them, in the month Adar, the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly, and joy, and with gladness before God, according to the generations for ever among his people."—A. Book of Esther, chap. x. ver. 12, 13.

The pilgrimage yet kept up, is a continuation of this appointed "assembling." And thus, having existed from the time of the

event, such a memorial becomes an evidence to the fact, more convincing perhaps than even written testimony; it seems a kind of eye-witness.

The original structure, it is said, was destroyed at the sacking of the place by Timour; and soon after that catastrophe, when the country became a little settled, the present unobtrusive building was raised on the original spot. Certain devout Jews of the city stood to the expence; and about a hundred and fifty years ago, (nearly five hundred after its re-erection,) it was fully repaired by a rabbi of the name of Ismael.

On passing through the little portal, which we did in an almost doubled position, we entered a small arched chamber, in which are seen the graves of several rabbis; probably, one may cover the remains of the pious Ismael; and, not unlikely, the others may contain the bodies of the first rebuilders after the sacrilegious destruction by Timour. Having "trod lightly by their graves," a second door of such very confined dimensions presented itself at the end of this vestibule, we were constrained to enter it on our hands and knees, and then standing up, we found ourselves in a larger chamber, to which appertained the dome. Immediately under its concave, stand two sarcophagi, made of a very dark wood, carved with great intricacy of pattern, and richness of twisted ornament, with a line of inscription in Hebrew running round the upper ledge of each. Many other inscriptions, in the same language, are cut on the walls; while one of the oldest antiquity, engraved on a slab of white marble, is let into the wall itself. The priest assured me, it had been rescued from the ruins of the first edifice, at its demolition by the Tartars; and, with the sarcophagi themselves, was preserved on the same consecrated spot. Sedak Beg, who was with me,

copied this inscription, with those round the edges of the wooden tombs, and afterwards translated them from the original Hebrew into Persian;

סני מחים תיקנו מת הציון של מרדכי הצדיק ומסתר המלכה והס **אליה ושמוא**
בני ישראל שנת **ד"תע"ד**

וגס תיקן גדול הדופק מת קבורת מרדכי ומסתר בשנת **א"תר"יח** בשנת לחורבן והס
החשבון **ק"ל"ב** סניס מיוסד שנתבקשו כיסיבה של מפלה שנת **אלפים ק"ע** סניס

ומרדכי יצא מלפני המלך בלבוש מלכות תכלת וחור ועטרת
ז הבגדולה ותכריך בוץ וארגמן והעיר שושן צהלה ושמחה
ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה צהלה ושמחה :

מכתם לדוד שמרני אל כי חסיתי בך : אמרת ליי יי אתה
טובתי בל עליך : לקדשים אשר בארץ המה ואדירי כל חפצי
בם : ירבו עצבותם אחר מהרו בל אסיך נסכיהם מדם ובל
אשא את שמותם על שפתי : יי מנת חלקי וכוסי אתה תומיך
גורלי : חבלים נפלו לי בנעימים אף נחלת שפרה עלי : אברך
את יי אשר יעצני אף לילות יסרוני כליותי : שויתי יי לנגדי
תמיד כי מימיני בל אמוט : לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי אף
בשרי ישכן לבטח : כי לא תעזוב נפשי לשאול לא תתן חסדיך
לראות שחת : תודיעני ארח חיים שובע שמחות את פניך
נעמות בימינך נצח :

The English of these writings, is as follows:

Hebrew Inscription on a Marble Slab in the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai.

" Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a king, was great and good. His garments were as those of a sovereign. Ahasuerus covered him with this rich dress, and also placed a golden chain

around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews."

We have an answering account to this in the Book of Esther.

"Mordecai the Jew, was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren; seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed." chap. x. ver. 3.

"And Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple: and the city of Shushan rejoiced and was glad." Book of Esther, chap. viii. ver. 15.

The above account fully accords with the early custom of the Persian monarchs investing their ministers and favourites with splendid robes, chains, and golden ornaments. Also, from Xenophon's representation, that death would be the punishment of any noble, however illustrious, assuming to himself the royal mixture of purple and white, we may gather the peculiar honour which was now bestowed on Mordecai. The custom of bestowing garments as marks of distinction, it may be remembered, is still maintained in Persia, in the gift of *kalauts*, or robes of favour.

The inscription which encompasses the sarcophagus of Mordecai, is to this effect:

"It is said by David, Preserve me, O God! I am now in thy presence. I have cried at the gate of heaven, that thou art my God; and what goodness I have received came from thee, O Lord!

"Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world, came from thee, O God!

" Their grief and sufferings were many, at the first; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their miseries. Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me, in the early times of my life; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and covered me, as a tent, from their wicked purposes! — Mordecai.'

The following is a translation of the inscription carved round the sarcophagus of Esther the queen.

" I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me! I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.

" My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became, through thy goodness, at the last full of peace.

" O God! do not shut my soul out from thy divine presence! Those whom thou lovest, never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life; that I may be filled with the heavenly fruits of paradise! — Esther."

A corresponding sentiment to the substance of these inscriptions, may be found in the A. Book of Esther, in the prayer she puts up immediately before her entrance to the king to prefer her petition.

" Queen Esther laid away her glorious apparel, and put on the garments of anguish and mourning; and instead of precious ointment, she covered her head with ashes. And she prayed unto the Lord God of Israel, saying, O my Lord, thou only art our King: help me, desolate woman, who hast no helper but thee. O Lord, give not thy sceptre unto them that be nothing; and let them not laugh at our fall; but turn their device upon themselves, and make him an example that hath begun this

against us. Give me eloquent speech in my mouth, before the lion: turn his heart to hate him that fighteth against us: But deliver us with thine hand, and help me that am desolate. Thou knowest all things, O Lord; thou knowest that I hate the glory of the unrighteous, and abhor the bed of the uncircumcised. Thou knowest my necessity: For I abhor the sign of my high estate, which is upon my head in the day wherein I shew myself, and that I wear it not when I am private by myself. O! Thou mighty God, hear the voice of the forlorn, and deliver me out of my fear!"

To this succeeds one of the most exquisite descriptions that ever was given of female loveliness; and in language equalling the beauty of its subject.

"And when she had ended her prayer, she laid away her mourning garments. And being gloriously adorned, she took two maids with her; and upon the one she leaned, as carrying herself daintily; and the other followed, bearing up her train. And she was ruddy through the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was cheerful and amiable: but her heart was in anguish for fear.

"Then, having passed through all the doors, she stood before the king, who sat upon his royal throne, and was clothed with all his robes of majesty, all glittering with gold and precious stones; and he was very dreadful. Then lifting up his countenance, that shone with majesty, he looked very fiercely upon her: and the queen fell down, and was pale, and fainted, and bowed herself upon the head of the maid that went before her. Then God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, who in a fear leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, till she came to herself again, and comforted her with loving words, and

said unto her, Esther, what is the matter? I am thy brother; be of good cheer. Thou shalt not die, though our commandment be general: come near!

"And so he held up his golden sceptre, and laid it upon her neck, and embraced her; and said, Speak unto me! Then she said unto him, I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was troubled for fear of thy majesty! And as she was speaking, she fell down again, for faintness. Then the king was troubled, and all his servants comforted her." — A. B. Esther, chap. xv.

With the sacred volume in my hands, which contained these accounts of the devoted goodness of this fairest daughter of Israel, I could not look on her tomb before me, without feeling an awe and admiration that made my heart bow to the memory of such perfect virtue, in such perfect beauty.

Scaliger has supposed the Ahasuerus of Esther to have been Xerxes, the invader of Greece; but time, place, and circumstance, in the collected evidence of other authors, appear to have established the fact, that her royal husband was Artaxerxes Longimanus, (who flourished about the middle of the fifth century before the Chistian era;) Persian writers call him Bahman, Ardashir Dirodaste. Bahman, being an attributive name, testifying his goodness; and Dirodaste, describing his long arms, or far-stretching power. Ahasuerus seems to have been a sort of general title, with Jewish writers, for the Persian monarchs, in like manner with that of Pharoah, for the sovereigns of Egypt. Indeed, the Persians themselves often signified their kings by the common name of Khosroo. And a century ago, many English authors denominated the monarchs of Persia by the appellation Sefi, or Sophi; which was the proper name only, of

the founder of one particular dynasty. Ardashir Dirodaste otherwise Artaxerxes Longimanus, is spoken of by several native writers, as having been extremely favourable to the Jewish people; and they give as a reason, his having married a princess of that race. He is called Ahasuerus, in the canonical book of Esther, and Artaxerxes in that of the Apocrypha. Ezra and Nehemiah also, mention the great benefactor of their nation, by the name of Artaxerxes. Sir John Malcolm makes an observation which may tend to establishing the fact. He mentions, that no other prince of the direct Kaianian line, named Ardashir, or Artaxerxes, has ever been noticed by Oriental writers. And hence, the Persian historians make no small confusion, by omitting the distinctive reigns of his successors, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus; and amassing the events of all three into the one of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ardashir Dirodaste: who, in that case, they might well designate as the sovereign with long hands; since they had made him grasp so much more than his share. He reigned, however, according to Greek historians, full forty years. The rabbi, who attended me in the tomb, said, that according to his calculation, Esther and Mordecai had been dead about twenty-two centuries; which certainly agrees better with the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than with that of his father Xerxes. Having seen the transcriptions made to my satisfaction, I took my leave of the sepulchre and its venerable guardian, with due acknowledgment of thanks for the favour he had done me; but the favour seemed rather conferred on him: so much, to the desolate, does the appearance of sympathy overbalance the trouble of any service.

On quitting the tomb, I traversed various other parts of the town in the same quarter, in search of some traces of its primeval

architectural character; and not far distant from the remains of the most southern fortress, I discovered the broken shaft and base of a column; the examination of which proved to me, that the architecture of Persepolis and Ecbatana had been the same. The flowing leaf of the lotos covered the whole of the pedestal, that now lay before me; and its shape resembled in every particular those of the great ranges of columns on the platform of Tackt-i-Jemsheed. The diameter of the shaft was only four inches less than the Persepolitan; and the rest of these relics bore a similar proportion. The shaft had been decorated, in like manner, with flutes; but their original sharp and beautiful edges were in parts much broken. From these specimens, the idea which had struck me so forcibly at Persepolis, of one style of architecture having prevailed over the East at the period of that capital's erection, seemed now to be corroborated, at least with regard to Ecbatana. And as history bears evidence that the Medes had been long a splendid people, before Cyrus translated their refinements to the simpler courts of his paternal Persis, it is probable, if the same architecture then existed in both places, that it owed its origin to some still more anciently aggrandized nation; and therefore that the capitals of Assyria and of Shinar might be the inventors of sculpture; which comprehends the ornamental parts of architecture. Hence, in Babylon or Nineveh, the original heavy stem of the pillar, which we find so ponderous at Egyptian Thebes, would first become lightened by reed-like flutings, and its top with the lotos-flower; or, when a stronger prop seemed to be demanded, then the smooth shaft was surmounted by the gracefully wreathing of the symbolical horn, or the hieroglyphic animal itself.

Having learned, the same evening, that some miles up the

side of the mountain, behind the town, I might see the mysterious stone which bears the unintelligible writing; next morning just before sun-rise, I set forth, on what some thought the awful errand, attended by one of the vizier's people, who was to guide me to the spot. After a most arduous and circuitous clambering of our horses, for full four hours up the eastern acclivity of Elwund, to ride further became impossible, from the precipitous nature of the remaining ascent; so, taking to our feet, we scrambled onwards for half an hour; till at last, reaching the most elevated ridge, I was told the object of my pursuit stood before me. I looked eagerly forward, but instead of an inscribed stone "in the side of the mountain," I saw a plain square platform, a little raised, which the guide, with much complacency announced to be "the tomb of Solomon's son!"

Whatever it may have been, it certainly is no covering of the dead; being a large platform, formed by manual labour out of the native rock, and ascendable by a few rugged steps. A number of copper lamps lay scattered on and near it; having been brought thither by successions of devotees, who make short pilgrimages from the town to this fancied shrine. Indeed, over most of the East, the name of Solomon is held in such superstitious reverence, that it appears accountable for every thing beyond the usual powers, or present knowledge of man. Hence, it is no more to be wondered at, that this certainly very ancient piece of workmanship, should be dated from a son of Solomon, than that the vast rocky structure in the vale of Mourg-aub, now ascribed to Cyrus, should be called by the natives, Tackt-i-Sulieman; meaning the throne of the Judean monarch.* But what may seem rather an extraordinary coincidence, both these

* Vide Vol. I. p. 486.

places, to which ignorance has given his name for such different purposes, a throne and a grave! appear, from situation and construction, to have been really designed for one and the same use; great mountain-altars to the sun. That of Mourg-aub is of much vaster dimensions than that of Elwund; but the form and the station of both platforms decide their purposes with me. Besides, some tradition of the latter having been a holy place, seems tacitly preserved in the perpetuated custom of carrying burning lamps, or censers to it, as an act of devotion. That such "high places" were the earliest scenes of sacrificial worship, I have already mentioned may be traced in the most ancient books of all countries, in the same way that Euripides writes of the first colonizers of Greece, who,

> On each *rock's high point*, consumed the victim
> 'Mid the hallowed fire!

The rite, from repeated habit, being remembered here, after its original purpose had passed into oblivion, Solomon, or one of his race, according to the custom of the times, became heir to the honours of the tomb, as he had before inherited the throne at Pasargadæ.

At first, I had felt a little vexed at not finding the object of my expedition; but the manifest antiquity of the old platform would have possessed sufficient interest with me, to have fully compensated for the disappointment, even had I not been more than repaid for double the trouble of the ascent, by one of the most stupendous views I ever beheld.

I stood on the highest eastern peak of Elwund. The apparently interminable ranges of the Courdistan mountains spread before me, far to the north-west; while continued chains of the

less towering heights of Louristan stretched south-east; and, linking themselves with the more lofty piles of the Bactiari, my eye followed their receding summits, till lost in the hot and tremulous haze of an Asiatic distant sky. The general hue of this endless mountain region was murky red; to which, in many parts, the arid glare of the atmosphere gave so preternatural a brightness, that it might well have been called a land of fire. From the point on which I stood, I beheld the whole map of the country round the unbroken concave: it was of enormous expanse; and, although from the clearness of the air, and the cloudless state of the heavens, no object was shrouded from sight, yet, from the immensity of the height whence I viewed the scene, the luxuriancy of the valleys was entirely lost in the shadows of the hills; and nothing was left visible to the beholder from the top of Elwund, but the bare and burning summits of countless mountains. Not a drop of water was discernible, of all the many streams which poured from their bosoms into the plains beneath. In my life, I never had beheld so tremendous a spectacle; it appeared like standing on the stony crust of some rocky world, which had yet to be broken up by the Almighty word, and unfold to the beneficent mandate, the fructifying principles of earth and water, bursting into vegetation and terrestrial life. The great Salt-desert terminates the horizon on the east, but it is only distinguishable through the openings of the high serrated range of mountains which run down from Koom to Ispahan. That quarter of the view, though in reality the most arid, by some inexplicable effect of the time, did not present so awfully barren and scorched an appearance as the western chains. Indeed, if it were wished to fix upon a spot in order to shew the dominant character of an Asiatic landscape, the peak of Elwund might be chosen as the

best; since it presents rock, mountain, and desert, a brazen soil, with a sky of fire.

In descending, I ordered my guide, who had confessed total ignorance respecting the inscribed stone, to make inquiries of some of the mountaineers, where it might be found. After some rambling about, we met a peasant, who told us that it lay in a valley of the mountain, considerably to the southward, and to gain which, we were literally obliged to descend wholly into the plain, ere we could reach the point whence we were to recommence the search. In leaving the region of the peak, I observed its ravines yet deep in snow; which, my guide told me, were a source of great luxury to the people of the town, when the store in their ice-repositories failed. Having reached the edge of the plain, we entered a wretched stony road, winding southerly between steep declivities formed by projecting masses of granite; and, at the bottom of the glen, lower in its hollow than the rough footing we had found for our horses, rolled a rapid and clear stream, the kindly influence of which spread its immediate banks with a variegated verdure. The power of water, certainly, is no where so apparent as in oriental countries; the transitions there, being so great between the bare arid rock, shooting up into the cloudless flaming sky, and the sheltered valley at its base, traversed by some little rill, which, like a ray of light dispersing darkness, seems at once to melt the stone into genial mould and fragrant herbage. Wherever these springs trickle from the heights, tracks of green follow their course; and, collecting in the winding glens, they flow onward, fertilizing the ground. On their margins, the straggling goats and cows of the Nomade tribes find sufficient and safe pasture. Small companies of these people scatter themselves through most of the

lower ravines of the mountain; and are here quite as harmless as their cattle. I saw several of their little sable encampments spread under the shadow of some huge over-hanging cliff, beetling terribly from the brow of the uneven steep. We journeyed on, through an intricate succession of these mountain-vales for full five miles, ere we found the object of my day's excursion; which, at last, I descried at the hither extremity of a sloping ravine that branched westward. Near the spot, rises the principal source of the rapid stream which had been our companion so much of the way: indeed, it might, hereafter, be considered the clew to the labyrinth; for, about fifty feet above the water, projecting from the sloping side of the acclivity, appears the mysterious stone. It consists of an immense block of red granite, of the closest and finest texture I ever saw, and, apparently, of many thousand tons weight. At full ten feet from the ground, two square excavations appear in the face of the stone, cut to the depth of a foot, about five in breadth, and much the same in height. Each of these imperishable tablets contains three columns of engraved arrow-headed writing, in the most excellent preservation.

The day was now nearly spent, and the arduous task of accurately copying them could not then be undertaken; I therefore was obliged to content myself with making a sketch only of the general appearance of the whole, leaving to some other traveller the gratifying labour of transmitting so valuable a document of antiquity to the future investigation of the learned. That these tablets in the rock have been objects of great care to preserve, is manifest, from several deep holes in the stone, close to the edge of the excavations, shewing where iron fastenings have been inserted to secure crossed bars, or some other shield from

outward injury. The natives, as I have intimated before, call these sculptured writings the Gunj Namhal, or history of the treasure, which is reserved for him alone by whom it can be deciphered. And a treasure it must prove whenever its true meaning is discovered, for no doubt can be entertained of its casting much guiding light on the early history of this very ancient capital. In short, wherever we find these apparently primeval characters, we cannot hesitate in believing that the places where they are stamped must have been amongst the first settlements of mankind after the flood; and, indeed, in almost all the most ancient cities of the world, which have left any traceable remains, we have found some fragments of the arrow-headed character. The sun was set, before we had retrod our path along the nearly trackless banks of the bright stream, that flowed so swiftly from its fount at the Gunj Namhal. Its lonely waters, now seldom disturbed by human footstep, but which had held on their course from the time of those inscriptions being cut in the rock, acquired a new interest with me, as I silently followed the hermit stream, and listened to its murmurs. I thought of the solemnities, which, at the opening of those, perhaps, sacred tablets, had wound along its now solitary banks, with princes in the van, and the multitudes of Ecbatana in their train. It is impossible to contemplate these scenes, without being what people may call, "troubled with such fancies!"

At this season of the year, I found the temperature of Hamadan delightful; the thermometer never rose higher at mid-day, than 80° of Fahrenheit; and, I understand, that in the very excess of summer, the heat is far from oppressive; the air being rendered agreeable, by a light breeze that blows continually during the hot months, from the north-west. Hence, we can

easily comprehend the pleasure, as well as policy, which led the ancient lords of this great empire to affect a nomade life. But were it the fashion with the modern Persian, like his kings of old, to change his residence according to the progress of the seasons, he need not, in general, travel far to accomplish his object; the vast hills in the neighbourhood of almost every town, affording him a variety of climates, by only taking different stages of the mountain, or its valleys, for his abode. But as this sort of management for health and comfort is seldom even thought on by the natives, the natural consequence ensues; and the usual effects of an Asiatic climate in due time are exhibited on them all. From custom in some, and necessity in others, little care is taken to protect them from the sun; and hence come dreadful attacks of fever, and frequent bilious affections, which finally settle into miserably chronic complaints, or end in jaundice, dropsy, and the fatal cholera morbus. Sir John Malcolm, in his admirable history of this empire, seems to explain how neglect of shelter from the sun has become so common in the East, that to a European eye the exposure of the natives often appears little short of madness. Protection from its beams seems to have been reserved for the great alone: and hence he derives the word *satrape*, (the old title for a prince, or governor of a province,) from the term *chattrapa*, or "lord of the umbrella, or shade of state." Bearing an umbrella, as a distinction of dignity, is still a custom in many countries of the East; and that it was so from the earliest times in Persia, may be gathered from the sculptures at Persepolis; where that sort of shade is held over the figure of the chief or king, whether he be seated, or walking. *Chattra*, which signifies umbrella, is both a Persic and a Shanscrit term; and *pa*, a contraction of *pati* (lord), though

now lost in the Persic, being preserved in the Shanscrit, shews, in their combination, the origin of the name. Our historian further observes, that the title of *Chattrapati*, "lord of the umbrella," is still maintained as a peculiar mark of honour, by one of the highest officers in the Mahratta state.

I have already mentioned the exposed manner in which even women travel in the open day, in this country; veiled indeed from the eye of man, but under no better shelter from the burning sun, than what her *chadre*, a thin piece of silk, affords. However, judicious observation is daily making progress on this subject, as well as in others; and many of the natives avoid the excessive heat of mid-day journeyings, by travelling in the night. Indeed, during the summer months, morning scarcely dawns, before the air becomes like the breath of an opening furnace, giving sure promise of the blaze which bursts forth with the sun; and for more than an hour after his setting, the atmosphere does not cool from its broiling properties. All over the south-east of the empire, to within a few miles of the Persian Gulf, the air is so dry, that the brightest steel may be laid bare at all hours to the atmosphere, without incurring the slightest shade on its brilliancy. To find a rose with a sparkle of dew on it, would be regarded as a miracle; for the utmost of humidity that the parched earth can here hope to taste, from March to December, may be a few casual drops of rain from the apparition of a passing cloud, and they generally dry before they touch the ground. At Bushire, however, which is close upon the Gulf, the nocturnal dews are so heavy, as to surpass those of Portugal; and, during the summer months, all without doors is as wet as though torrents of rain had fallen; while those who sleep on the roofs of their houses, find their bed coverings completely saturated.

The comparative moderation of the climate at Hamadan was of great service to the recovery of my own health, which those more intemperate climates had reduced to excessive debility; but to my surprise, as well as distress, one of my servants became suddenly and alarmingly ill, which detained me several days, awaiting his convalescence.

During this, my lengthened sojourn, I improved my acquaintance with some respectable and learned Jews, who, I understood, were likely to assist me in augmenting my collection of the coins of the country. Through their means, I was fortunate enough to procure several of the Sassanian kings, also some of the Arsacidæ, and a large silver coin of Alexander the Great. One evening after a fatiguing morning's ride, while sitting near a window, before the reviving breath of the north-west breeze, and in view of a fine sweep of the mountain, under whose shade so many of these kings had reposed, I made out a list of their coins in my possession; some of which I also sketched on paper, and now present to my reader, as a specimen of the moneys of those ages, and in elucidation of their history. *

I have followed Mons. De Sacey's method in deciphering the legends on the following Sassanian coins.

No. 1. is a silver coin of Shapoor, in pretty fair preservation. The head of the king is executed in a style rather superior to most of the money of this race I have yet seen. Both the character of the face, and the fashion of the crown, bear a decided resemblance to the bas-relief at Nakshi-Roustam, representing that monarch and the captive Emperor Valerian. The legend

* See Plate LVIII. Vol. I. p. ~~707~~ 25 c. By a mistake, this plate was inserted in the first volume instead of the second.

round the coin, runs thus, in the Pehlivi: *Mezdezn, bey, Shapouri, Malkan, Malka, minochetri, men, Yezdan;* in English, "The adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Shapoor, king of kings, offspring of the divine race of the Gods." On the reverse, is a flaming altar, supported by two crowned figures, bearing something like spears; thus, shewing that the monarch is the guardian of the sacred faith. Over the altar are these Pehlivi words: *Shapour, Pabeki, Yezdani.* The *n* is obliterated. From the Pehlivi inscription on the horse's breast, in the piece of sculpture at Nakshi Rajab, ending in *nepi bey Papeki Malca,* meaning, "grandson of the excellent Pabek (or Babeck) king," we may infer that the coin before us, bearing a similar legend, is one of the same Shapoor, (the Sapor I. of the Romans,) who was the son of Ardashir Babigan, the conqueror of the Arsacidæ, and the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. This Shapoor overthrew the Emperor Valerian about the middle of the third century. *

No. 2. is another silver coin, with the same legend round the royal head; which, from its similarity to the other, must be the same Shapoor. On the reverse, are the words *Shapouri Yezdani,* "Shapoor the Divine," accompanied by the blazing altar, and the crowned attendants, whose habiliments are very distinct; the long staff, or sceptre, which they carry, is here surmounted with a ball, like that on the staff of the often-repeated leading figure on the walls of Persepolis. Xenophon assigns this insignia to the first nobles only, in the courts of both Cyruses; and here we find it perpetuated, as borne by persons of similar dignity, on an impress struck nearly 700 years after the Greek historian.

No. 3. is a silver coin of one of the Baharams. Its Pehlivi

* See Vol. I. p. 573. &c.

legend is — *Mezdezn, bey, Vahrahan, Malkan, Malka, Airan, Anairan, minochatri, men Yezdani:* then follows a word, apparently terminating on the side of the globe in the diadem, but it is too confused to be legible, and two of the letters are placed in a second line. The reverse has the altar, and supporters; who, being always thus royally crowned, must be meant to represent the sovereign dignity, upholding the glory of the Mithratic faith. The founder of the Sassanian dynasty had recovered it from the polytheistical corruptions, introduced by the Arsacidæan kings. On the altar-side, this coin has the words *Vahrahan Yezdani* — "Baharam the Divine."

No. 4. is a medal extremely rare, according to Sir William Ouseley; who remarks, that he knows of no others of the same stamp, excepting one of gold in the possession of the king of France, and another in the collection of the late Dr. John Hunter. Its singularity consists in its having on its face the heads of a king, a queen, and a boy; and the supporters on the reverse being also the royal pair. The legends are the same as on No. 3., mentioning it to be "Baharam the Divine, king of kings," &c., and as the head-dress of the monarch, as well as his physiognomy, resembles the preceding, I do not doubt both being coins of the same Baharam. In describing the bas-relief at Nakshi-Roustam*, I noticed its similarity to the figures on this medal; and hence I judge it to be one of Baharam the Fifth, surnamed Gour. In the sculpture with his queen, at Nakshi-Roustam, there are no wings to his diadem; but we find them in one of the bas-reliefs of his combat with the Tartar †prince,

* See Plate XIX. Vol. I. p. 520.

† See Plate XX. Vol. I. p. 538.

at the same place. The story is repeated, in Plate XXII.,* without the wings; which shews they were an attribute assumed and laid aside at pleasure. Probably they were occasionally adopted by this prince, and other monarchs of the same line, as typical of the providential care with which they watched over their empire; in imitation of the celestial spirit, symbolized by the winged globe, seen over the heads of the pontiff kings of the first Kaianian dynasty, on the walls of Persepolis.

No. 5. is a silver coin of very valuable pretensions. Its legend expresses it to be "The adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Artachetre (Ardashir), king of kings, and of Airan." The name is written in Pehlivi, exactly like that at Nakshi-Roustam, in the bas-relief of Plate XXIII.† From the manner in which the crown is formed, and the absence of bushy hair, as well as the character of the head, and the style of the execution, I can have no doubt of its being meant for Ardashir Babigan, the first sovereign of the Sassanian dynasty. On the reverse, are the words "Artachetre the Divine," divided by a simple altar with flames. It is in shape like those very ancient ones on the tombs at Nakshi-Roustam; with a part of their pillar-ornaments, as supporters.‡ The simplicity of this design seems well appropriated to the restorer of the Mithratic worship; who, in placing the altar on his coins, made an immediate distinction to the eye, between them and those of the polytheistical Arsacidæ; which, in other respects nearly resembled his own. This coin is about six hundred years old. Mons. de Sacey, in his excellent work on the Antiquities of Persia, remarks on the general absence of the altar from the money of the kings of the Arsacidæan race,

* See Plate XXII. Vol. I. p. 545.
† See Vol. I. p. 548.
‡ See Plate XVII. Vol. I. p. 516.

that it is a convincing proof of their contempt for the ancient purity of the Mithratic faith; and from such contempt, he also dates the utter oblivion of this line of monarchs, in the native annals of Persia. In that nation, learning and religion were in the same hands; and when a prince trampled on the rights of the one, he was sure to be treated with retaliation by the professors of the other. The honours of history were in their power, and they dispensed or withheld them, according to the subject's reverence or neglect of their sacred occupation. Hence the scorn into which the Magi fell, during the reign of the Arsacidæ, may be deemed the real cause of the gap in ancient Persian history, which leaps at once from the death of Alexander and his sovereign generals, to the accession of Ardashir, whose coin I have just described; and who, in destroying the Arsacidæ, or Parthian usurpers, revived the old Kaianian line in the Sassanian branch, and also restored the religion of Zoroaster.

No. 6. This is considered a very curious coin, from the variety of objects on both sides. The crown of the monarch is winged, surmounted by a globe, and bound with a chaplet of large pearls; the diadem itself, under the globe, is formed in the shape of an eagle, its head projecting over the forehead of the king, and holding a smaller globe in its beak. The legend round this side, as far as I can decipher it, runs thus: — *Mezdezn, Kesra Purwaz Malkan, Malka, Airan*; some marks appear directly under the head, which we may suppose are the date. The reverse, has the burning altar, with the usual royal supporters, each holding a sceptre in his hands: the words behind them, are *Kesra Yezdani*, "Khosroo the Divine." But the great singularity of this coin is, that the head and shoulders of a man are seen rising from amidst the flame on the altar. This may be meant to ex-

emplify the belief of the Magi, "That fire is the light, and light is God."

The sovereign to whom my explanation of the inscription attributes it, was one of the most celebrated of the Sassanian race; namely, Khosroo Purviz, or Kosroe Parviz, as the name is variously spelt. His loves, and marriage with the beautiful Shereen or Shirene, (said to have been a daughter of the Emperor Maurice,) have produced much ground-work for Persian romance. He was the son of the unfortunate Hormuz III.; and was indebted to his father-in-law, the emperor of the Romans, for his re-instatement in the throne of his ancestors; hence, it is not improbable that in compliment to his imperial benefactor, he mingled the form of the Roman eagle with that of his Persian diadem. His subsequent conquests and cruelties, and persecutions of the Christians, elevated his pride to so extreme an excess, that, almost believing himself a god, the extravagancies and enormities of the latter part of his reign are hardly to be credited. In the year of our Lord 628, he fell a victim to the ambition of his son Schirouch, perishing miserably.

No. 7. On this piece of money, we find the head of a prince, wearing a crown not unlike that of the first Shapoor, with the addition of wings; an attribute of Persian royalty, probably first assumed by the Sassanian race. The face of the sovereign on this coin, is of a singularly fine and expressive outline, but the legend is too nearly erased to be intelligible. The reverse bears an altar, without any letters at all, but it is supported as usual by two figures. From the mutilation of the inscription, we can only guess at the prince to whom it might refer; and by certain peculiarities in the design, I should be led to suppose it the coinage of Baharam Choubeen, the insulted general of Hor-

muz III.; who, when he rebelled against that monarch, veiled his ambition for a while, by causing the new money with which he paid his troops, to be struck in the name of Khosroo Purviz, the son of the deposed king. I draw my conclusions, not so much from the young manly face of the crowned head, as from the form, and filleted decoration of the altar, being so very like that used by Khosroo Purviz himself in the foregoing medal: hence, probably, it was the fashion of the altar of the times. But the most striking peculiarity of the coin is in the supporters; one wears a royal diadem, the other a helmet. The first may represent the young king; the second, his general Baharam, assisting in the preservation of the state. The omission of the usual deifying legend on the reverse, seems an argument in favour of my conjecture; since Baharam, when striking the coin, intended at no distant day to assume to himself the fullness of the royal honours.

No. 8. This piece of money is more frequently met with than any other of the Sassanian dynasty. It is larger than most of the ancient currency, and, on the whole, very slightly executed. The diadem of the king has the singularity of being more in the shape of a helmet than a crown; it is winged, but surmounted by a crescent and star, instead of the customary globular form. The bust is encircled by a treble range of pearls, marked in equidistant divisions by a star and a crescent. The letters which compose the legends are very complicated, running into each other like rapid writing. On the face of the medal, they produce *Shapouri Mezdezn*, &c. and on the reverse, *Shapouri*, with other letters too defaced to decipher. This Shapour, must be the second of that name, (the seventh in descent from the first, who was the conqueror of Valerian;) and he also was a

great man; being surnamed *Zoolaktaf*, and renowned for his victories over the Roman emperors Julian, Constantius, Jovian, &c. His son, Baharam IV. commemorated the fame of his father, in the sculptures at Tackt-i-Bostan; but we must observe, that the costume on the head of Shapoor Zoolaktaf, under the small arch of the excavation, is different from that of the monarch on the coin. The shape of the altar on the reverse is different from all in the preceding; but the supporters are, as usual, crowned. They appear to be leaning on their sceptres; the common way was to hold them erect.

No. 9. is in a style differing almost entirely from any before described: still, however, the globe and wings mark the royal diadem; but the globe here, appears to rise out of a crescent. The legend is composed of scarcely half the number of letters given in any of the former; and, from the undecided forms of these, I have found it impossible to combine those on the face into any distinct meaning. On the reverse, there are a few, which may be construed into *Pirouzi*, or *Firouzi*. Two characters, near the left-hand supporter, appear to be numerals, and agree perfectly with those signs in the Zend and the Pehlivi, which denote 300 and 70. The heap on the altar looks more like fuel than flame; and the costume of the supporters is totally dissimilar from any on the preceding coins. Between their heads and the pile on the altar, are a crescent and a star, in the same way as we see them on the reverse of Shapoor II. On the coin of Baharam Gour, (No. 4.) the crescent is mixed with other symbolical figures, also near the supporters. Firouzi, or Firoze, (the Peroses of the Greeks,) to whom I impute this piece of money, was the grandson of Baharam Gour. Having been for some time deprived of his crown by his younger brother, he

found refuge at the court of the king of Tartary; and that monarch, generously placing him at the head of 30,000 of his brave Transoxanian troops, restored him to his inheritance and empire. It is not unlikely that this very rude kind of coin, (for it is the roughest I have seen,) may have been the work of some of the Tartar artists in his suite, and struck hastily on his entering his kingdom.

These nine coins, being of six princes of the Sassanian dynasty, commencing with Ardashir Babigan, its founder, (who began his reign A. D. 223,) and going on to Khosroo Purviz, who flourished four hundred years afterwards, shew the state of that branch of the arts, for so many centuries in Persia. The inscriptions on them all are in the Pehlivi; the written language of the country, until the Mahomedan conquest. It has been said, that when the Arabian caliphs took possession of the empire, they found three languages in Persia; the Pars or Farsee, the Deri, and the Pehlivi. The Pars, now mixed with Arabic, is the common language of the kingdom; and, as its name implies, was the original tongue of Persis or Fars. The Deri, which implies polished to perfection, was the court-dialect, and spoken from the time of the Kaianian dynasty till its final extinction in the last of the Sassanian race. The Pehlivi is supposed to have received its name from Pehleh, the ancient nomination of part of Irak Ajem, where it might be first used; but almost all Persian works appear to have been written of old, in that character. The Zund, or Zend, is the holy language in which the Zend-a-vesta was composed; and being deemed too sacred for common eyes, a translation was made from it into the Pehlivi. Sir John Malcolm considers these differently named languages, as merely varied dialects of one original tongue,

which, in the course of ages, necessarily underwent many changes. The Zend, he thinks, approximates nearest to the Shanscrit, and is the most ancient of the whole; being, indeed, deemed mysterious, and unknown to the vulgar long before the time of Zoroaster. The Dabistan, which may be called an ancient book, from the antiquity of its authorities, was compiled about a hundred and fifty years ago, by a native of Cashmere, from some very old Pehlivi manuscripts, which gave an account of the earliest dynasties of Persia, with their corresponding systems of religion. The Desatir is regarded as an original work of great age, being in a very old dialect, connected with the Pehlivi. It has been ably translated by Moullah Firoze, a learned Parsee at Bombay. Ferdousi, too, composed his poem of the Shah Namah, or Book of Kings, from the remains of Pehlivi fragments, collected after the attempt at their entire destruction by the Ottoman Arabs. But to return to my coins, whence this digression on the language of their legends has led me so far. I shall give only one other specimen, and that of the Arsacidæan dynasty, which commenced nearly four hundred years before the birth of the founder of the Sassanian line. In the whole of my route, I did not meet with any gold money of the former race, in my power to purchase; but I saw one, No. 10.* at Tiflis, in the possession of Colonel Rottiers, a Dutch gentleman in the service of Russia; and its style was so different from the coin of the latter kings already described, that I could not refrain from making a sketch of it on the spot. The head of the prince, instead of being in profile, is a full face, crowned with a diadem fronted with a crescent, and surmounted by another containing

* See the plate of coins.

a small globe. The symbol of a star, or the sun, appears near his head. The reverse has no altar, but a single upright figure standing in the place usually occupied by that emblem of worship in the Sassanian coins. It is executed in a very barbarous style, having a clump-headed, dwarfish effect. The royal fillets pend from its shoulders, and a diadem is on the head, resembling that on the opposite side; only the crescent and globe here, rather hover over, than touch the crown. From the wretched taste of the whole, I should assign it to the latter times of the dynasty, when its reign was naturally drawing to a close in every respect, from feebleness in the monarchs, and general debasement amongst the rulers of the people. I regret having neglected to copy the legend, illegible as it was, with any sufficient accuracy to give a chance of deciphering its meaning; but the sketch I made of the head and figure is exact, and may be interesting to those who feel the value of these sort of documents, in the arrangement of history. The most numerous of the Arsacidæan coins yet to be found in Persia, are generally much smaller than the foregoing, varying most surprisingly in the merit of their workmanship; some being in the highest order of medalic taste, and others, even more barbarous than the original of the preceding sketch. But when we recollect, that a term of nearly 500 years occupied the time between the accession of the first Arsaces, and that of Arduan, the last of his race, our amazement may cease, in consideration of the fluctuations in national affairs, and therefore in the arts, which must have taken place during that long period.

Details of these princes are only to be gathered from western writers; the native historians, who were generally of the priesthood, for the reason given before, almost totally excluding these

polytheistical reigns from their annals. Yet, in spite of this sincere contempt in the ancient chroniclers of Persia, we find that the sceptre of that country, under the rule of the Arsacidæ, and known in Europe by the new name of the Parthian empire, extended from the shores of the Hyrcanian or Caspian sea, to those of the Indus, and Euphrates, and also grasped a great part of Armenia. About eighty years after the death of Alexander the Great, Ashk, or Arsaces, a powerful chief, emulous of the glory of Dejoces in freeing his country, called together certain independent tribes in the neighbourhood of his native mountains, and, with their assistance, by a prompt and judicious seizure of Rhages, wrested Persia from the hands of the Greeks. The chiefs, his associates, under the title of the Moolook-u-Tuaif, (commonwealth of tribes,) took the command of different divisions of the country; while himself assumed the royal diadem, establishing, what was afterwards called, the Arsacidæan, or Parthian dynasty. The term Parthia was unknown to the oriental writers; and the western ones are uncertain where to find the original district, whence they named the whole Persian nation after it came under the rule of Arsaces and his race. One author, seeking it on the banks of the Tigris, proclaims Carduchia (the modern Courdistan) as the native province of the Parthians; and another writer, turning north of the Oxus, will have it amongst the Scythians and Tartar hordes. Opinion, however, appears more generally in favour of a northern, than a southern situation, for the mountainous tracks whence those brave men descended to free their country from a foreign yoke. And, indeed, the geographical position of Rhages, (or Rhey,) where the attack was planned, a city at the foot of Elburz, seems more in the direct line for a train of hardy chiefs from its neighbouring

mountain fastnesses of old; than to suppose that a phalanx of armed tribes would be allowed to march quietly from the heights of Courdistan, across the most populous valleys of Media, to plant a hostile government in one of the royal strong-holds on the other side of the kingdom. Besides, Hyrcania, which lay north of Elburz, has been mentioned by early authors in a conjoined way with Parthia, as if the districts were naturally united. Hence, we find on almost all maps of that part of the world, that Parthia Proper is now set down on the eastern border of Hyrcania, (modern Mazanderan,) stretching considerably on both sides of the range of Elburz, which here runs out tow[illegible] rasan. But whether Arsaces were originally of Courdistan, or of Khorasan, does not appear to signify at all, in the explanation why his whole race were treated with such abhorrence by the native historians, that were it not for the writers of the west, we should know nothing of the great names of Phrahates, Orodes, and Mithridates, which afford subjects for so many brilliant passages in the Roman accounts of the Parthian empire. But there is yet a probability of forming some satisfactory list of the regular succession of this dynasty, by amassing a large collection of these Arsacidæan coins, which might be done on the spot by some assiduous antiquary; and, when got together, collated and arranged, possibly from the first Arsaces, who raised the standard of revolt against the Greeks, to Arduan, who lost the sceptre, to the founder of the Sassanian line.

September 18th. My little party having again become convalescent, I took leave of my friends of the synagogue, and the mesched, and bade adieu to the ancient capital of the Medes, this morning at a very early hour. Our road lay along the foot of Elwund, in a direction due north; the plain, on this side of

the city, I have before observed, is abundant in villages, and cultivated to the farthest stretch of the numerous mountain-streams which interlace its rich pastures. Its principal inhabitants are of the Kara-goozli people, an exceedingly numerous, and, consequently, powerful tribe. It is not nomade, but of a brave, as well as industrious race; and from them his present majesty draws his best cavalry for the actual field. Their chief is Hadgé Mahmoud Khan.

In our march, we crossed several pretty brooks, and saw the separated rills of others drawn off in various directions, to all the irrigating purposes of agriculture. Having proceeded about two farsangs, we wound to the westward round the north-west extremity of the hilly ground that skirts magnificent Orontes on that side. Still we had heights before us; but, at different times, the level country peeped through the valleyed openings, shewing the more distant chain of mountains, whose accumulated piles are scarcely interrupted till they reach the plain of Casvin. The road was far from good, indeed so uneven, and capriciously twisting up and down over the most hillocky parts, that our cattle seemed much more uneasy under their loads, jolting over so many abrupt surfaces, than when tugging up the longest regular acclivity: something, we may say, like the march of life, where a great misfortune is borne more manfully than half a score petty annoyances. This sort of track continued till we reached a deep green hollow, bedded by a rapid stream; it was crossed by a once fine bridge of brick, now in the too-frequent mouldering condition of such structures in this country. It was a work of Shah Abbas. Having passed it, we began the gradual ascent of a considerable mountainous height, over a succession of steep hills that tracked its sloping side. The scenery amongst

them, was singularly romantic, breaking into the wildest forms of cliff on our left; and in a remote, solitary spot to our right, we saw the remains of a caravansary, which also owed its origin to the munificent Pericles of the Sefi race. An often contested empire cannot escape shewing marks of warfare, or neglect, on its public buildings, and Persia exhibits more than enough of them: but the present dynasty are doing all in the power of the most active exertions, to repair, or to replace, the fallen edifices. This laudable ambition, however, is only on an apparently slow progress; for, to restore the dilapidated works of many generations, over so large an empire, must be a task of time and expence, probably extending beyond the reach of several reigns to come.

Wherever the earth was capable of culture, amongst the heights we were ascending, I observed the castor plant in great profusion; a branch of husbandry very essential to the comfort of the peasant, who derives medicine for his ailments, and aliment for his lamp, from its abundant produce.

After four hours' march up this rocky, narrow, and arduous pass, we gladly reached its summit; and while the animals halted to take rest, I was again delighted with a panoramic view of this noblest part of ancient Media. The apex of the pass was some miles lower than the great peak of Elwund, whence I had seemed to behold the whole empire, in a mass of ruby-red mountains, an immense land of Edom, stretching its glowing, barren heights, from horizon to horizon. But, from the point on which I stood, (still in the region of Elwund, but considerably to the north-west of my former station,) the surface of the view, from being nearer to the eye, was presented more in detail, and beauty mingled with sublimity. On looking southward, immediately

beneath me lay the plain of Sahadabad, green with cultivation, but totally encircled by mountains, whose lofty ranges still shewed a one unbroken glaring hue; making a contrast, not easy to have been harmonized by the pencil of Claude himself. At the foot of these burning alps, not merely hot as scarlet, but scarlet themselves, spread the flat country; rich in fields, studded with villages, and luxuriant in trees, standing in bowery groups by the side of the streams, or overshadowing the low walls of the peasantry. High above the rocky Edom, which encircled this beautiful vale, towered the black summits of the mountains of Ardelaw and Courdistan. To the south-east, a continued succession of plains stretched away from the eye, till the verdant series were lost amongst the lower ranges of distant Louristan, which met the rising sun.

Descending into the vale, we reached the castellated and fine village of Sahadabad, about half-past eleven in the forenoon; having marched eight hours over a space of six arduous farsangs from Hamadan. The village stands at the base of the hills that form the western skirt of Elwund, in the north-east quarter of the plain. This celebrated mountain, or rather range, in its greatest division extends a long and lofty ridge of about thirty miles in a line south-east, where it terminates by its own bold steeps, without throwing out any connecting links to other chains; but in the opposite direction, it melts into the mountains of Courdistan.

September 19th.—At half-past 3 o'clock this morning, we left our quarters at Sahadabad. The road lay along the level country, nearly due south, for a stretch of ten miles, about the expanse of the plain in that direction, and which, till scorched up by the summer heats, produces excellent pasture. At the

termination of the champaign, we crossed some minor hills, rising from the declining side of Elwund, whose skirts widely expanding in this direction, like the diverging train of a monarch, spread far in our path, after we had left the near neighbourhood of Ecbatana. Having passed over these high grounds, we entered on another open tract, full of villages, and abundantly laid down in corn, castor, and vineyards. This also extended about ten miles; at the end of which, another range of hills, running up the slope of a second mountainous acclivity, carried us over a road that looked down upon the picturesque valley of Kangavar. Indeed, it presented a perfectly Attic scene. At the north-western extremity, we saw the village, situated on a commanding bi-topped height, and covering both summits with its russet walls: a romantic wildness in this fortress-like appearance, mingled with the impression of classic ruin received at the very first glance, and which was rendered more striking by the dark and rocky openings from the hills, which led by many an intricate winding to the many impregnable fastnesses of the upper mountains. We reached the vale in six hours, having travelled as many farsangs from Sahadabad; and this place was to be our menzil.

Kandavar, the ancient Κογκαβάρ, reduced to a village, maintains something of prolonged existence, by preserving a name so near in sound to its venerable appellation of antiquity, and shewing a few human habitations, still mingling with the ruins of the past. The village consists of about three hundred houses, most of which occupy the lofty eminence, so long celebrated as having been the site of a superb temple of Diana. That the great goddess of Ephesus would find a host of worshippers in Persia, besides its conquerors who built the temple, is very probable;

since the Diana of the Greeks was the same supposed intelligence whom the Sabian corrupters of the Mithratic faith deified under the name Astarté, queen of heaven. The spot on which the temple stood, commands the whole vale, and, doubtless, was originally surrounded by a citadel.

As soon as I had settled my people in their quarters, I took Sedak Beg with me; and, accompanied by our host as a guide, set forth to minutely examine the ruins. The greatest part of the site of the ancient edifice is totally concealed from observation, by the modern houses, and hovels, built of its materials, and over its former platform. Some of these habitations, from the inequalities of their situations, are evidently erected on earth-covered heaps of the fallen temple, and others are crushed in between broken fragments of the causeway-like walls; but enough of the fine stone foundations are every where discernible to enable an investigating eye to trace the original form of the building. It must have been quadrangular, and each face measures three hundred yards. The front, to the westward, is the most perfect; there, a considerable part of the wall rises above the accumulated rubbish at its base; the thickness of the fabric, towards its foundation, appearing not less than thirty feet; a structure, certainly, to stand the shock of time. I could not compass the elevation exactly, but I should deem it to be nearly twenty feet. It is built of large stones cut in regular proportions; and, not far from the edge of this magnificent wall, runs a beautifully executed cornice, which, formerly, at a foot's height above it, sustained a noble colonnade, each column being distant from each other ten feet. The pedestals of eight, are still surmounted by the chief part of their shafts, in good preservation. The southern front stood almost on the very verge of a nearly perpendicular ascent,

which is now entirely covered with broken columns, and other vestiges of the most classic architecture; besides the quantities which have rolled down the steep in huge masses upon the plain beneath; indicating by their forms, that they are the fragments of what must have been a very majestic portico. To the eastward, is a continued line of solid foundation wall-work, as well as innumerable piles of broken pedestals, capitals, &c. Our guide told me, that not longer than twelve months ago, an almost entire column stood erect in this quarter, but the inhabitants of the village thought they had occasion for it, and, tumbling it down, carried away parts of the broken shaft to apply to their own purposes. I measured what remained; and making a sketch, also, of its capital and base, both the dimensions and form, may be found at C. in Plate XLIII. Vol. I.

The material of which these relics are composed, is a hard marble, of a blueish tint, elegantly marked with white veins. The style appears to have been of the most majestic simplicity, no traces of ornamented friezes, or any other laboured involvement of decoration, being to be found any where.

I enquired whether any idols, or ancient coins, had ever been turned up, in digging about the place, and was answered, flatly, *No!* For reasons, obvious to all who know the fatal jealousies prevailing in these eastern countries, with regard to finding treasure, the discovery of a gold bodkin would be as religiously concealed as that of Aladdin's lamp. This continued idea of hidden riches in the earth, cabalistically guarded, or buried in ages unknown to man; and consequent suspicion of whoever puts a spade into the ground with other purpose than for sowing seed, seems a presumption that such treasures have been found in times back; by some happy accident laying open the amassed riches of buried

kings, either in their tombs, or subterraneous recesses of secret deposit. One or two fortunate accidents of that kind, would soon direct the pick-axe to most other likely places; and hence it arises, that so many sepulchres of the ancient world, whether in cavern, pyramid, or dug in the solid rock, when explored by modern travellers, as they thought for the first time after the inhumation, have been found tenantless, ransacked, and bare.

The northern aspect also, of this imposing height, has a gradual descent to the plain, shewing, along its brow, the remains of a foundation wall, uniting with those on the western and eastern sides. These extensive foundations must have supported, not only the temple, but the battlements of the fortress which protected the shrine. Within them, would also be the sacerdotal college and town, for the abode of the priests and servitors, and the military guardians of the establishment. The view around, was perfectly beautiful; and to those European strangers who looked on it, even two centuries ago, could not fail to recall to them many tender remembrances. When the temple stood in its day of prosperity, overlooking from its commanding rock the fine vale beneath, reflecting the splendours of an Asiatic sky, which here indeed mingles the glowing rays of a ruby tint with the bright cerulean of Athens; it must have appeared to the transplanted Greek, a repetition of his own Parthenon, set in a warmer heaven.

The whole of the plain to the south, to which the superb portico of the temple must have immediately pointed, is extremely rich; the soil being naturally fine, and the peasantry of dispositions to improve its fertility. Trees of every description wood the undulating grounds; and many, abundant in fruits, traverse the gardens, and border their numerous rivulets. In

the midst of this vale of plenty, rises an enormous mound, which, from its insulated situation, not a hillock of any sort being near it, has the effect of being artificial; but when approached, it is found too immense, both in breadth and height, to warrant such an idea, unless we were to deem it a second Babel. Towers, and walls of mud, wind round it; and, its summit and sides being covered with the rude dwellings of the peasantry, it has a very picturesque appearance. Its present name is Kat-Nahna; but, probably, in the days of polytheism, this lonely hill may have maintained the ancient rites due to Mithra, or the sun; while the opposite height, nearer to the mountains, elevated its rival altar to the fair Queen of Night. Both luminaries rise and set, in the same unaltered brilliancy with which they first opened their bright orbs on the world; but the eyes of those who raised these structures to their honour, deifying the creature, in blindness to their god, have now been closed for ages: yet the memorial of their apostacy remains in these relics; while the sun, unconscious of worship, or neglect, gilds the grey stones of the mound with his noon-tide beams; and the moon tinges with silver her sunk shrine, as she passes in cloudless majesty over its fallen towers. Independent of these remains of departed grandeur, and of the habitable places amongst their ruins, several minor villages are seen in various parts of the plain, giving an air of life and rural prosperity to the scene, grateful in prospect to the way-wearied traveller, and fully answerable, when approached, to his hopes of good entertainment. Kangavar is about forty-five miles from Hamadan.

September 20th.—We left our quarters this morning at four o'clock, crossing part of the low ground, to the south; we then turned up amongst the hills; and, continuing our way on a

tolerable road, bearing in a general direction a little to the southward of west, gradually advanced into the maze of mountains; where, crossing a close and shadowy valley darkened by heavy beetling cliffs, we marched a short way by the margin of a rapid stream which rolled through it, and then passed over a low brick bridge of fourteen arches. At this time, the water did not spread to them all; but its torn bed and banks, bore sufficient marks of the outrageous torrent, which, at the spring overflows, rushes through them. This stream carries its angry flood to augment the impetuous waters of the Roumis-Koon, (a branch of the ancient Euleus,) which, after more mildly traversing "the pleasant country of Shuster," joins the Euphrates, not far below that majestic river's confluence with the Tigris.

In the course of this day's march, we fell in again with a party of our friends the pilgrims, about eleven hundred of them, from some of whom we had parted at Chumeen, in our joint way, by different routes, to Kangavar, and thence to Bagdad. I am told, that in passing the frontier of the Turkish pashalic, they must pay an abbassy each; and another, when they approach the ancient city of the caliphs. About four miles from our next halting-place, we descended into a pretty little vale, green and sparkling with mountain rivulets. Sanna was our menzil, four farsangs from Kangavar. This village was small, and in every way of humbler pretensions than our last quarters; but it stood in a sweet rural spot, embosomed in trees, and refreshed by a multitude of little rippling streams. We reached it at nine o'clock in the morning; but the sun was sufficiently strong to make us enjoy the cooling shade.

September 21.—At four o'clock this morning, (our usual hour,) we started from Sanna, or Sahanah, in company with the pil-

grims; and after keeping the valley for a short time, took a south-western direction, which speedily brought us up into the passes of the mountains. For four long hours we travelled thus immured, till we came out upon the level of a little vale; but all was as waste and stony there, as above. The road lay at the foot of its western pile. We might have supposed that we had journeyed many hundred miles, instead of a few farsangs, from the luxuriant valley of Kangavar; so different was the scene around us; a region of naked rocks, where projections from the mountains stood out in gigantic masses, assuming more broken and detached appearances than any I had remarked before. As we rode on, I observed one of these crested heights standing considerably higher than the others, and of a peculiarly shattered, and therefore pinnacled brow, as if it had first received the thunderbolt which had scathed its humbler brethren. This, I learnt, was the celebrated Be-Sitoon mountain. "Without pillars," is the literal meaning of the term; probably alluding to some ancient edifice, long since destroyed by time, or to one projected, and never finished; vast traces of such a design being yet visible on the face of the rock. It gives its name to a village, which lies at the western base of the mountain. In our nearer approach, nature did not look quite so sterile; we again encountered streams, and tracks of verdure; and crossed a lofty and beautiful bridge of brick, which stretched its two noble arches over the whole expanse of the river-channel. It was erected by order of Sheik Ali Khan, one of the former governors of Kermanshah. This stream is called the Gomassi-aub; which, after flowing south-eastward to a great distance, falls into the Karasou. In marching forward, we saw several large pools, or ponds, collected from the mountain-brooks, for the purpose of irrigating

the rice fields, many of which skirted our road to the right. Having arrived at the Be-Sitoon rock, we wound round its western side, and passing the village, soon found ourselves at the gate of the caravansary. Both places are within a pistol-shot of the sculptured pile. The distance from Sanna to Be-Sitoon, is four farsangs, which we accomplished in five hours. The rugged monotony of the latter part of our road, had wearied our spirits, as well as our cattle; and, at 9 o'clock, we were glad to turn within the porch of our menzil, to refresh both. The lower range of the caravansary was filled with pilgrims; our apartments looked down upon the busy groups, and it was long before the hum below sufficiently subsided, to allow the weary to find repose. When I went out, after my own refreshment, to visit the antiquities of the place, I was much struck with the objects that presented themselves; the multitudinous companions of my journey, combined into such general harmony of scene, with the probable period which gave birth to the subjects of my investigation. The whole valley was covered with the tents of the pilgrims; for a very few, compared with their numbers, could find lodgings in the building. These several encampments, according to their towns, or districts, were placed a little apart, each under its own especial standard. Their cattle were grazing about, and the people who attended them, in their primitive eastern garbs. Women appeared, carrying in water from the brooks, and children were sporting at the tent-doors. Towards evening, this pious multitude, to the number of eleven hundred at least, began their evening orisons, literally shouting their prayers, while the singing of the hymns, responded by the echoes from the mountains, was almost deafening. At intervals, during the devotion, matchlocks, muskets, and pistols, were repeatedly

fired, division answering division, as if it were some concerted signal. This mixture of military and religious proceeding, produced an effect perfectly novel to a European eye, in the nineteenth century; though it might have been more than sufficiently familiar to that of a knight-companion in the thirteenth, when the crusades covered every hauberk with a pilgrim's amice. But the recollection of what country I saw these in, conjured up a very different image. I was in the land of the Medes, on the very spot to which the ten tribes were brought in captivity about two thousand years ago; and from which, in the fullness of time, the scattered remnants were collected, (after the first return, B.C. 536, by command of Cyrus,) and led back to their native land, on the decree of "Artaxerxes the king;" when Ezra "gathered them together to the river that runneth to Ahava, and there they abode in their tents three days; and he viewed the people, and the priests. And he proclaimed a fast there, that they might afflict themselves before God, to seek of him a right way for them, and for their little ones, and for their substance. And the Lord was intreated of them: and he delivered them from the hand of the enemy, and of such as lay in wait by the way." And Ezra, and those with him, came to Jerusalem.

We see in this account, from the Book of Ezra, (chap. viii.) that the wild tribes of the mountains were then regarded as banditti; and that no decrees of safe-conduct from the king would have more effect in those days, than in the present, to protect a rich caravan from ambuscade and depredation. But I must own, there are some points of observation in the encampment before me, which a little disturbed the resemblance between its holy grouping, and that which followed the really pious ordinance of the sacred scribe of Israel. The Mahomedan even-

ing prayer over, all was noise of another description; bustle, and riotous merriment, more like preparations for a fair, than a worship; shewing at once the difference in spirit, between the two religions. In the one, the moral law walked hand in hand with the ceremonial; and the mandate of worshipping the One God in purity of heart, and in strictness of practice, was unvaryingly asserted in the chastisement or welfare of the people; and so we see it was acknowledged, by the seemly and humbled joy under pardon, with which the recalled Israelites returned to the land of their temple. But here, the performance of certain rites seemed to be all in all. The preachers of the multitude, holding forth, that as they advance nearer to the shrines of their pilgrimage, so in due proportion their sins depart from them; and thus, every step they approach, the load becomes lighter and lighter, till the last atom flies off in the moment they fall prostrate before the tomb of the prophet or saint; and from which holy spot, they rise perfectly clear, free, and often too willing, to commence a new score, to be as readily wiped away. I do not mean to say, that every person engaged on such expeditions, has this latter consequence in contemplation; but it is too general an idea amongst them, being kept up by the avaricious, who amass money by the doctrine. And, indeed, we find something very like it, wherever certain ceremonies and opinions are held to be of more effect towards salvation, than the practice of a holy life; ignorance, and wilful human nature, being more apt to cherish this easy mode of worship, than to understand and apply the divine precept, which declares, that "obedience is better than sacrifice."

Leaving the clamorous hordes just described, behind me, I turned my whole attention to the mountain of Be-Sitoon. This

huge mass of crags, which rises so stupendously over our present quarters, from the spot where I stood to view its ancient chiselling, presents a nearly perpendicular face of fifteen hundred *feet. The lower part of it, (at heaven knows how distant a time,) has been smoothed to a height of one hundred feet, and to a breadth of a hundred and fifty; beneath which projects a rocky terrace of great solidity, embracing the same extent from end to end, of the smoothed cliff above, and sloping gradually in a shelving direction to the level of the ground below. Its base, to some way up, is faced with large hewn stones; and vast numbers of the same, some in a finished and others in a progressive state, lie scattered about in every direction, evidently intended to build up, and complete the front perpendicularly to its higher level. The observations I made on the several elevated terraces on the smoothed mountain-base at Persepolis, lead me to think, that this unfinished projection from the rock was begun, not as a foundation for a palace, (which is the idea of the natives, and that Khosroo Purviz erected it for his beloved Shirene,) but as a platform for a temple; it being too circumscribed for the variously diverging apartments of the one, but amply sufficient for the usual space allotted to the other. And besides, I should deem it of a date far anterior to the Sassanian monarch. Amongst these evident materials for building some great structure, it is said that no remnants of a columnar shape have ever been found; and a peculiarity so singular, in a country where the finest architectural fragments of the sort are seen on almost every spot reputed to have been an ancient site, might, probably, suggest to the natives the distinguishing name of Be-Sitoon "without pillars."

* See Plate LIX.

Sir Robert Porter. J. Clarke sc.

The Mountain called Besitoon

About fifty yards from this rocky platform, more towards the bridge, and at the foot of the mountain, bursts a beautifully clear stream. Just over its fountain-head, on a broad protruding mass of the rock, the remains of an immense piece of sculpture are still visible, but so lamentably defaced, that it is almost impossible to make out any one continued outline. The whole has been contained in an enormously extensive frame-work excavation, within which many now shapeless projections are seen; but, by close attention, parts of the rude forms of several colossal figures may be traced. The most apparent, are seven in a range, which have formerly stood out from the rock in something more than bas-relief, and their bearded visages are tolerably distinct; but all that is observable, shews that the work has been done by the very coarsest chizel. The principal cause of the general mutilation of this specimen of remote antiquity, must have arisen from subsequent additions, without reference to it, having been made on the same spot. First, a large and deep tablet has been excavated in the very middle of the sculpture, for the purpose of containing a Greek inscription; and, secondly, a few years ago, this was almost entirely obliterated by another in the modern character of the country, relating to some royal grants for the road. It being long and closely written, very little can now be discerned of its predecessor; but that little I have copied, leaving gaps where the stone was broken away by the rough hand of man: time, in this country, appearing to deal gently with all his works.

The neighbourhood of fountains seems to have been a favourite spot with the ancients, for places of seclusion, or commemorating erections, whether they were temples, or monuments of any kind; and the situation of this stream, so immediately under the great mutilated bas-relief on the rock, could not fail recalling to my recollection a similar spring that gushes over the sloping cliff which sustains the mysterious tablets of Gunj Namhal, in the bosom of Orontes. Mr. Macdonald Kinnier, in his valuable Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, makes an interesting notice of this fountain of the bas-relief, in remarking on the sculpture itself. On the authority of Diodorus Siculus, he seems inclined to attribute the gigantic remains over the spring, to so distant a time as that of Semiramis; and, accordingly, he observes, "I shall confine myself to a few remarks which occurred to me whilst contemplating those wonderful monuments of antiquity. We are informed by Diodorus Siculus, that *Semiramis, in her march to Ecbatana, encamped near a mountain called Bagistan, in Media, where she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass, in a plain champaign country, watered by a great fountain. Mount Bagistan was dedicated to Jupiter,* (the Ormuzd of the East,) *and towards one side of the garden, it had steep rocks, seventeen furlongs in height. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her image to be carved upon it, and a hundred of her guard, that were lanceteers, standing round her. She wrote, likewise, in Assyrian letters on the rock, that Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain, by laying the packs and fardles of the beasts that followed her, one upon another.* This account (continues Mr. Macdonald Kinnier) will be found to answer the description of Be-Sitoon in many particulars. It is situated in the road to Ecbatana; one side of the

mountain fronts a plain champaign country, watered by a small river which winds round the foot of the hill, and the lower part of the rock is excavated as described. The group of figures cannot, indeed, be construed into a representation of the Assyrian queen and her guards; but it must at the same time be remembered, that other sculptures have apparently been obliterated to make room for the Arabic inscription." Ctesias, on whose authority Diodorus Siculus mentions most of what he relates of Semiramis, certainly had an opportunity of consulting the original records of the Persian empire; (which records, centuries afterwards, were all attempted to be destroyed by the Arabian conquerors;) and hence it can hardly be doubted, that he had historical foundations for these representations. We may therefore think it no extravagant belief, that after this renowned Assyrian queen had added Media to the dominions of her son, for whom she was regent, she would leave some striking memorial of her conquest, according to the fashion of the East, stamped on the rocks of the country. If such should be the fact, this gigantic, and now so barbarously mutilated piece of sculpture, must be the oldest, probably, in the empire. Different opinions, indeed, are entertained respecting the time of her existence, but the most moderate calculation places her at least a hundred years before the death of Sardanapalus, and the division of the old Assyrian empire by Arbaces, (Tiglath-Pileser,) governor of Media, and Belesis, governor of Babylon. The perpendicular nature of the ascent to this bas-relief, or in fact to any part of the mountain, is another feature of resemblance to the picture drawn of Mount Bagistan by Diodorus Siculus. We also find a second, in that the mountain was consecrated to Jupiter, or Ormuzd; and at the foot of Be-Sitoon, we see a rocky platform

cut out of the foot of the mountain, evidently intended to support a temple. But at a point something higher up than the rough gigantic forms just described, in a very precipitous cleft, there appeared to me a still more interesting piece of sculpture, though probably not of such deep antiquity.

Even at so vast a height, the first glance shewed it to have been a work of some age accomplished in the art; for all here was executed with the care and fine expression of the very best at Persepolis. I could not resist the impulse to examine it nearer than from the distance of the ground, and would have been glad of queen Semiramis's stage of packs and fardles. To approach it at all, was a business of difficulty and danger; however, after much scrambling and climbing, I at last got pretty far up the rock, and finding a ledge, placed myself on it as firmly as I could; but still I was farther from the object of all this peril, than I had hoped; yet my eyes being tolerably long-sighted, and my glass more so, I managed to copy the whole sculpture with considerable exactness.

It contains fourteen figures, one of which is in the air. This personage, and also the rest of the group, have been strangely misunderstood by two former travellers, Mr. Otter, and Mr. Gardamme; the one mistaking the aerial form for an armorial bearing; the other for a cross, and the figures beneath for the twelve apostles. As this relic has hitherto been but slightly sketched or described, I shall be rather particular in noticing its details; and that, I hope, with the accompanying Plate LX., will convey a tolerably accurate impression to my reader.

The first figure (to our left in facing the sculpture) carries a spear, and is in the full Median habit, like the leaders of the

guards at Persepolis *; his hair is in a similar fashion, and bound with a fillet. The second figure holds a bent bow in his left hand; he is in much the same dress, with the addition of a quiver slung at his back by a belt that crosses his right shoulder, and his wrists are adorned with bracelets. The third personage is of a stature much larger than any other in the group; a usual distinction of royalty in oriental description; and, from the air and attitude of the figure, I have no doubt he is meant to designate the king. The costume, excepting the beard not being quite so long, is precisely that of the regal dignity, exhibited in the bas-reliefs of Nakshi-Roustam and Persepolis; a mixture of the pontiff-king, and the other sovereign personages. † The robe, being the ample vesture of the one, and the diadem, the simple band of the other; a style of crown which appears to have been the most ancient badge of supremacy, on either king or pontiff. But as persons of inferior rank also wore fillets, it seems the distinction between theirs and the sovereign's, consisted in the material, or colour; for instance, the band or cydaris, which formed the essential part in the old Persian diadem, was composed of a twined substance of purple and white; and any person below the royal dignity, presuming to wear those colours unsanctioned by the king, was guilty of a transgression of the law, deemed equal to high treason. The fillets of the priesthood, were probably white, or silver; and the circlets of kings, in general, simple gold. Bracelets are on the wrists of this personage, and he holds up his hand in a commanding, or admonitory manner, the two fore-fingers being extended, and the two others doubled down in the palm; an action, also, common on the tombs

* See Plate XLVI. Vol. I. † See Plates XVII., XLVIII., LII., Vol. I.

at Persepolis, and on other monuments just cited. His left hand grasps a bow, of a different shape from that held by his officer, but exactly like the one on which the king leans, in the bas-relief on the tomb at Nakshi-Roustam.* This bow, together with the left foot of the personage I am describing, rests on the body of a prostrate man, who lies on his back, with outstretched arms, in the act of supplicating for mercy. This unhappy personage, and also the first in the string of nine which advance towards the king, are very much injured; however, enough remains of the almost defaced leader, when compared with the apparent condition of the succeeding eight, to shew that the whole nine are captives. The hands of all are tied behind their backs, and the cord is very distinct which binds the neck of the one to the neck of the other, till the mark of bondage reaches to the last in the line. If it were also originally attached to the leader, the cord is now without trace there; his hands, however, are evidently in the same trammels as his followers. The second figure in the procession has his hair so close to his head that it appears to have been shaven, and a kind of caul covers it from the top of the forehead to the middle of the head. He is dressed in a short tunic, reaching no further than the knee; a belt fastens it round the waist; his legs are bare. Behind this figure, is a much older person, with a rather pointed beard and bushy hair, and a similar caul covers the top of his head. He too is habited in a short tunic, with something like the trowser, or booted appearance on the limbs which is seen on some of the figures at Persepolis. In addition to the binding of the hands, the preceding figure, and this, are fastened together by a rope round

* See Plate XVII. Vol. I.

their necks, which (as I noted before) runs onward, noosing all the remaining eight in one string. This last described person has the great peculiarity attached to him, of the skirt of his garment being covered entirely with inscription in the arrow-headed character. Next follows one in a long vestment, with full hair, without the caul. Then another in a short plain tunic, with trowsers. Then succeeds a second long vestment. After him, comes one in a short tunic, with naked legs, and, apparently, a perfectly bald head. He is followed by another in long vestments. But the ninth, and last in the group, who, also, is in the short tunic and trowser, has the singularity of wearing a prodigious high pointed cap; his beard and hair are much ampler than any of his companions, and his face looks of a greater age. In the air, over the heads of the center figures, appears the floating intelligence in his circle and car of sun beams, so often remarked on the sculptures of Nakshi-Roustam and Persepolis.

Above the head of each individual in this bas-relief, is a compartment with an inscription in the arrow-headed writing, most probably descriptive of the character and situation of each person. And, immediately below the sculpture, are two lines in the same language, running the whole length of the group. Under these again, the excavation is continued to a considerable extent, containing eight deep and closely written columns in the same character. From so much labour having been exerted on this part of the work, it excites more regret that so little progress has yet been made towards deciphering the character; and most devoutly must we hope, that the indefatigable scholars now engaged in the study of these apparently oldest letters in the world, may at last succeed in bringing them to an intelligible language. In that case, what a treasure-house of historical

knowledge would be unfolded here, and in the vale of Merdasht! Not only the long-overshadowed annals of this country, sunk in the depths of time, must be enlightened; but these inscriptions might elucidate the true meaning of the hovering figure in the air, and say which conjecture is right, — that it is a guardian spirit, or a second-self; or, in declaring both to be wrong, pronounce its proper signification.

Even with the help of my glass, I was at too great a distance to copy distinctly the inscription on the robe, otherwise I should have completed that at least. But to transcribe the whole of the tablets, could I have drawn myself up sufficiently high on the rock to be within sight of them, would have occupied me more than a month. At no time can it ever be attempted without great personal risk; yet I do not doubt that some bracket on the surface might be found, to admit a tolerably secure seat for some future traveller, who has ardour and time, to accomplish so desirable a purpose. *

The execution, in this specimen of ancient art, is not inferior in any respect to the best at Persepolis; and the varied expression in the different faces may be regarded as almost equal to any thing of the kind done by the chisel. The same progress in anatomical knowledge, manifested at Chehel-Minar, is shewn here, in the exposed limbs of two of the figures; and, indeed, we see it even in the outline of the drest figures, and the easy and true motion with which they appear to advance. No doubt

* On my arrival at Bagdad, I happily found Mr. Belino there; a gentleman of great learning and perseverance, who has promised not to leave Persia without copying the whole of these inscriptions. Placing every reliance on his zeal, and the fidelity with which he would make the transcriptions, I cannot but fervently hope, for the sake of truth on these deeply interesting subjects, that my friend's intentions may be crowned with success.

can be entertained that the great antiquity of this piece extends to at least the era of those at Persepolis; but I should be inclined to trace it into still farther time, than even the first establishment of the Persian empire.

The design of this sculpture appears to tally so well with the great event of the total conquest over Israel by Salmaneser, king of Assyria and the Medes, that I venture to suggest the possibility of this bas-relief having been made to commemorate that final achievement. Certain circumstances attending the entire captivity of the ten tribes, which took place in a second attack on their nation, when considered, seem to confirm the conjecture into a strong probability. The first expedition into Samaria, the country of the ten tribes, was led thither by Arbaces, (the Tiglath-pileser of the Scriptures,) twenty years anterior to the one to which I would refer this bas-relief. Arbaces undertook the first invasion at the instigation of Ahaz, king of Judah; who subsidised the Assyrian monarch, to avenge him by arms on his harassing neighbours, Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, who had confederated against him. Arbaces completely reduced the latter kingdom, slaying its king in battle, and making slaves of its people. He then entered those parts of the dominions of Pekah which bordered on Syria; and laying waste the whole east of Jordan, carried away captive the chief of the people inhabiting the towns of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. Having marched back with his spoil, he planted the Israelites in Media, and his Syrian prisoners on the banks of the Tigris. Soon after this fatal invasion, Pekah, king of Israel, was destroyed in a conspiracy by Hoshea; who, having murdered his master, reigned in his stead. About this time Arbaces (Tiglath-pileser) died, and was succeeded by his son Salmaneser;

who, as soon as he was settled on his throne, went over into Syria; and thence falling upon the remainder of Israel, made a treaty with Hoshea; allowing him to be king, and sparing the people, on condition that he paid him tribute, and acknowledged his country the vassal of Assyria. This took place about ten years after the expedition of Tiglath-pileser. But in the course of a very few years more, Hoshea was spirited up by So-Sabacan, king of Egypt, to attempt throwing off the yoke of Assyria, by refusing to pay the customary tribute. In chastisement of this rebellion, Salmaneser marched a large army into Samaria, and overthrowing all opposed to him, took Hoshea captive, "shut him up, and bound him; and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." (2 Kings, ch. xviii.)

In turning from this account in the Scriptures, to the sculpture on the rock, the one seemed clearly to explain the other. In the royal figure, I see Salmaneser, the son of the renowned Arbaces, followed by two appropriate leaders of the armies of his two dominions, Assyria and Media; carrying the spear and the bow. Himself rests on the great royal weapon of the East, revered from earliest time as the badge of supreme power: "Behold, I do set my bow in the cloud!" Genesis. — Besides, he tramples on a prostrate foe; not one that is slain, but one who is a captive: this person, not lying stretched out and motionless; but extending his arms in supplication. He must have been a king; for on none below that dignity would the haughty foot of an Eastern monarch condescend to tread. Then we see approach nine captives, bound, as it were, in double bonds, in sign of a double offence. We may understand this accumulated transgression, on recollecting, that on the first invasion of Israel by

Tiglath-pileser, he carried away only part of three tribes; and on the second by Salmaneser, he not only confirmed Hoshea on the throne, but spared the remaining people. Therefore, on this determined rebellion of king and people, he punishes the ingratitude of both, by putting both in the most abject bonds, and bringing away the whole of the ten tribes into captivity; or, at least, the principal of the nation; in the same manner, probably, as was afterwards adopted by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, with regard to the inhabitants of Judea. "And he carried away all from Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives; and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of people of the land." 2 Kings, chap. xxiv. — Besides, it may bear on our argument, to remark, that, including the prostrate monarch, there are precisely ten captives; which might be regarded as the representatives, or heads, of each tribe; beginning with the king, who, assuredly, would be considered the chief of his; and ending with the aged figure at the end, whose high cap may have been an exaggerated representation of the mitre worn by the sacerdotal tribe of Levi; a just punishment of the priesthood at that time, which had debased itself by every species of idolatrous compliance with the whims, or rather wickedness of the people, in the adoption of pagan worship. Hence, "having all walked in the statutes of the heathen, the Lord rejected Israel, and delivered them into the hand of the spoilers."

Doubtless, the figure with the inscription on his garments, from the singularity of the appendage, must have been some noted personage in the history of the event; and, besides, it seems to designate a striking peculiarity of the Jews, who were accustomed to write memorable sentences of old, in the form

of phylacteries, on different parts of their raiment. What those may mean, which cover the garment of this figure, we have no means of explaining, till the diligent researches of the learned may be able to decipher the arrow-headed characters; and then a full light would be thrown on the whole history, by expounding the tablets over every head. If the aerial form above, were ever intended to represent the heavenly apparition of a departed king, which is the opinion of some, that of the great Arbaces might appear here with striking propriety, at the final conquest of rebellious Israel. Should the discoveries of time prove my conjecture at all right, this bas-relief must be nearly two hundred years older than any which are ascribed to Cyrus at Persepolis or Pasargadæ.

Having seen in the travels of Olivier an engraving of the capital of a column, said to be discovered near the river at Be-Sitoon, I diligently enquired, and sought, for such a relic all along its banks, but in vain; which I the more regretted, having observed enough in the sketch, almost to assure me that the style and proportions of the original might afford me just grounds of tracing its order to those of Ecbatana and Persepolis. Indeed I traversed the borders of the river in every direction, but no other vestige of any sort of ancient building, but that attached to the terrace of the mountain, already described, could be any where seen. The natives, indeed, talk of some vast city, full of palaces and temples, having flourished there in early time. But if so, all is now clean swept away. Yet, from the remains which do exist, both in sculpture and excavation, when united with the written accounts that have been connected with the spot, I should be inclined to consider Be-Sitoon a local corruption of Bagistan, the *place of the garden*; and that some superb summer-

palace of the ancient Assyrian-Median kings, with its usual appendages, might have stood here; namely, its temple and villages. And that such should have totally disappeared, in the lapse of so many centuries, cannot be a subject of surprise; though so absolute a void, on the site of any former large city, would be a matter hard to believe. Being in the neighbourhood of an occasional residence of the sovereign, would sufficiently account for the trophied sculptures on the rocks.

Sept. 23. — At two o'clock this morning, my little party were mounted to pursue our march; and the pilgrims also, having struck their tents, a goodly cavalcade followed our train from the storied heights of Be-Sitoon. The morning star shone bright on our road, which lay along the foot of the mountain in a western direction to the end of the valley, where, after some hours' travelling, we found it open magnificently upon the noble plain of Kermanshah. The city of that name, with its fine towers and domes, appeared along the southern side of the plain; and to the north-east, amongst the craggy range of mountains which there form its boundary, we descried the stupendous rock of Tackt-i-Bostan, standing nearly opposite to the town of Kermanshah. The distance between them cannot be much more than a farsang.

The sculptures on this rock, being equally celebrated with those of Be-Sitoon, I turned out of the main road to make the village at their base my place of rest; and again leaving our friends the pilgrims, received their parting blessing as before, on separating from their ranks. Our way lay over a tract of the plain in admirable cultivation; cotton, castor, and corn-fields spreading in every direction; while numerous little encampments of Courdish Eelauts gave a peculiarly bold animation to the rural scenery. These people have a singular air of noble

independence, in their countenance and manners; impregnable courage, without that menacing fierceness which usually characterises the expression of those weaker tribes who possess more will for independence than power to maintain it. Unceasing apprehension of attack excites constant watchfulness, and a demeanor of ever threatening repulsion. But an immense mountain nation, which has preserved its liberty unimpaired from the remotest times to the present, seems to dwell in security by a prescriptive right; and determined to hold that liberty for ever, by holding the weapons of defence always in their own hands, they wander about at will over their allodial mountains; and like the rocks on which they tread, their bold, open fronts, shew the firmness of their station, and their character. I need not repeat here, that Courdistan is the ancient Carduchia; a country on which neither Grecian nor Roman arms could make any essential impression; and at this day, its connection with the Persian empire furnishes the Shah with his most warlike troops.

We reached our halting-place, the village to which the rock of Tackt-i-Bostan gives its name, by seven in the morning; but we found it deserted by its inhabitants; the whole people being encamped, at about a mile's distance, under their dark tents, enjoying those cooler dwellings at that hot season of the year, and finding themselves more conveniently situated for the purpose of preparing the gathered harvest for winter storing. Not a creature did we meet in the silent streets, to point out to us the Ketkhoda's mansion; but its superior appearance to the other houses in the village, soon announced itself, and without any ceremony, which must, indeed, have been paid to the tenantless walls, I took possession. A short time disposed my people in their quarters; and, meanwhile, I despatched one of the Per-

sians in my suite, to the camp, to inform the chief magistrate of our arrival. The great man returned with my messenger, and, so far from looking hostile at a stranger seated at home in his house, he bade me hearty welcome, and with all the easy bounty of the most finished courtesy, told me, that not only his house was mine, but the whole village into the bargain. Meaning to stay some days, to complete the investigation of the objects of interest that brought me there, I soon settled the terms of my acceptance of all this munificence, and allowed him to return perfectly in good humour to his tented followers.

I was now in the province, and even in sight of the capital of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, the eldest son of the Shah, and the openly declared enemy of Abbas Mirza, the monarch's publicly announced heir. The particular regard with which his royal highness the crown-prince had distinguished me, would have made my appearance at the court of his rival something more than disrespectful; therefore, to avoid all probable occasion of being called upon to do any thing offensive to either brother, I did all in my power to conceal from the inhabitants of Kermanshah my residence in their neighbourhood. Hence, I refrained from using his majesty's firman, which commanded my free quarters throughout his dominions, and purchased every thing I wanted for my people or cattle, of the peasantry around the village.

The mountain of Tackt-i-Bostan, the derivation of which means *Throne of the Garden*, is noted through all this part of the world for its magnificent sculptures; which, together with its delicious fountain and streams, are said by the natives to owe their origin to the loves of Khosroo Purviz, and the beautiful Shirene. This fairest of the fair, they tell us, was first seen by the prince while he was an exile at her father's court, the renowned Maurice,

Emperor of the Romans. He beheld her by accident, bathing in a clear fountain; and her celestial beauties so fired his imagination and his heart, that when he afterwards became her husband, and monarch of Persia, he caused her image to be made, and placed as he had first seen her, in the midst of the crystal stream, "'mongst bending lilies bright, the fairest flower!" In fact, I am now in the very scene of that splendid king's most romantic adventures, of his most gorgeous magnificence, and of the dismal extinction of all his state and power. But before I proceed with describing the works attributed to his commands, in honour of a princess whom he worshipped to idolatry, and wrought by the wonder of the age, the incomparable Ferhaud, it may not be disagreeable to my reader, to refresh his memory with a short sketch of the monarch's history.

Khosroo Purviz was born towards the end of the sixth century of the Christian era. He was the grandson of Noushirvan, one of the most virtuous of the Sassanian race of kings; and who, being also a magnificent prince, erected fine palaces, and great public buildings at Al Maidon, (supposed to be the ancient Ctesiphon,) on the banks of the Tigris, which was his usual winter residence. His son and successor, Hormuz III., the father of Khosroo Purviz, being a weak character, was dethroned by the commander of his armies, Baharam Choubeen; and the young Khosroo being defeated in a battle, wherein he opposed the usurper, fled for protection to Maurice, Emperor of the Romans. That generous sovereign not only received him with hospitality, but gave him the assistance of a fine army, and restored him to his throne. Khosroo Purviz remained the firm ally of the Roman empire as long as it was swayed by the venerable Maurice; but when that prince was slain, he instantly declared war

against it, in order to avenge his father, as he called him, and his benefactor, as he certainly was. The Persian arms over-ran the whole of the eastern empire; and accomplishing the ambition of his grandfather Noushirvan, in marching the Mithratic standards into Palestine, he became master of Jerusalem, violated the holy sepulchre, consumed the churches of Helena and Constantine to ashes, and carried away what was alleged to be the true cross, with a long train of prisoners and spoil, into Persia.

Intoxicated with these achievements, and his consequent fame, Khosroo Purviz determined that the capitals and palaces of his kingdom, should transcend all that had ever yet been beheld on the earth. Uncounted sums were lavished on their erection, and embellishments; and the pleasures with which they were filled, exhausted the powers of invention; leaving the luxurious monarch nothing to wish for, but new senses, and prolonged youth to enjoy the paradises which grew around him. But "there is a tide in the affairs of all men;" and the falling back of this king's, was fated to sweep away, with his former glory, all these pleasures, and, finally, his life. The sudden invasion of Persia by a Roman army, led by the brave Emperor Heraclius, roused Khosroo from his dream of sensual happiness; but he awoke too late; the original bravery of his spirit had perished under the weight of debasing enjoyments, and he fled in terror from his favourite palace of Dustajerd, on hearing of Heraclius's approach. But his son Schirouch, who, it appears, had conceived an impious passion for the beautiful Shirene, his father's queen, seized the king in his flight, threw him into a dungeon, and caused him to be murdered. After the commission of this horrid act, the parricide threw himself at the feet of his mother-in-law, (who, like another Helen, seems to have been endowed with an ever-bloom-

ing beauty,) and there poured forth his passion in the most vehement terms. Resistance seeming vain, the afflicted queen, affecting constrained obedience, begged one favour at his hands, before she yielded herself to his arms; to be permitted to look once on the remains of his father. Schirouch consented; and, as soon as she beheld the venerated corse, she fulfilled the end of her petition, by stabbing herself on its bosom. The deed has immortalized her name, which to this day is a proverb in Persia, for all that is beautiful and true. Some writers have slandered her fame, by insinuating that she was too well pleased with the adoration of the renowned artist, Ferhaud; to whose chisel all the sculptures in this part of the world are ascribed; and, though done at the command of Khosroo, were executed, they say, to gain him favour in the eyes of the most lovely model for his skill, the peerless Shirene. But, though the love of the artist may very naturally be the fact, yet the self-sacrifice on the body of her husband, which, (notwithstanding certain tales in poetry,) is generally believed, may assuredly clear her purity of this aspersion.

Khosroo Purviz had reigned thirty-eight years at the time of his dismal overthrow; and, from his history, it appears that he did not want courage in his early years, though by the conduct of his latter life, he made the former accounts hard to be credited; and left nothing so much remembered of him, in his country, as these stories of his magnificence, with wild legends of his uxorious loves, and cruel jealousy of the ill-fated passion of the unfortunate Ferhaud. In short, no object of admiration, natural or artificial, can be enquired about in these districts, that is not immediately attributed in some way to this king, in honour of his adored Shirene. I shall first describe the objects of interest

Sir Robert Porter

J. Clark sc.

The Rock of Tackt i Bostan.

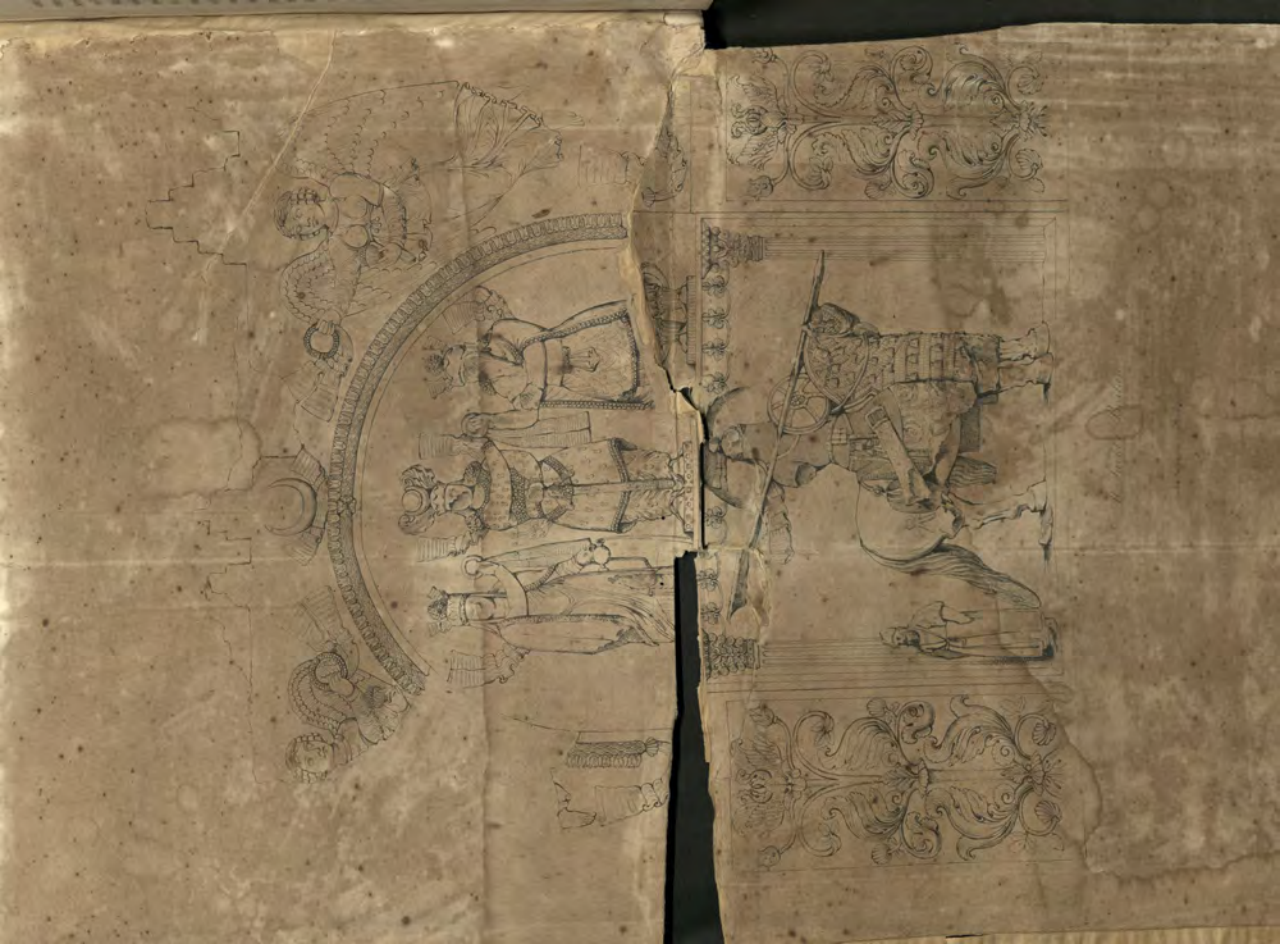
at Tackt-i-Bostan, and then notice how far they appear to agree with the circumstances they are reported to represent.

The first consist of two lofty and deep arches, excavated with great labour and skill in the rock of the mountain. Within these artificial caverns, I found several bas-reliefs, executed to a very high degree of excellence, but the details of which I shall reserve to a few pages onward. The mountain of Tackt-i-Bostan forms a part of the chain of Be-Sitoon; and like it, is craggy, barren, and terrific.*. Its aspect, as we approach it, is of the most rugged grandeur; and its towering heights, lowering dark over the blooming vale of Kermanshah, make so striking a contrast, that it might well recall the image of the beautiful queen, in all her perpetual noon of charms, seated smiling at the feet of the aged monarch, hoary with years and the troubles of a wounded spirit. At the base of this sombre mountain, bursts forth the most exquisitely pellucid stream that I ever beheld; and to this sparkling fountain the natives have given the name of Shirene. Its bed is rather on a declivity, which gives a rapidity to its current that increases the brilliancy of its waters, as they dash along spreading verdure on every side, and bathing the pendent branches of variously foliaged trees which grow on its banks. A little forest extends from the river's side, to a considerable distance over the plain; perhaps the green descendants of the woods which overshadowed the gay pavilions of Khosroo, in his hunting parties! Just over the source of the stream, on a smooth part of the rock, a bas-relief presents itself, called that of the four calendars; and a little onward, where the mountain recedes, a flight of several hundred steps is found cut in the

* See Plate LXI.

nearly precipitous cliff; forming a very intricate and dangerous ascent towards its summit, but finishing abruptly on an extensive ledge or platform; which, it is probable, in former ages, was the site of some Mithratic altar, or temple.

Pere Emanuel de St. Albert, and the Abbe Beauchamp, were the first Europeans, I believe, who gave the world any details of the antiquities on this spot; and one of these travellers mentions, that he saw a statue standing erect in the river, which was nearly covered from observation by the fullness of the rapid stream, but that the natives told him it was the effigy of the beautiful Shirene, who had given her name to the fountain. I found a statue, in all likelihood the same, though not in the wave but leaning against the bank of the river; yet, on viewing it, I saw that it certainly required to be veiled as he describes, before the liveliest imagination could mistake it for the image of a woman, and the work of an artist enamoured of his subject. It is even rudely hewn, and so colossally proportioned, that no doubt can remain, when seen thus wholly exposed, that it was intended to be viewed from a great distance, and that its original situation must have been some neighbouring height, whence it probably fell into the stream where the Abbe saw it. One hand is placed on the breast, the other rests on something resembling a sword suspended in front of the body. The figure is broken off from the knees downwards, but from the waist to that point hang the remains of drapery. During my rambles near the spot, I observed a place, where I think it is likely the statue may have originally stood; namely, a levelled ledge of rock immediately over the two great arches before mentioned, and along which a range of sculptured feet, broken off at the ankles, are yet perfectly distinguishable. The statues that belonged to these extremities,



are now totally gone; and I think it warrantable to suppose, that the mutilated warrior just described, was one of them, and battered down with the rest, it is probable, by some barbarous hand of conquest. Falling into the river, it escaped the entire demolition of its companions; and, after discovery by the inhabitants, who, it is likely, associating its situation with the tradition respecting some aquatic representation of their admired queen, set it erect in the stream, it was adored as her image when the Abbe saw a glimpse of it through the water, and was told the story of her past perfections. The natives hold the figure I saw, in such superstitious reverence, as to believe its touch capable of healing the most malignant diseases in man and beast; and in gratitude, they hang its neck with a variety of votive offerings, in the shape of rags, and other et-ceteras, of every material and colour, either to bribe or to repay the deified Shirene! The people about, call the ledge, or plane, whence I suppose it fell, the musical gallery of Khosroo; and, indeed, it appears of considerable dimensions. I shall now proceed to the details of the antiquities beneath.

The largest arch * measures in width twenty-four feet, and in depth twenty-one. The face of the rock has been smoothed for a great distance above the sweep of the arch and also on each side. On this surface, to the right and left, are two upright entablatures, containing an exquisitely carved ornament, much in the Grecian taste, and of a foliage form. Round the bow of the arch, runs a double border, appearing like an untied wreath, the ends terminating in the Sassanian royal streamers. Over that point which in masonry would be called the key-stone, rises a

* See Plate LXII.

crescent, supported on each side by the same regal insignia. Two gigantic figures, winged like our common representation of angels, appear hovering over the answering curves of the arch; and both extend a hand towards the crescent, each holding a pearl fillet, or diadem, fastened with a rich clasp, and the usual waving ribbons. Their other hands, with a very graceful action, grasp each a cup, filled with berries, or, possibly, pearls. The style of their heads is singular, being curled like the ladies of the court of our Charles II., and dressed in a coiffure resembling that on the busts of the Empress Faustina. The large wings, which spread from the shoulders, are carved with considerable nicety, but by no means to compare with those at Mourg-aub and Persepolis. That the figures in question were intended for female genii there can be no doubt, the artist having shewn no inclination to diminish certain protuberances, which nature seemed to have placed there ready for adoption into the form required; and, indeed, he has not left a scratch upon them, indicative of the slightest covering on those perfect globes. The disposition of the flowing drapery over the lower part of the figures, and the sway of their attitudes, are so like the usual representations of Fame, or Victory, on the triumphal arches of Rome, that I have no doubt of the whole sculpture having been the work of an artist of the eastern empire. The inner face of the excavation is divided into two compartments: the upper contains three figures; that to the left is a female, royally habited in a mantle and collar, and crowned with the diadem peculiar to the dynasty of Sassan. It is surmounted by a globe, covered with large pearls; a fillet likewise encircles her brows, from beneath which falls her hair in long braids upon her shoulders. The drapery round the person is ample, terminating in folds lower than the feet. Her

right arm crosses her breast, holding in its hand the cydaris, or royal bandeau; the other hand grasps a ewer, from which appears to flow water. The personage who occupies the center of the group is most gorgeously habited, and proclaims, in every detail, that he is some great monarch. His brows are bound with a pointed diadem, from each side of which issues a pair of small wings, whose extremities twist round the horns of a crescent that surmounts the diadem, and within that rises a globe. From his head flow the usual royal complement of curls, with the double waving streamers. He is clothed in a short robe, embroidered all over with what seem to be large drop pearls: a breast-plate of the same costly materials reaches to the hips; and loose trowsers, also richly adorned, devolve over his ankles. His left hand rests upon a sword that hangs straight in front of his person; both it, and the belt that binds it, appear covered with pearls, and other precious setting. The figure to the right, wears a similar crown, with the exception of wanting the wings and crescent and its globe resembling that of the female's. The face has a very long beard, and the neck is adorned with a collar of pearls. From his shoulders devolves a very ample mantle, clasped on his breast. His vest is longer than that of the last figure, and is bound round the waist with a simple band. His trowsers terminate in a curious kind of stocking, fluted like marble columns. The shoes are tied like those of the center personage, with ribbon-ends; he is presenting to that gorgeous figure, a simple diadem, which the open hand of the monarch appears ready to grasp. The action of the left hand of him who offers it, seems to be persuasive of the acceptance. These three figures are all elevated on rich pedestals, while that which supports the center personage is the most profusely ornamented.

The compartment below, is bordered by a frieze of tendrils and vine-leaves; and on each side stand a couple of fluted pilasters, surmounted with capitals more resembling the Corinthian, than any other order. The wide place between, is almost wholly occupied by a colossal equestrian figure in alto-relievo. He is crowned like the bearded personage above. A shirt of mail, most beautifully carved (which seems to unite with the crown or helmet) falls nearly as low as the knees; and from under it appears a richly embroidered skirt, adorned with dragons, crosses, flowers, &c.; from the hip hangs a large quiver. The warrior's foot is broken off considerably above the ankle. On his shoulder is poised a large and long lance, the arm which supported it being also broken away: on the other is a small round shield, half covering the breast; it appears to be partially studded. The horse has been lamentably mutilated, the head being almost entirely gone, together with the right leg as high as the flank. The animal is caparisoned for war, with a chaffron and poitrinal, formed of small plates of metal, additionally ornamented with innumerable tassels. Two very large ones, like those on the bas-reliefs of a much anterior age *, hang on either side of the horse. On his flank I observed a mark, as if made in his skin; probably indicative of his breed; and if so, it is a curious document of the care that was then taken to ascertain the purity of blood in this noble animal. The slight traces of both a Greek and a Pehlivi inscription, were also visible, but so very indistinctly, I could make out only a letter or two in each language. The whole of these dilapidations are ascribed to the Arabs and the Turks. But the wonder with me is, how any of

* See Plate XXIII. Vol. I.

these relics remain; so near a great city, and in the high way to the usual great fields of combat between the Persians and the western rivals of their empire. The details of this equestrian figure, are beautifully executed; and, together with the groups above, present to present times very accurate and valuable specimens of the regal and military costume of the day.

The sides of the arch are covered with representations of the sports of the field, wild boar and stag hunts, &c. Many of the persons engaged in the sport are mounted, some on horses, and others on elephants, while boats also appear in the chase. The scene seems to be a watery ground, intersected by ponds, where the boats may move, and from which the sportsmen discharge their arrows; while the ponderous elephants, with their riders, plunge through the marshy bushes in every direction. Two of the boats are filled with women playing on harps, and in another men are playing on pipes and other instruments. One vessel, larger than the rest, occupies the centre of this bas-relief; and in it stands a personage, in stature gigantically beyond that of the other figures. He is richly habited in a short vest, wrought like that of the bearded chief under the arch; a costume which appears to be adopted by both royal personages. He is in the act of drawing his arrow to the head, directed towards a herd of boars. A little lower in the line of hunt is another boat, containing a second figure in an ornamented dress, and little inferior in stature to the first. Round his head shines a large circle, not unlike the halo of the moon; a sort of saintly attribute to be found on the coins of the lower empire. He is receiving an arrow from one of his attendants, and a woman sits near him in the boat, playing on a harp, while other figures

paddle it along, amidst a crowd of aquatic creatures. A singular appendage, in the shape of a little piece of linen, like the end of a pocket-handkerchief, hangs near the right hips of both the principal personages; it is also attached to the side of the equestrian warrior.

We are told by one of the Persian writers, that Khosroo Purviz, besides the beautiful Shirene, who alone filled his heart, possessed twelve thousand fair candidates for his favour, each equal to the moon in the splendour of her charms. From this constellation of beauties, no doubt, the minstrelsy of his boats would be selected; and from the circumstance of so many women being seen, openly partaking the pleasure of the royal chase, we may conclude that at this period of the Persian empire, the fair part of its population were neither shut up from public society, nor necessarily veiled in the presence of men. The bas-relief of the female figure under the arch, and that of Baharam Gour's queen at Nakshi-Roustam, with the similar representation on one of that monarch's coins, all tend to prove, not only the comparative freedom of the female sex in those Mithratic ages, but that certain individuals of them were held in a degree of respect equalising them with man, now never heard of in Mahomedan countries.

The whole scene that I have just described, is inclosed in a sort of curtained square, supported on poles; from whence cords are attached to the trunks of trees. Near the lower corner a man holds up a part of the drapery, through which the slain game is carried; and adjoining, in an outward, upright compartment, is shewn its transportation still farther off on the backs of elephants.

The opposite side of the arch is covered with a bas-relief

representation of the chase of the deer. * The chief of the field appears near the top of the sculpture, entering in state under the shade of an umbrella, and mounted on a finely caparisoned horse. He carries his bow across his neck; an awkward fashion, and rather too convenient for the treachery which often made it an instrument of sudden strangulation; in the same manner that the twisted shawl of Barbary, from being the ornament of a great man's head and neck, may be snatched over his face in one moment, and by a single jerk of its fold terminate his existence. Another equestrian figure, mounted on a horse at full speed, appears in the same costume at the bottom of the field; and, most probably, in the style of our own painters of old, he is a repetition of the first personage in the same piece, removed to his hunter and in the full career of the chase. The centre colossal hero in this hunt may answer to the second personage in the opposite bas-relief. Towards the top of this, a raised scaffold presents itself, in which rows of musicians are seated, playing on a variety of instruments; all curious specimens of the art, at that period. Amongst other luxuries of Khosroo's court, the singers are mentioned "as of sweeter notes than the nightingale's," and that no heart could resist the strains of his enchanting musician, Barbaud. An upright compartment on one side of the chase, is dedicated to carrying of the spoil; and the division opposite, to a range of elephants in pursuit of the deer. The whole scene is surrounded by a similar inclosure to that of the boar hunt; and at intervals men are seen holding up parts of the curtain, to allow the animals to escape when hardly pressed by the hunters.

* See Plate LXIV.

This bas-relief is finished in only a few places; parts, are merely begun; but what has been completed, both in this and the one opposite, is executed in the most masterly style. I never saw the elephant, the stag, or the boar, pourtrayed with greater truth and spirit. The attempts here, at detailed human form, are far inferior.

During my occupation in sketching the several sculptured antiquities of this arch, I had been favoured with many unwished-for visitors from Kermanshah. In spite of my caution, the news of a stranger's arrival, and taking up his abode for some time at the village of Tackt-i-Bostan, had soon reached the city; and curiosity bringing out numbers of the inhabitants to explore his business, they never failed to return with full accounts of the Frangy traveller. However, I had been seated the third morning, at the feet of the royal fair in the great group under the arch, before I was disturbed by any person of note; but on September the 26th, one of the ministers of Mahmoud Ali Mirza presented himself in my apartment, bearing a message from the prince his master, inviting me into the city, and to be his guest. I was in no small dilemma at this royal courtesy; reverence for the one brother, preventing me accepting it; and due acknowledgment for the hospitality intended by the other, equally commanded me not to reject the proffered distinction with disrespect. I pleaded, the shortness of the time I could allow myself to stay in the neighbourhood; and the object that brought me there, so employing my every moment, that it was impossible for me, under these circumstances, to inhabit any other place than the village; and, therefore, with proper compliments, I begged permission to decline the honour proposed. But all these excuses were vain, in stemming the strenuous advo-

cate's redoubled eloquence. He had modes for facilitating, rather than impeding my pursuits, if I would but be prevailed on to accept the accommodations and comforts of Kermanshah, and return with him to the palace of the prince. In the course of his arguments, he urged the necessity of my not postponing, at least a visit of a morning, to his master, since his royal highness must in a few days leave his capital on a hunting excursion into the mountains of Haroun-abad, a couple of days' march from hence. This was an intimation that seemed fortunate for the easy escape of myself and my due civility; leading me to hope that I might defer paying my respects, to the probable time of his return, should I then be in the country, which I had it in my power not to be; and, in the meanwhile, I should avoid the necessity of either immediately taking my departure, or be compelled to do, what, under my circumstances, I should have felt a great impropriety. After this vague kind of conclusion to the conversation, we parted I thought mutually pleased; he appearing to suppose from the nature of the thing, notwithstanding what I had said to the contrary, that I could not fail shewing myself in the royal presence; and I, finding him so smiling and satisfied, concluded the business was fairly got rid of, and that I should see him no more. But next morning, while I was closely engaged in my interesting employment, the same indefatigable orator approached the rock of Tackt-i-Bostan, attended by a more than ordinary retinue of horsemen. I no sooner perceived them, than I began to apprehend, that such a cavalcade was dispatched to use some gentle violence, in compelling my acceptance of the proffered hospitality! My new acquaintance rode forward to the entrance of the arch; and, after the usual salutations, took his seat near me. Of course, whatever was his

errand, I gave him the proper welcome; and during the ceremony of kaliouns and coffee served by my people, he again opened his embassy. No flight of Persian compliments was spared to myself and my nation, from the august personage from whom he came, to prevail on me, if I could not come to Kermanshah before he quitted it, to give my word to his minister, that I would halt at his camp in my route to Bagdad. "It would lie only a farsang out of the direct road," continued the speaker, "and my reception should be such, as to honour the day for ever, in my remembrance." Honest man! his zeal was like a river overflowing its banks; and in the earnestness he felt to accomplish the wish of his master, he either could not, or would not, see my really evident intention of going straight forward. However, not to return without executing some part of his errand, he entered into a conversation that fully gave me to understand the various objects my required visit was expected to produce; and this insight more determinately bent my steps another way. But every thing he uttered on these, and other subjects, impressed me the more with the military and aspiring talents of his master. But there are equal talents on the opposite side, and with virtues which guarantee their being used to the best purposes. Perhaps the characters of the rival brothers cannot be better drawn, than by repeating the speech of a moment, which a person of one of the warlike tribes addressed to some European gentlemen, travelling through this part of the country. They were expatiating on the merits of the Shah's avowed heir, when this rough son of the mountain abruptly interrupted them: "You see," cried he, pointing to a village in their way, "that place before us! If the prince you laud, were riding where we are, the inhabitants would at this moment be running to meet him, and eager to pitch his

tents, as if he were a *Taujeck* selling merchandise; but if our prince were here, so great is the terror of his heroic name, they would already have been fled to the hills! Now, I ask you," added he, with evident contempt of the milder character, "which of these two is fittest to rule the Persian empire?" He who put this question, was one of those, who at will lay hands alike on "the spoil or the spoiler;" and, therefore, it may easily be comprehended why he should prefer the licence of an expected conqueror, before the rule of a peaceably established sovereign; and one whose present conduct threatens the same rigour against the plundering tribes, as marks the vigilant reign of his father. It is a common thing with the marauding chiefs, to exclaim, "These kajurs will be our ruin!"

The prince of Kermanshah is emulating his brother Abbas Mirza, in the organization of troops according to European tactics; and within these few weeks he has taken into his service two French officers, who were formerly in the pay of the prince of Azerbijan. They have a couple of battalions under drill, in an encampment a few farsangs from hence. But the infantry that I have seen here, is still in a very inferior condition to that under European discipline at Tabreez. The artillery of Kermanshah, which consists of four guns, mounted on clumsy carriages and perfectly immoveable, would not be worth mentioning, were it not now a subject of deep consideration with the prince; who, with the assistance of the two French officers, and an Armenian artificer lately arrived from the cannon-foundry at Constantinople, is planning its augmentation and improvement.

But, to return to my visitor: he was a very handsome, animated old man. And, in order to give me a taste of the

hospitality I had not allowed him an opportunity of shewing within his own doors, or those of his prince, he determined to regale me with a feast nearer my own quarters; and in the true Persian summer style, under the grateful shade of the umbrageous trees. During our discourse, his attendants had tied their horses to some clumps in the neighbourhood of our verdant dining-room. It was the green bank of the beautiful fountain of Shirene; and the trees, which were its canopy, in several places dipped their branches in the stream. Close to its brink the servants had laid our carpets; and every preparation was rapidly making to spread the abundant repast. I saw it, from a little distance, cooking in all the simplicity of the most primitive times. A couple of fine sheep, from the neighbouring flock, had been sacrificed by the kanjars (dagger-knives) of two of the minister's retinue; and the crackling flames of several newly-lighted fires in the wood, blazed beneath the loaded vessels of rice, mutton, and fowls. In about a couple of hours we were told that all was ready; and repairing to the place of banquet, took our seats. A considerable number of the khan's train being of condition to share his board, they sat down also; and soon made deep havoc in the piles of pilau, and well-roasted kabbobs, which had been duly arranged on the outspread carpets. My good-humoured host had an Armenian or two in his suite, who, without irreligious impropriety, could provide for my personal accommodation, either rackee or sharab, that is, brandy, or wine; an attention more than ordinarily bestowed, at any Persian entertainment, to a Frangy on so short an acquaintance.

Our little fête proved delightful in every respect; and the frank and kindly ways with which the animated old man did the honours, were not the least of its enjoyments. The scene was

full of interest in itself. The wild mountains around; the trees under which we sat; the long fragrant grass, untouched by the scythe of man, peering over the sides of the carpet-table-cloth and seats; and the variously habited Asiatic figures who occupied them, with a bearded patriarch as their chief; all formed a living picture of primeval times, that at once transported me back at least two thousand years! Besides this admirable foreground for the painter of such a scene, the adjacent parts were in perfect harmony. Groups of attendants in their Persian garbs, with horses and mules, appearing through the trees; and numbers, in waiting nearer ourselves, stood about, intermixed indiscriminately with the rough-visaged and savage figures of the Courdish owners of the tented-village; from whose flocks the most substantial part of our fare had been drawn, and whose sole payment lay in the honour of seeing it eaten by the Frangy traveller, and a great officer of their brave prince of Kermanshah! Our party broke up towards the afternoon; when the minister and his train took their leave with the usual ceremonies, and I returned to my pursuits on the face of the mountain.

I had finished sketching the bas-reliefs in the great arch; the explanation of which, from no inscriptions remaining, must depend upon conjecture assisted by the traditions of the place. These, with the sculptures' own internal evidence, certainly incline me to coincide with the opinion given in the writings of Tabari Nizami, and the accounts repeated on the spot, that they are commemorations of Khosroo Purviz, with his celebrated queen, and, not unlikely, her imperial father also. The tales told here, of the royal group, are extremely romantic; and those of the poets do not come behind them in wild embellishments. They sing of "the cloudless brilliancy of the monarch's reign;" of "the ever

bridal beauties of his incomparable Shirene;" of "his huntings, and his victories;" and of "Shub-deez, his fine Arabian charger, more powerful than the thunderbolt, and fleeter than the wind." These tales then go on rather preposterously; for they say, that soon after the nuptials of Khosroo with this peerless princess, and that he had brought her into Persia to share his crown, he wished to perpetuate her wonderful charms in marble; and also to execute other marvellous works along the great mountain-range of Be-Sitoon. Accordingly, he sought far and near for an artist of the excellency required; and, by a fortunate concurrence of events, Ferhaud, the most celebrated sculptor of the age, presented himself before him; but when the young man beheld the face of the queen, "whose blazing charms," Ferdousi describes "to confound the light of the sun!" and whose statue was his first employment to model, he became so frantically enamoured as to demand her favour as the price of this, and all his future labours. The king, it seems, with equal extravagancy, entered into the engagement, appearing to be willing at any expence of truth, to purchase the vast works in his contemplation. Ferhaud began; inflicting new wounds on his heart, at every stroke of the chisel which pourtrayed her thousand unimaginable beauties. That finished, mountains were pierced, enormous reservoirs excavated, palaces reared, and streams brought through the solid rock, to play in the fountains of her presence. In short, the lover's chisel seemed a magician's wand; and all that he had commanded, rose so immediately before the king, that, dreading to be called upon to repay the indefatigable Ferhaud with the divinity he himself adored, he determined to get rid of the debt and his fears together, with the life of the enamoured workman. Accordingly, he suborned an old woman, who was in his con-

fidence, to execute his purpose by some stratagem; and, as the legend goes, she arrived at the high mountain-platform of Be-Sitoon, where she found the unconscious victim busily employed in making his excavations, while at every stroke of his pick-axe he exclaimed the name of his beloved. The old woman, affecting a paroxysm of commiseration, cried out in return, "O Ferhaud! why do you deceive yourself in calling on the name of Shirene? Alas! where is she now? Two weeks are gone, and a third is passing, since she was no more. Khosroo, the king, has put on his robes of mourning, and will lament her till the fourth week rises upon his sorrow!" Ferhaud raised his head in horror, at this dreadful narration; and, in the delirium of his despair, seizing the perfidious wretch who had uttered the tale, threw himself from the rock, and both the betrayer and betrayed met the same terrible death, at the same moment. As I before hinted, some historians of the fair Shirene intimate that the sighs of the ingenious sculptor had not always been breathed to the rocks; she also, had heard and echoed them; and, when the sad story was told her of the untimely fate of her lover, "like the rose deserted by the nightingale, she drooped her head, and withered." The disconsolate Khosroo, it is said, after so cruel a reverse of all the hopes he had conceived on the death of his rival, became the prey of remorse; and, determining to make all the reparation in his power, he buried the lovers so near to each other, that the only division between them was the body of the old woman, whose wicked falsehood had occasioned the fatal catastrophe to all three. The people of the valley told me, that I might see their graves at Kesra Shirene, in my way to Bagdad; and that I should know the spot, by observing a couple of rose-trees, which grew out of the mould that covered the faithful

bosoms of Ferhaud and his Shirene; but that a huge thistle marked the accursed clay of their destroyer.

These are the outlines of the poetic tale; but graver history, we have found, represents her true to her royal husband in weal and woe, and that it was on his body she expired; thus proving, by her generous fidelity, that she was worthy of having been the daughter of the great emperor from whose disinterestedness Khosroo was placed on his throne. It is supposed that the group of three, above the equestrian warrior, commemorates the double gift of the Emperor Maurice to the Persian prince; his bride, and his crown. Khosroo, in his robes of inauguration, stands between the imperial pair; the princess on one side, holding a diadem, and the emperor on the other, presenting the new king with the crown to which the Roman arms had restored him. The two winged genii without the arch, seem emblematic of the same coronation, and they appear to hold the nuptial wreath over both king and queen. With regard to the equestrian hero below, the personal achievements, as well as the renown of his armies, give Khosroo Purviz a full claim to the memorial of having his image carved in complete armour; and, most probably, the barbed steed on which he is mounted, was the effigy of his famous war-horse Shub-deez. The chase too, having been one of his favourite amusements, the bas-reliefs on the sides of the arch appear equally appropriate to his story; and the two leading personages may be intended for the king, and his benefactor and guest, the Emperor of the Romans. Gibbon's description of the principal summer palace of the Persian monarch, agrees perfectly well with these representations, and the splendid accounts given by the native writers. "Its paradise, or park," continues he, "was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roe-bucks,

and wild boars; and the noble game of lions and tigers, was sometimes turned loose, for the bolder pleasures of the chase. Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use of the great king: (eastern authors mention his whole stud of these gorgeous animals, to the amount of thirteen thousand:) his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels, assisted by eight thousand of a smaller size; and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules, and fifty thousand horses, amongst whom the names of Shub-deez, and Bareed, are renowned for their speed or beauty."

I have already observed, that the two winged figures, and ornamental sculptures on the front of the arch, are in a similar taste to that which prevailed in the lower empire about this period; and, it is not unlikely, connected as Khosroo was with its sovereign, that he either brought away with him to Persia, or sent for after his restoration, some celebrated artist of the Roman-Grecian school, whose extensive genius planned, directed, or executed, all the public works, architectural embellishments, and royal sculptures of this monarch's reign. It is also not improbable, that this rare personage met his death by the accident of a fall, a fate too incidental to the variety of his employment; from which circumstance, connected with the other particulars, have arisen the many romantic tales concerning the wonderful powers, and mournful catastrophe of the "admirable Ferhaud."

My next engagement was in the second arch, which is of less dimensions than the preceding, being in width only nineteen feet, and in depth twelve. Its exterior is without ornament, while the bas-relief within, which faces the opening, appears to have been a piece of very rough workmanship, and is rendered

more so by its present mutilation. * It consists of two figures, standing side by side in full view of the entrance, and almost fac-similes of each other. Both have the bushy hair on their heads, surmounted with the large balloon-like globes; and both hands of each person approach the front of their waists, where they rest on the pummel of their swords, which hang down in a perpendicular line, in the style of many of the figures at Nakshi-Roustam, and at Nakshi-Rajab. † Their vests are without ornament; but round their necks and waists, appear collars and belts of very rich workmanship. A dagger is suspended from the right side of each figure; and, through a ring on the sheaths, a cord passes across the thigh, to an opposite ring on the dress. This appendage, in its simplicity and use, resembles the leathern thong described in the sculptures of Persepolis. Loose trowsers, and highly decorated shoes, finish their actual apparel; but the royal rank of the wearers is amply declared, by the numerous floating ends which stream from their heads, shoulders, daggers, and feet.

This bas-relief has had the good fortune to retain its inscription, which is in the Pehlivi character. I had it cleansed from the dirt, which here and there crusted over it, and then copied it with great care. It is written on each side of the group, and in Roman letters would run thus:

"Patkeli teman mezdiezn behia, Schapouri malcan malca Airan ve Anairan minotchetri men Yezdan boman mezdiezn vohia Ormazdi malcan malca Airan ve Anairan minotchetri men Yezdan nepi behia Narschi malcan malca."

* See Plate LXV. † See Plate XXVIII. Vol. I.

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In English, thus:

"This is the image of the adorer of Ormuzd, the most excellent Shapoor, king of kings, of Iran, and An-Iran, offspring of the gods, son of the adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Hormuz, king of kings, of Iran, and An-Iran, descended from the divine race, and grandson of the excellent Narsi, king of kings."

The word *An-Iran*, is supposed to mean *all beyond Iran*, that is, the Persian empire's conquered dependencies, or, in more Asiatic language, the *whole world*. Moullah Firoze, a learned parsée of Bombay, explains the name of Airan (Iran) to be derived from that of Believer; and that *Anairan*, meaning Unbelievers, the two terms amount to the same thing as the foregoing title, and proclaims the Persian monarch to be sole governor of the habitable globe. The figure attached to this first inscription, we must therefore understand to be that of Shapoor II., surnamed Zoolaktaf, who died A.D. 381, after a reign of seventy years. — The second inscription runs thus:

"Patkeli teman mezdiezn behia Schapouri malcan malca, Airan ve Anairan minotchetri men Yezdan boman mezdiezn behia Schapouri malcan malca Airan ve Anairan minotchetri men Yezdan behia Ormazdi malcan malca."

Which means,

"This is the image of the adorer of Ormuzd, the most excellent Shapoor, king of kings, of Iran, and An-Iran, offspring of the Gods, son of the adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Shapoor, king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, descended from the divine race, and grandson of the excellent Hormuz, king of kings."

This personage, therefore, represents Shapoor III., the son of the preceding; he was a brave and liberal prince, but reigned

only five years; having been killed by the effects of a sudden whirlwind common in these countries, which tearing away the cordage of the tent under which he slept, the pole struck him in its fall; at once deprived him of life, and the kingdom of a sovereign worthy to have been the successor of the great and good Shapoor. He was succeeded by his brother, Baharam IV. surnamed Kermanshah, to whose filial piety this commemorative sculpture is attributed; and who, it is said, acquired that *cognomen* from having filled the station of viceroy over the province of Kerman during the reign of his brother. If so, there must have been something that particularly endeared the remembrance of that delegated rule, since we are also told that he built and named the city of Kermanshah, to perpetuate its memory. He reigned about fifteen years, and then lost his life by the random shot of an arrow, while endeavouring to quell a tumult in his army. The reputation of his father, the great Shapoor II., had been so successfully emulative of the military fame of his renowned ancestor Shapoor I., whose warlike achievements cover the sculptured rocks of the city of Shahpour in Fars, (a place which that monarch founded, after his conquest over the Emperor Valerian, and adorned with trophies of the event,) that it could not fail to excite a similar ambition in Baharam, to perpetuate, in like manner, the image of his father. A fraternal affection not common amongst Asiatic princes, appears to have actuated him to make his brother and immediate predecessor the partner in this bas-relief.

Shapoor II., equally brave with Shapoor I., is a much more interesting personage than that fierce conqueror; the history of the former being filled with romantic circumstances, and instances of the many virtues, royal and domestic, which adorned his

character. Perhaps we cannot have a better proof of the latter, than the amity which subsisted between his sons. He commenced his reign, A. D. 310, with the hour of his birth; and even in the morning of his youth, he performed signal exploits against the nnmerous invaders of his empire, Greeks, Tartars, and Arabs. From certain consequences attending his conquest over the latter, he assumed the added name of Zoolaktaf. The Emperors Constantius, Julian, and Jovian, felt also the full vengeance of his arms. The armies of the last prince were so severely discomfited on the banks of the Tigris, that he ceded to the victorious Persian, all the provinces which former Roman generals had won from that country, and left him master of a great part of Mesopotamia and Armenia besides. This illustrious restorer of his country lived nearly seventy years; and then, as has been said before, left his kingdom to the successive reigns of his two exemplary sons, Shapoor III., and Baharam IV.

Having finished my sketch of the second arch, I proceeded to the only remaining sculpture on these rocks, and which is called by the natives, that of the Four Calendars. It consists of that number of figures; three erect, and one extended on the ground.* One of the three standing personages treads on the head of the prostrate figure. He wears a mural crown, surmounted by the Sassanian spherical form, only here it resembles a mass of curls, rather than the usual balloon-like surface. A chaplet of pearls binds the forehead; above which, between it and the diadem, appears a nicely arranged row of hair; a variation in this sort of head-dress I had never seen before. A thin floating robe, tied upon the breast, passes over his shoulders, and waves in fan-

* See Plate LXVI.

tastic folds down his sides. A single band encircles his waist, confining the drapery of the vest, which falls as low as his knees. The trowsers are like those already described. His left hand rests upon his hip, and his right is stretched forth, grasping the usual royal symbol of the circlet, or cydaris, with floating ties. The centre figure also takes hold of this symbol with his right hand; his left appears touching the hilt of his sword, which hangs at his side. He is richly belted, and his neck adorned with a magnificent collar. No drapery appears floating on his garments, excepting some streamers from his dagger, which is worn in the style of the two figures within the lesser arch. His head is covered with a kind of scull-cap, crested with a huge ball, and bound round the temples with a fillet. He wears a vest and full trowsers, like his companion. The personage to the right of the centre figure, is of rather a singular appearance. His head is protected by a similar kind of cap, but without the ball, and with the extraordinary addition of a circle of rays, blazing round his head, and down to below his shoulders. He holds in both hands a fluted staff, or sceptre, of great length. The rest of his vesture nearly resembles that of the murally crowned figure. He stands upon a plant, not unlike a sun-flower, the stalk of which is short and thick, and curved down into a lower part of the rock. The prostrate person is greatly mutilated; but his pearl-wreath, collar, and sword, shew that his consequence was not inferior to the two who trample on him.

The execution of this bas-relief, in comparison with those in the great arch of Khosroo Purviz, is wretchedly rude; and so much in the rough taste which commemorates Shapoor Zoolaktaf and his son, in the lesser arch, that I have no doubt of its being the work of the same chisel. There being no inscription what-

ever on this sculpture, we have no clew but analogy, by which it may be explained. The general costume is that of the Sassanian dynasty; and the particular details, with the triumphant situation, and mutual holding of the cydaris, of two of the figures, seem to point to its union with the subject of a bas-relief I drew at Nakshi Roustam.* That, when compared with this, was finely executed; and the grace of the habiliments, though in the same fashion with these, partook of the flowing elegance of the artist's chisel. There is a third figure also, in that bas-relief, but he is evidently intended for a servant; whilst the third in this, by his station and attributes, appears little less than a god. Notwithstanding this difference, I should still be led to consider the present subject, as a pedestrian design of the same event exhibited in the equestrian representation on the rock of Nakshi-Roustam. The inscription there † declares it emblematic of the re-establishment of the glorious Kaianian line, in the person of Ardashir Babigan. ‡ Here we have the same murally-crowned Ormuzd, presenting the emblem of sovereignty to the same globe-helmeted Ardashir; and both are trampling on a similar royally-habited figure, symbolical of the fallen Arsacidæ. The radiated personage may either be a personification of the Mithratic religion, restored by him; which the sun-beams round the head, and the full-blown flower rising under their influence at his feet, seem to typify; or the figure may be meant for the glorified Zoroaster himself; some Persian writers ascribing to him the reflected honour of that godlike attribute. The altar-platform near this bas-relief, and also the source of the river, (two sacred Mithratic appendages,) support the idea that this sculpture contains more than human images.

* See Plate XXIII. Vol. I.

† Ibid.

‡ See Vol. I. pages 549. to 557. inclusive.

That the bas-reliefs at Tackt-i-Bostan are of Sassanian origin, no person who has taken the pains to compare the works of one age with another, can have any doubt; or, that the last described, though relating to an event that took place in the beginning of the third century, was executed towards the end of the fourth, by order of Baharam Kermanshah; who, when adorning the environs of his new city with sculptures to the memory of his father, might deem it wise to add this memorial of his descent from the great restorer, if not founder, of his race. The bas-reliefs of Khosroo Purviz could not be executed till upwards of two centuries afterwards; though the tales of the natives would attribute all on the range of Tackt-i-Bostan and Be-Sitoon, to the gigantic powers of the unhappy Ferhaud; but taste as well as truth would compel him to give up all claim to any in *the Throne of the Garden*, excepting those of the great arch; and with regard to Be-Sitoon, (if that were Bagistan, *the Place of the Garden*,) he must, probably, resign the colossal remains over the fountain, to the age of Semiramis; and the captive procession, to some admirable artist of the earliest times of the empire of the Medes.

The fertility of this extensive valley is truly beautiful in its whole stretch from the city of Kermanshah, to the town of Senna, the capital of Ardelan, the most southern district of Courdistan; and on the opposite direction, to the junction of the rivers Mori and Kara-sou, whose ample streams, with the addition of many others of less note, water this delicious garden. Such natural luxuriance could not fail from the earliest ages, attracting the sovereigns of the country to fix a palace of temporary rest at least, in so charming a spot; and hence no doubt need subsist of its real claim to the reputation of having been the occasional abode of all the princes to which tradition

gives it a pretension. The extent of the Assyrian, and Persian dominions, during different eras; and the almost constant progress of their sovereigns from one province to another, may well account for the numerous palaces and gardens, said to be built and planted by them, at what, to us, may appear such unreasonably short distances.

The present annual produce of this valley, in grain of various kinds, is scarcely to be credited; while its neighbouring fertile vales under the same prince-governor, must raise his revenue to the largest amount of any delegated authority in the kingdom. The calamity of famine, which a few years ago desolated the other provinces, never touched this; and the number of its population was consequently much increased during that great national affliction. Whole families emigrated from the vicinities of Ispahan, Kashan, Koom, and other places, to find an asylum here from starvation. The distress was so dreadful in many parts of the country, that mothers sold their grown-up daughters for a few mauns of wheat, to feed their younger children perishing for want. The abundance of every necessary of life in this vale, may be imagined, when I mention that my own party consists of ten persons, twelve horses, with mules in proportion; and it does not cost me more than three reals per day, (about two shillings and sixpence,) to subsist the whole. Meat, butter, eggs, milk, bread, corn, straw, all were included in this trifling sum. The greatest part of the inhabitants are Courds, somewhat tamed down from their wandering mountain-habits, to become settlers in villages, and to till a land which amply rewards them. Yet, as I intimated on my arrival, they are not so thoroughly weaned from their primitive ways, but that they gladly embrace every fair excuse for getting under their black canvass, even at

no greater distance from their kishlock, or walled cluster of cottages, than a few hundred yards.

Their dress differs more in hue than in shape, from that of the ordinary Persian; as we generally find that the common people in every country, paying more regard to climate and convenience than to any change of mode, wear much the same sort of apparel through every age. Instead of the black skin cap of the Persian, the Courd has one of a whitish felt, pointed at the top, but varying in height. It has flaps falling over the ears, to shelter them from the mountain-cold. In winter, or in those keen higher regions, an additional garment is worn, called a kadack; its form is that of a short jacket, and its fabric and colour the same with the cap. They seldom move without a heavy pear-headed stick in their hands, and frequently are armed besides with a trusty well-handled sword. Whether they live in villages or towns, their hearts yearn after all that belongs to the open field; the boldest spirits, for the foray and the spoil; and those who do not object the prey without the chase, gladly embrace whatever plunder fortune may throw into their hands. Before I made my final preparations for departing, the ketkhoda of Tackt-i-Bostan warned me to keep my people on the especial look-out the night previous to my setting off; for, with the greatest sang froid, he added, "there could be no doubt some attempt would be made to carry off part of the baggage, mules, or horses." That this friendly caution was necessary, shewed the style of difference between the governments of Azerbijan and Kermanshah, there being marauding dispositions in the neighbourhood of both. But I had not waited for this friendly hint from the magistrate of the place; having from the first been aware of the morals of his subjects,

I had stationed an hourly sentry over my property, every night during my sojourn amongst them. Sedak Beg always slept on an elevated bank in the open air, close to the great opening, or veranda kind of front belonging to the room I occupied; and he chose to place himself there, under an idea of being the most efficient watch over my person. But his rest in general was so profound, that both robbery and murder might have been committed close to his ear, and he would not have been roused; a proof of which was given a few nights before my departure. Scarce a dark hour had passed over our heads, without some of us perceiving certain prowlers hovering about the bivouac of our cattle and men; but on the night I speak of, they managed to creep, unheard, so close to Sedak's couch, as to draw the only covering he had, off him; it was an English blanket, therefore of particular value in his eyes. They also stole his slippers, and sundry other most essential parts of his dress. During all this, he heard no more than if a feather were stirring; and so soundly did he sleep, thus almost naked in the cold air of the morning, that when I called him to rise, he started from his bank in a horror of astonishment at the situation in which he found himself. It was fortunate for the marauders that they performed their theft with such marvellous dexterity; for that night I had a muleteer on guard, a native of Kazeroon, whose never-missing matchlock had already levelled several of their fraternity in other districts; and had their easy spoil from the person of Sedak, tempted them to approach nearer to the baggage where my sentinel was placed, one, at least, of them would have paid dearly for their excursion.

The fair sex of the Courdish race, are generally of a pale mahogany hue, with very fine features; the nose usually aquiline, with eyes bright indeed as the antelope's, and the whole coun-

tenance expressive of frank and amiable dispositions. The men have nothing of that suspicion regarding their women, which distinguish the Turks and Persians; hence their wives and daughters walk abroad in the security of innocence, without the great veil or chadre. Their only appendage which at all resembles such a covering, is a handkerchief hanging loose from the back of the head, which at will they can pull quite over the face, or allow it merely to shade the cheek. Their persons are enveloped in a long blue garment shaped like a shift, and opening low down the bosom, where it is partially closed with loops fastened to buttons, usually formed of pieces of money; an ornament which they affect in profusion. Their ears, too, are decorated with large silver rings, running through strings of the same. In the cottages, or at the tent doors, these women appear without restraint; and are as ready as any peasant girl in England, to pay to a stranger the usual simple duties of hospitality. Modest when maidens, and chaste as wives, in every respect they cultivate those vigorous habits in themselves, which produce an athletic race of children and set them a fearless example. "Our boys are to be soldiers," they say, "and they must learn to bear, and to dare every thing. We shew them the way."

Tuesday, September 30th, 1818. — We left Tackt-i-Bostan at six o'clock this morning, traversing the valley to the west. At a distance of about two miles from the sculptured rocks, the Kara-sou becomes pretty broad, having been augmented not far from thence by the influx of several streams, the most abundant of which is the "fair and crystalline Shirene." Historians tell of a striking scene that must have taken place near this spot. The pavilion of Khosroo Purviz was pitched on one of the banks

of the Kara-sou, at the time he received a letter from the newly-sprung prophet of Mecca, calling on the sovereign of Persia to forswear the religion of his fathers, and to embrace the Arabian faith. Indignant at so insolent a demand, the king tore the letter to pieces, and cast it into the river. The Mahomedans say, that the stream shrunk in its bed, in horror of the impiety, and that in the same hour his fortunate star left him.

Not far from the junction of these waters, a lofty and well-constructed bridge, erected by order of the Hakem Sheik Ali Khan, led us into the main road. It passes close to the walls of Kermanshah, which we reached after a short march of about a farsang and a half. Having declined visiting it during the presence of its royal governor, I would not enter its gates in his absence, and therefore merely viewed it from the plain. It is probable that some town attached to the ancient works near, may have stood on the site of the present city; which having been rebuilt, and named Kermanshah, by Baharam the son of Shapoor Zoolaktaf, he received the honours of having been its founder. Since that epoch, the end of the fourth century, it has undergone many changes, dilapidations, restorations, and dilapidations again; no trace being left of the magnificent palace in which, we are told, that Noushirvan the great Chosroes of the Roman writers, received tribute from Justinian their emperor; and such incredible presents from the sovereigns of India and Khatay, that amidst piles of splendid jewellery, fair ladies were discovered veiled, "but shining through their slight covering, in beauty more dazzling than the sun!"

In perusing the history of Persia, in western, as well as eastern authors, we are struck with admiration at the magnificence of its monarchs; at the surprising conquests of many of them,

who raised the name of their empire to so high a pitch of glory, that Greece, and even Rome the mistress of nations, trembled at its sound. Her legions crossed the mountains of Caucasus, and mighty Taurus, to be beaten back with disgrace; her greatest generals, and proudest emperors, bowed the knee to the Sapors, and Chosroes of Persia. Nay, nearer to our own times, what conquests has not Persia achieved! the splendours of Shah Abbas's arms are yet remembered from the banks of the Cyrus on the south, to those of the Cyrus on the north: and Nadir Shah, originally a chief of robbers, planted the standards of the "lion and the sun" on the walls of Delhi. How then are we to account for the empire of Persia having been so great, and yet it has hardly ever appeared to exist as a nation? How, that in the midst of trophies, and spoils, the country has ever been poor? And in the meridian of victory, the hearts of the people have quailed for fear? The answer seems plain to an Englishman: Persia has always been under an arbitrary government. The people, feeling themselves nothing as a people, have been nothing as a people; but good soldiers when called upon; though always the soldiers of him who feeds or pays them. Having no political constitution to defend, it was all one to them, whether they fought the battles of Shah Thamas, or of Nadir Shah. The passing glory of any particular monarch might shed a transitory gleam on them; his virtues might give them temporary benefits; but he dies; and, in a worldly point of view, having been little more than "a fortunate accident," his successor had it at will to rule or oppress as he pleased. But the light of reciprocal justice amongst high and low, which the general diffusion of Christian and political knowledge disperses over the world, has spread its beams far to the east. If I may use such a figure, I would say,

the atmosphere has now acquired something of this divine temperature; and although they who breathe it may be ignorant of its source, yet the ray is there which in heaven's good time must "change the darkness into light;" and causing the wise institutions of Europe to be adopted into Asia, pay back to that country the many obligations of former ages.

Kermanshah, as it now stands, is a handsome city; exhibiting the glittering domes of mosques within, and the battlements and towers of lofty walls without. Being erected on a south-western slope of the mountains, it commands a wide view of the vale; and when advancing to it from a little distance, its position increases the consequence of its appearance, by shewing so much of its planted courts, and public buildings, declining from the hill. According to an observation given to me at Tabreez, by a British officer resident there, it is in latitude 34° 26′ N. The present Shah has made it the capital of the great district over which he has constituted his eldest son, Mahmoud Ali Mirza, the governor. This prince is daily adding to its importance, by the construction of modern defensive works, and the erection of various public edifices. The bazar has been rebuilt on an extensive plan; and a palace is just finished, not inferior, I am told, to any in the kingdom. Kermanshah is famous for an excellent manufactory of fire-arms; and the villages in its vicinity, for carpets of the most beautiful colours and fabric. Luxurious gardens surround the town, abundant in fruits of all kinds, but particularly in grapes of an exquisitely delicious muscatel flavour. The population amounts to about 15,000 families, some few of which are Christians and Jews; the views of its governor inclining him to draw into his city, and to disperse through the whole range of his government, those sorts of persons most likely

to increase his revenues, and to spread his general influence. His treasury has various sources of augmentation; one instance may suffice: nearly 30,000 tomauns arrive annually as a peace-offering from the Pasha of Bagdad; so well does Mahmoud Ali know how to make himself feared! so well is he aware of the power of gold, to do just what he pleases; to confirm adherents, to make friends of enemies, to raise armies like the dust of the ground; or, in the hour of necessity, to let the lawless tribes loose upon the towns and villages of a rival!

The fact of the Shah having nominated Abbas Mirza to be his successor, rather than Mahmoud Ali Mirza, the elder brother, is well known to every country in Europe at all interested in the affairs of this kingdom. The reason assigned for the preference, is simply the different circumstances of their birth; the mother of the declared heir, having been one of the legal queens of the king, and also a daughter of the Kadjur or royal tribe; whereas the mother of the prince of Kermanshah, was only a concubine slave. But from what has already passed, we must see that the scymetar is likely to be called upon hereafter, to write in blood the will of Futteh Ali Shah. On the day for naming the successor, all the royal brothers, with the ministers and great khans, were present; and when the king presented Abbas Mirza to them as their sovereign, every soul bowed the head of submission, excepting Mahmoud Ali Mirza, and he told his royal father, that while he lived, he would acknowledge no other sovereign than himself; then laying his hand on his sword, he added sternly, "after that, *this* shall decide who is to be king of Persia."

The intrepidity of such frankness marks the character of this prince. He is proud, ambitious, daring, and invincibly brave

but he is despotic and severe, rather holding the affections of those about him by awe, than attachment. His military talents have been tried on more than one occasion, in conflicts with the troops of the Pasha of Bagdad; the results of which have shewn his powers for negociation and political intrigue, by the advantages to himself which he always derived from these differences. He has now fixed a tribute on the Pasha, and maintains a sovereign influence over all the considerable chiefs of that part of Courdistan which appertains to the pashalick. The boldness and command of such a character is very striking; and we see in it iron qualities, well adapted to the government of so wild a country as the most part of southern Persia; power to use, or to hold in check, those predatory and turbulent spirits which obey no law but the sword. But these, perhaps essential dispositions to controul an almost determinately barbarous people, would crush the growing progress of civilization in the northern part of the empire; which requires the bland influence of gentleness, goodness, liberality, and bravery wedded to mercy, to foster that country into what it promises. And between two such opposite characters as those I have just sketched, the contest will lie. The power of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, when ever he chooses to exert it, may be considered formidable, from the extent and nature of the country under his jurisdiction. It embraces almost the whole of the Louristan mountains, even so far to the south-east as where they nearly touch the head of the Persian Gulf; and bending round in the line of the Ziloon hills, it includes the province of Khuzistan; whence it runs north-west by Mount Zagros, till bounded by the province of Ardelan; a part of Courdistan, under the rule of the Waly of Senna. Hamadan touches it on the north-east. And thus it may be said to hold within

its influence two of the most ancient capitals of the Persian empire; Ecbatana of the Medes, and Susa of Elam, or Susiana. Besides, from the numerous rivers which flow through the extensive valleys of these numerous districts, this may be esteemed the most productive government in the kingdom; fruitful in every aliment of life, and abundant in life itself, by producing multitudes of warlike tribes, Courdish, Bactiari, Fielly, &c., who are by turns, husbandmen, soldiers, or robbers. In the hands of such a prince as Mahmoud Ali, these are formidable resources.

On leaving the environs of the city, whose chief has led me into this long digression, we entered the great road direct to Bagdad; and ascending the mountain in a direction south 85° west, journeyed up the gradually sloping side, on a track between numerous low hills, whose intermediate little valleys were covered with grain of different kinds. Having thus mounted for nearly three farsangs, we began a descent into a vale of not less than eight miles in width, and running parallel with that of Kermanshah. We crossed it, and in about an hour, reached the village and large caravansary of Mahadesht, having travelled a distance of five farsangs.

September 31st.—We left the caravansary at five o'clock this morning. Our way lay across the flat country, where we crossed a bridge over the river Mori. Thus we continued for nearly an hour, travelling over a good road towards the foot of the mountains, in a direction north 80° west. We then began their ascent over the usual stile of low hills, but here, instead of verdant glens, they were intersected by close and arid valleys. At the expiration of two hours, we reached a small solitary-looking plain, with a little lonely village called Severeh, at its eastern extremity. From thence, we began a second ascent of a very

long, steep, and rugged description; and that surmounted, our descent was not less difficult into an extensive vale, bounded to the south-west by mountains, over whose heads appeared successive piles of so great a height and grandeur, I could have no hesitation in believing them to be the most western branch of the far-famed Zagros of the Greeks. We journeyed through a valley, by the side of a narrow river called the Gawvanan, which, with two others, called the Kinamossi, and Haroun-sou, form a junction about two farsangs to the southward; whence flowing onward in a fine current of waters towards Louristan, they fall ultimately into the Kara-sou. Our total march of this day, was six farsangs, bringing us to Haroun-abad a little before twelve at noon.

October 1st. — At a very early hour this morning we left our menzil, taking a line of march north 70° west, for a distance of six miles; part of which, on a good road, speedily brought us to the termination of the vale, at which point it narrows into a valley bulwarked by craggy mountains on each side, while the sloping banks at their base are covered with green meadow-land. This cheerful track led us to our lately usual mountain-road, winding amongst and over a chain of low hills. These were thickly covered with woods of a sort of stunted oak, not growing higher than twenty feet, and with round bushy heads. A couple of hours' ride through this wild forest-like scenery brought us forth into an open plain, bounded on all sides by mountains. Our way now lay along the base of the heights we had just descended, and which brought us to the village and caravansary of Karund. They are romantically situated, within a large rocky chasm, and hidden from the anxious look-out of the weary traveller, till he comes direct in front of his wished-for menzil.

Gardens and vineyards embowered this delicious little dell; and an inviting stream of limpid water, rippling through the rocks which bedded the richly verdant hollow of the glen, was not the least of our regales after the fatigue of a hot ride for six hours; a distance of five farsangs from Haroun-abad. The caravansary is large and commodious, being of the Sefi age; that of the merchant's friend.

October 2d. — This morning we quitted our most refreshing sojourn, at a little before five o'clock. Our way lay up the broad and green valley to the north-west, till it entered a narrow defile close pent between high and irregular craggs. At this rugged path, it was said we took leave of what had been the celebrated pastures, noted by Arrian as the nursery of the most esteemed breed of Median horses. Their beauty, spirit, and swiftness were the admiration of the East; and Alexander held them in such estimation, that when he became master of the empire, he thought a steed of that race one of the most valuable presents he could bestow. It is supposed that the whole of these extensive and fertile vales, stretching through Haroun-abad to Mahadesht, were included in the ancient name of the Nissæan plains. On entering the defile, we found it all that its rude appearance shewed. A small but noisy stream rushed over the stony bottom; and an equally rough path by its side, was the footing for our poor animals. We, however, had one comfort in so wretched a road; the hilly projections from the rocks that walled us in, were clothed with dwarf oaks, which now and then lent us a little of their shade. Through this tortuous gorge, we slowly wound our way without sight of human habitation, till we happily spied a solitary caravansary, standing beneath some naked and frowning cliffs at the opening

of a wide ravine. It was built by Mahmoud Ali Mirza, and is the last halting-place ere the traveller quits the Persian frontier, and enters on the long famed land of Assyria. It is, in general, called the Shah's Adda Khaun; meaning the caravansary of the king's son. It is reckoned four farsangs ftom Karund.

October 3d.—Our horses were saddled this morning by five o'clock, when we proceeded in the same kind of mountain-road for nearly two hours, at which time we diverged to the north, leaving the ravine, and crossing the intersecting tongues of the different rocky hills, which here shoot from the western chain of Zagros, and traversed our way. The road was rough; and the bordering scenery, that which usually accompanies these irreclaimable tracts of nature, of the wildest picturesque character: huge promontories of shelving cliffs at various distances shot out from the hanging woods, and beetled over the road in heavy, threatening precipices. After travelling about a farsang through this Alpine pass, we saw it expand into a fine valley; on one side of which our way lay due west, winding along the abrupt declivities of a mountain. The road was broken and stony, but shewed traces of a condition that marked it to have been a work of former ages. On my observing this to our guide, (for from the time we left Kermanshah, a person of that description became indispensable,) he told me, that a little onward I should see a building of the ancient kings, which might corroborate my observation. He added, that it was called Tackt-i-Gara, the Throne of the Mountain; and had been erected by Khosroo Purviz, as a travelling shelter for his beloved Shirene. It will be remembered that in those times, both Assyria and Babylonia were within the lines of the Persian empire.

On approaching the spot, I found it consist of a lofty and

solid arch; the style of which was of any other origin than a Persian architect of any age. The stones which compose it, are large and finely hewn. A great part of the architrave, and also a small running ornament below the springs of the semi-circle, remain undemolished, and mark it to have been the work of western artists. Its span is about fifteen feet; and the depth inward, about twelve. A very large surface of square stone, composed chiefly of the cliff of the mountain, covers the middle of the space which forms the back wall of the arch. On this sort of tablet, I do not doubt an inscription has once been visible; but the mutilating hatchets of the destroyers have not left the trace of a letter. From this point, a couple of miles of continued descent brought us into a very wide vale, stretching north and south, and traversed by innumerable rivulets flowing from the Alpine chains on both sides. The intermediate space was chiefly pasture ground, filled with droves of horses scattered about in all the picturesque freedom of nature; while the picture they presented, could not but recall the scenes of old time in the more classic plains on the other side of the frontier ridge of mountain. When we had descended from that line of demarcation, which there limits the Persian empire, and had come down into the vale I have just mentioned, we found ourselves on a kind of neutral ground; one of those portions of the globe, which, whenever they occur, are usually inhabited by the refuse of each country on which they border. We traversed it in a westerly direction, till the road again entered the defiles of the mountains due west. During our march through this latter pass, we forded a shallow river running to the south-west. At some distance onward, we re-crossed the same stream over a very respectable bridge; and soon after entered the spacious

khaun of Pool-i-Zohaub; khaun being the term for a caravansary, in the Turkish dominions; the name of this one is derived from that of the bridge, and the river flowing near its walls. There is a town also called Zohaub, about two farsangs to the northward, and near to it, is the source of this serpentine water; which, after washing the base of western Zagros, takes the name of Elwan, and of all other vales through which it winds its wandering way, till it is entirely swallowed up in the ampler channel of the Diala. We had travelled this day about five farsangs; and in the course of the time fell in again with a Palmer-host, still more numerous than those with whom we had parted in the vale of Kermanshah.

After having entered the khaun of the Pool-i-Zohaub, my first lodging beyond the territories of the great king, and took my station under the vaulted roof of the spacious recess appointed for my quarters, I seated myself on my carpet close to the open side of my apartments, to enjoy the air, and the busy amusing scene before me. The cell-like ranges of the arcades which lined the building, and the square in the centre, were filled with multitudes of persons of every Asiatic hue, dress, and calling; Turks, Persians, Arabs, Courds, and Indians, being the component parts of this pilgrim army; and the variety of their costume, manners, and occupations, produced groups the most singular, and often grotesque, imagination can conceive. Some were cooking, others praying; some feeding their lean cattle, others their hungry selves; here, sat a group furbishing their fire-arms; there, clusters of people smoking, drinking coffee, or sleeping. In one place stood mules and horses, mingled with men and baggage; in another lay coffins, women, and children. But, if we may judge from appearances, my old acquaintances,

the Persians, male and female, in this expedition, intended most to mortify the flesh; for while the pilgrims of other nations were at least decently clad, the *sackcloth* of these was rags, and for *ashes*, they had an ample complement of every other species of dirt. Having gone carelessly on, under such loathsome garments during the march, when they halted for refreshment, many of the men, without regard to those about them, stripped themselves to the skin, and sat crouching and naked like a circle of brahmins. The motive for this state of nature, was to have free chace for the infinity of vermin, which covers their unchanged garments like dust on the ground; and as they never destroy what they discover, but throw them down, the flooring of any place of their rest seldom fails swarming like the "quarters of Egypt." Fleas, too, are met with in all the caravansaries, skipping about in myriads; and as whirlwinds are frequent at the close of the day, these creatures literally come in clouds, mingled with chaff and dust; and entering the open recesses, fill every nook and dwelling-hole destined to shelter the passing guest. Water, frequent changes and inspection of apparel, and constant watchfulness, must be the unremitted guards of the European traveller; else these disgusting annoyances would soon be found the most formidable evil of an Asiatic journey.

There is an establishment at Pool-i-Zohaub, planted by the pasha of Bagdad, to receive the tax levied on pilgrims and caravans. It is exacted at the rate of a Persian panabad (equivalent to sixpence) for each beast of burthen; and an abbassy (five pence) per head, for each individual. I enquired how many persons had passed this entrance into the pashalick this year, and was informed ten thousand. This statement is correct, since it came from those in the immediate receipt of the custom. The re-

venue his highness receives from these sources is considerable. But the troops by Pool-i-Zohaub, not being the only stream of devotees which seek the holy shrines, it is his interest to yield them every reasonable facility in crossing his dominions; that he may induce some of the many thousands who pour towards the sacred territories by the ways of Courdistan, to pass through the pashalick of Bagdad. Indeed, his treasury is greatly augmented, and his capital enriched, by the vast sums of money expended annually by these wandering bands under the walls of his city.

I now not only found myself in another country, but so much in another climate, that it appeared as if the atmosphere of Persia were a contraband, and must not pass the frontier. My last few days on the other side of the dividing crest of Zagros, were sufficiently hot to destroy my thermometers, by so curling their ivory scales as to cause the glass tubes to break; a piece of experience I gained too late to have either of them changed to metal scales, on which the heat could not have had any such power. But, extreme as I then thought the burning atmosphere, it was nothing to the fierceness of the blaze which met me on the pashalick side of the frontier; and not being able to ascertain its degree, I the more regretted the misfortune of my thermometers.

October 4th. — This morning we re-commenced our route at five o'clock; crossing an open country, in a line north 45° west, and intersected by numberless little streams; six or eight of which, out of the many we rode through to the great pleasure of our mules and horses, find their way to the Zohaub. After a march of about an hour and a half, we entered upon a chain of hills, amongst which our road led in the most circuitous and intricate mazes I had ever trod; heights and depths, ravines,

dry water-courses, rugged promontories, short stony plains, in short, every species of mountain difficulties, diversified our path for full fifteen miles, till we arrived at a once formidable barrier; not far from which we again caught a view of the meandering river Zóhaub. Along the alpine ridge we mounted, runs a massy wall of large hewn stones, which in places, like a curtain, closes the openings left by nature in the rocky bulwarks of the country. It had evidently been intended for a defence against any hostile approach from the eastward, and on passing it we went through what had formed one of its gates. Journeying on a mile or two farther, a second wall still higher and stronger, presented itself to our sight, the front of which had a north-eastern aspect; and from it ran a third wall along a rocky ridge, nearly due east, till it joined the other wall, partly inclosing a vast angular space of ground. On various spots lay large stones of a great length, and hollowed in the middle, as if they were the remains of some ancient covered channel to convey water. The natives, to this day, call it the aqueduct of Khosroo Purviz; saying, it was one of the works constructed by Ferhaud, to purchase the smiles of his beloved Shirene. Numerous fragments, and continuations of the great rampart-wall, tracked our way while we rode westward, till these vast remains met the ruins of another wall; the position and extent of which seemed to declare it to have been one side of the battlements of some ancient city of consequence. On enquiring of an intelligent travelling Arab who had joined us, he informed me that I did not mistake, and that it was called Kesra-Shirene; near which, I knew, was to be our purposed place of halt; and, on making this discovery, I despatched my little troop with the baggage, on to the menzil; while myself, with my faithful Sedak, (who, when his eyes were

open, ever kept a sharp look-out for my personal safety,) and a Georgian well-armed, accompanied the Arab to explore the interesting remains which at every step rose before us.

We passed under a gateway of simple construction, formed of hewn stones; which, together with its flanking walls stretching right and left, stood about twelve feet, and might be about six in thickness. The wall, on one side, ran to a considerable distance northward, and then forming an angle, stretched west; whence it curved again, running a little way; then disappeared in utter ruin, then started up again in massy fragments, at different distances, but all, latterly, in a southern direction; the whole seeming to have formerly inclosed an area of some miles, and likely to have been occupied by the streets, courts, and public buildings of a very noble city. Indeed, the relics that were still standing, shewed that it had been so. The first ruined edifice we approached, was built of stone, and consists of long ranges of vaulted rooms, nearly choked up with the fallen masses of what may have been its magnificent superstructure. A little onward, we came to the remains of some place of great magnitude; it is a square building of nearly a hundred feet along each side; four entrances have led into the interior, and the arches of these portals, which are falling fast to the last stage of decay, cannot be less than from thirty to forty feet in height. The walls are of equal elevation, and of a more than ordinary thickness for any structure not intended to stand the brunt of war, being twelve feet in solidity. The interior of the place, which seems to have been one enormous chamber, or hall, is covered with lime, stones, and other broken fragments of masonry; but I searched in vain for any remnant of sculptured ornament, or inscription. At the south-western angle of the great area within the city walls, on a com-

manding rise of ground, stand ruins of a stronger character; the massiveness, and form of the work, proving them to be the remains of a fortress. The building is of stone and brick; the latter being of a large square surface, not very thick. Various lofty arched chambers, as well as deep subterraneous dungeons, compose this noble ruin. In ranging over the rest of the ground contained within the circuit of the great interior walls, we found it covered with every indication, that there had once stood the busy streets of a great and populous city. While making these observations, and comparing what I then saw, with the vast barriers of masonry I had remarked in the earlier part of the day shutting up the mountain-passes, I could not doubt that they were the outer bulwarks of this ancient place.

We are told that the city of Dustajerd was the most stationary royal residence of Khosroo Purviz, and that it contained his most superb palace, treasury, and public buildings. There he passed his winters with the beautiful object of his idolatry; and thence he fled with her, from the conquering arms of the Emperor Heraclius. After that monarch had overthrown the Persian army near the site of Nineveh, he hastened to the capital of Khosroo, stormed and plundered it, taking away with him, amongst other spoil, the sacred cross, which the generals of Khosroo had torn from the altars of Jerusalem. If we compare the movements of the vanquished king, after the celebrated battle I have just mentioned, with the situation of these immense remains, I should think no doubt can exist of their being those of Dustajerd. The long traditionary name given to them, of Kesra-Shirene, (Khosroo-Shirene,) certainly designates some favourite residence of that royal pair; and, as we find it attached to walls of such extent, they could be nothing less than those of a city. We know that

from some disgust which Khosroo Purviz took against Al Maidan, (for many generations the winter capital of his ancestors,) he did not approach it for the chief part of his reign; and history informs us, that in consequence of this dislike, he made Artimeta (Dustajerd) his royal city. According to D'Anville, "it was situated beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles north of the other capital." Ctesiphon, the original of Al Maidan, was built on the eastern bank of the Tigris, directly opposite to the Grecian city of Seleucia; and it arose from the long establishment of a Persian encampment on the spot, which, by the judicious management of its commander, drew all the supplies of the country to himself, and by that means gradually converted canvass booths into brick dwellings, and a temporary station into a lasting town. It is said, that Orodes, one of the Arsacidæan kings, was the first who surrounded it with walls, and made it one of his capitals. Both it, and its neighbour Seleucia, were afterwards severally sacked by several Roman generals; but it appears that Ardashir Babigan, (the father of the Sassanian line,) seeing the importance of its situation to the then position of the empire, so restored these two half-demolished towns, and united them under the one appellation of *Al Maidan*, or *The Cities*, that he has been deemed the absolute founder of the place. It afterwards continued a favourite capital with most of his dynasty, till the race perished in the person of Yezdijerd, and *Al Maidan* was rendered a heap of ruins by the fanatic Arabs, in the beginning of the seventh century.

With respect to the described distance between the situation of Dustajerd, and the shores of the Tigris, and therefore its grounds of identity with Kesra-Shirene, I shall be a better judge when I arrive on those banks myself; but from what I have

learnt, there is every reason for my expecting to find the relative distances very near the mark.

After traversing the ruins of Kesra-Shirene, from one end to the other, we rode over a low hill or two to the south, which brought us to a wretched khaun, our purposed place of rest. It stood on the verge of a little river, near to an equally miserable-looking village, of the same name with the peerless queen of the adjacent magnificent remains. The whole land around appeared in a state of utter neglect; the hills savage and stony, the valleys rank and uncultivated; and the natives seemed in perfect keeping with the wild rudeness of the country. The following description of one of the many ferocious idlers who thronged round the quarters of the Frangy, to gaze on him with the most determined curiosity and impudence, may be truly taken as a sufficient specimen of the rest. He wore neither shirt nor trowsers over his tall, lean, dun-coloured person; a loose sort of wrapper, made of coarse brown cloth or camlet, was his sole garment; it fastened round the waist by a strap, or cord. A red skull-cap fitted the head, wound scantily about with a slip of dirty linen. Shoes seldom appear on any of their naked limbs; but they never stir without a huge club-headed weapon in their hands, or stuck in their girdle. To this barbarian garb, is added a ferocious countenance of hard aquiline features, a sallow sun-burnt complexion, and dark hollow eyes, looking scowlingly under their brows, or, with an expression arch and knavish to a degree of wanton mischief. Such were the individuals which composed the groups that swarmed round my menzil the whole day; and to get rid of whom, neither persuasions nor menaces were of any avail. I had marched full five farsangs under the rays of a most potent sun, and would

have been glad of any moment of repose for my aching head; but the incessant intrusion, and clamorous curiosity of these people, deprived me of all quiet. However, I was at last relieved by a rammer-like process, of one substance driving out another. The pilgrims from Pool-i-Zohaub suddenly marched into the khaun, and their numbers completely filling every cranny of the place, left no room for the intruders from the village. But this was only a short reprieve from annoyance, for a short time before sun-set I was effectually disturbed by a visit from the *chawosh*, or conductor of the holy caravan, who came to enquire the hour I intended to start the following morning, and to beg the favour of my allowing his party to be attached to my little band. His reason for this incredible petition to a company of ten men, in behalf of ten hundred, was, he alleged, the extreme danger of the road we were to march to-morrow; "and, therefore," he added, "the more numerous the body to oppose the threatened disasters, the greater the chance of escape."

He told me, the road passed through an intricate country in the immediate vicinity of four notorious Arab tribes, who acknowledged no law but the sword, and whose constant employment was to lie in wait amongst the endless ravines of the pass, and rob every company of travellers whose numbers were not amply superior to the hordes which joined the attack. All this, doubtless, was very formidable; and the good man seemed so thoroughly in earnest, I did not hesitate an instant promising any assistance in our power. "To be sure," said he, "the way has been travelled often without any fatal mishaps; and, *In shalla*, (please heaven!) to-morrow we may pass it in peace!"

He added, that he had been the conductor of pilgrims nine-

teen different times, to Kerbela and Mesched Ali; "out of which number of journeys," continued he, "I have never had the ill fortune to fall in with robbers but ten times, and then I always escaped tolerably well, excepting once." But these tolerable escapes, I found, had not prevented the merciless treatment of the helpless part of his troop; namely, the old men, women, and children; and, generally, the loss of all the baggage: the whole skins of the men, and of their leader, appearing to be the chief objects of care with both. "The attack I call the worst," said he, "happened some years ago, when Kelb Ali Khan *, and his Fielly tribe, used to come into these parts, and make all fly before them. Then, besides the carrying off all the goods, and the maltreatment of the poor souls who could not defend themselves, I lost my horse, was stripped, and left for dead on the ground, amongst two hundred others who were actually murdered. Ah," added he, "those Louristan tribes hold it out desperately! not so the thieves we have to fear to-morrow! yet," cried he, lowering his tone, "it is good we travel together; for I know the Frangy never give up quietly!" He then complimented me, by saying that he had seen the European style of fighting, and felt it too, when he served in Ghilan against the Russians; and hence he was sure he might depend upon me, in case of an attack. "Though," added he, "I cannot boast of the pilgrims standing fire very resolutely, you and your people may firmly rely on my steadiness." I gave him all the credit he desired; and having thus settled the terms of alliance, and treated him with the ceremonials of coffee and kaliouns, he took his leave

* This was the chief who treacherously murdered Captain Grant, and Mr. Fotheringham, two distinguished officers attached to the embassy of Sir John Malcolm.

with a satisfied air; to summon his flock to their evening orisons at the going down of the sun.

October 5th.—Some time before dawn the active chawosh rose, to keep time with the wakeful chanticleer of his prophet; and, being the first astir amongst us, he placed himself in the middle of the khaun according to usual custom, and, with a loud and half chanting voice, called his followers to prepare for departure. His address was mingled with prayers, and religious admonitions to keep together, and fear nothing, for "God is great!". This sort of clarion roused Christians as well as Moslems, from their cells; and the whole assemblage swarming forth together, our nimble conductor saddled his own steed; then, after taking a finishing whiff of the narquilly (kalioun) of my muleteer, and exhorting him to see that our party should be expeditious in following, he shouldered his bamboo-lance, and seating himself on his horse, led boldly from the gate of our menzil. My little troop was speedily in the stirrup, and the whole train being in readiness within and without the walls, we moved off just as the day began to break.

Our road, at starting from the village of Kesra-Shirene, lay close to the side of the river; but at about a mile's distance, we took a south-western direction through a country very similar to that we had travelled yesterday, being a succession of low and abrupt hills, and intersected by intricate ravines, well adapted to the sortie we expected from their hidden population. The shadowy hour of the morning might be regarded as another advantage in their favour; but its grey, obscuring tints soon fled before the bright and piercing beams of the rising sun, which spreading to the deepest dells, gave us the blessing of seeing distinctly all around us. The chawosh seemed to regard day-light as a

summons for him to be on the look-out. From the time of our setting forth, he had ridden by my side; and, from his past experience, I could not but consider him the best qualified to direct our movements. Accordingly, when the sun began to mount, he betook himself to the higher ground, rather in advance, and to the right of the path we were on; while he directed a few of his "most undaunted followers," to take a similar line on the left. He requested me, with my party, to consider ourselves the head of the whole band of pilgrims stretching ut of sight behind us; and begged us to keep on before them, with a steady pace, whatever might happen, for in the case of a sudden onset, without such an example, they would take to flight in every direction. The motley crew, over whom I was thus left temporary leader, shewed as great a variety of arms as habits; some carried matchlocks, others pieces of more modern fashion; and the rest, pistols, swords, daggers, knives, and club-like staves. Indeed, both in numbers and equipment, they presented so formidable an appearance, I could not conceive it possible that a score or two of half-naked Arabs, (the usual complement for any single band of these wild free-booters,) armed, perhaps, with only a dozen of spears, and as many long guns, could put an atom of alarm into so multitudinous an array. But the confession of their worthy captain was too good authority for something more than this belief; and I could only lament, that so redoubtable a front was so likely to turn its back. With regard to my own little troop, its baggage was carefully disposed in the center of our line, and each individual ordered to maintain his position in the march. From habit, we were all pretty much on the alert in times of apprehended danger; and this, as I had been told, being one of extreme threatening, the practical lessons we had learnt in the

notorious tracts between Shiraz and western Zagros, came here into convenient exercise; while I found my brave and quick-sighted Kazaroonite one amongst the most efficient of my train. This second marshalling was no sooner arranged, than the discharge of half a dozen matchlocks sufficiently reported it to all within hearing. To check this mode of giving scent to the bands ready to way-lay us, I had found a vain task with the master of the host, therefore was not disappointed at seeing my arguments fail with his men. They had continued this sort of popping, with gun and pistol, during the whole of the darkling part of our march; as if, carrying their fatalism to the utmost limit, they expected every "ball would find its billet," whether its object were in battle array, or *hors de combat*. In vain I remonstrated with their leader, that this incessant firing would not only apprise the expected enemy of our approach, but was a useless expenditure of the ammunition we might soon want for more serious service. He answered, with great self-satisfaction, that "it was always a good thing to let the thieves know we had fire-arms, and were not afraid to shew how we could use them."

While this experienced personage, who indeed knew so well how far the demands on his powder and shot would go, ambled along on the heights; and we below, were slowly proceeding at a foot-pace along the road, (such being the usual rate, when encumbered with panniered mules and baggage;) a sudden uproar burst forth all at once, apparently at some distance, and towards the rear of our snake-like column. Loud screams from the women, cries of children, mixed with the halloos and bellowing voices of the men, proclaimed that something serious was going on at that end of us. But, as the after-part of our

company was not to be seen, owing to the continued zig-zag of the road, it was impossible to come at the real cause of the augmenting tumult. But this object of anxiety did not check our advance; at least not that of the pilgrims themselves; indeed, so much to the contrary, the great mass seemed pushed on by a sort of general impulse given to their rear, each individual quickening his pace as the disturbance grew louder. In this pell-mell proceeding, no one shewed the least wish for a nearer investigation of the noise, than a simultaneous look behind him; and as I had come to a pause, I could easily perceive, by the expression of all the faces turned in my direction, that they apprehended the disorder to be something more than a kicking horse or two, or the falling of a few beasts of burthen, with their wives and children. But our foremost ranks had pressed on scarcely fifty yards, before the report of two or three shots called all eyes to the front, when we beheld our advanced horsemen galloping down the sides of the hills as if all the world were at their heels. A momentary silence took place at once amongst us, every soul standing stock still, as if suddenly rooted to the spot. But on the immediate appearance of a scattered troop of our dreaded enemies, flourishing their lances on the high ground recently quitted by our valiant videttes, a sort of hollow, tremulous yell burst from the whole column, armed and unarmed; and every other demonstration of unappeaseable dismay soon became manifest; there being no longer a doubt that the head of the march would ere long be as disagreeably entangled as its tail. The chawosh and his *élite* now joined our affrighted company; but their accession rather increased than diminished the confusion; their fears multiplying the approaching slender troop to such incredible numbers, that

the terrified creatures who heard them, again struck dumb, looked round aghast, as if in search of some place of refuge; and then dispersing in every direction, some sought safety in the creeks and ravines, leaving their laden mules and women to their fate; whilst others, on foot or on horseback, scampered up the hills, spreading themselves abroad, like myriads of ants, towards every point excepting that where the Arabs appeared. Hence it could not be long before some of them must fall in with the chase of their fugitive brethren from the rear.

It being now high time to think of my own affairs, I told Sedak Beg to keep the Asiatics together, (my European I knew would be steady,) and to march forward; facing, and, if necessary, fighting our way through all opposers. The chawosh was a few minutes at his wit's end, on seeing the general scatter of his troops; and calling, and bawling, he rode up and down, bellowing to the armed to "stop! as was their duty, *In shalla*, to protect those who could not defend themselves!" but deafness was in every ear, and away they scoured with redoubled speed. The poor man seemed ready to tear his very beard, at this unprofitable dispersion of his pious train. But when my people told him that I was determined to go on at all risks, and added their advice, that he and his trusted band should collect as many of the scared pilgrims, yet within reach, as he could lay hands on, and then drive them before him, by our side, he seemed somewhat composed; and when he saw us really move forward, and many of the deserted baggage mules, and those carrying the women and children, turn mechanically into our line, then he, and the poor trembling wretches still near the road, found encouragement to join the cavalcade; and in a few minutes afterwards, we saw the eighteen or twenty Arabs who had halted

at the top of the hill to observe the confusion they had wrought, instead of descending to attack us on the flat ground, which we expected, separate, and set off in full charge along the brow of the hills towards the flying groups; some of whom, no doubt, they made an easy prey. However, we did not allow this shew of abandoning the ground to put us off our guard, but marched forward with our pistols in our hands, and rifles cocked. Indeed, from the demeanour of our enemies, I believed that a little warm work was in waiting for us, before we should cross the ridge of the heights; a new squadron appearing for an instant across our way, who gave us a hint of nearer acquaintance, by the shot of a few bullets in the old Parthian style, as they flew past us along the hills. We did not return the compliment; all of us now thinking it better to husband our demonstrations, till we should come to closer contact with some of the hundred, who our late scouts still persisted in declaring were beleaguring the heights in front. However, this parting salute, happily proved the last. We marched quietly through the expected most dangerous places, without the smallest molestation; all, indeed, was so still and lonely, that Sedak and myself felt assured that the whole party of brigands, our friends had so egregiously miscounted in their haste to bring the information, were comprised in the two slender troops we had seen, and their, probably, not more numerous band who had begun the affray in our rear.

Nothing can describe the garrulous joy with which the honest chawosh turned the fearful ridge, and began to descend the southward brow of the sandy hills, leading to the broad day-light plain of safety at their base. Both he and the few pilgrim horsemen who had not deserted us, discharged their pistols and guns as a *feu de-joye;* and thanking God, over and over again,

for their deliverance. The wide country that now opened before us, appeared to be chiefly desert; and the exception consisted of a stretch of cultivated ground running along its southern boundary, and traversed by a meandering branch of the Diala river. Having got well down into the plain, the chawosh called a halt, to allow as many of his straggling flock to come in, as might have escaped worse treatment, than mere robbery, at the hands of the half-naked cavaliers we had seen in pursuit. During this muster, I thought fit to proceed with my own party; and on frequently looking back, we were glad to see numbers after numbers of the poor fugitives making their way over the faces of the hills, towards the welcome sight of their chief. After a ride of six miles across the arid champaign, we reached the village of Kanakee; happy to get under shelter from the glare of the sun on so hot a soil.

Kanakee is said to be a place of considerable antiquity. It may, indeed, be called a little town; its extent occupying to a considerable length both sides of the river, which is here pretty broad, flowing south-west, with a handsome bridge crossing its stream. Delightful gardens surround the town; and there, for the first time, I beheld the date-tree, with other treasures of the vegetable world indigenous to Arabia. We are now, in fact, entered on the extensive regions of Irak Arabi; one of the most interesting portions of the globe, and which was also one of the most fruitful. It is so called by the Persians, in distinction from Irak Ajem; the wide division of their empire to the north-east of the far-stretching Zagros; and even the short distance we had travelled within its boundary, presented a material difference both in the character of the country, and the aspect of its inhabitants. I have already mentioned the variation in its pro-

duce; and the people shewed as little similarity to the Persians, as liking to their persons. Jealousy of too near neighbourhood, and detestation of their contrary creeds, may, perhaps, account for the Sooneh natives of Irak Arabi, treating the Sheah subjects of the Great King, with the same absence of respect that the common order of Turks bestow on Christian Europeans, whenever they dare shew such contempt with impunity. It may not be irrelevant to mention here, that the Sooneh faith is that which considers Omar or Othman, to have been the legitimate immediate successor in the caliphate, or head of the Mahomedan church, to the prophet himself; and this is the creed of the Turks or Ottomans. While the Sheah looks upon Omar to have been a usurper of the sacred throne; having wrested it from Ali, the son-in-law, and first disciple of the prophet, and whose attested right to the supremacy was sealed with his own blood and that of his son Hossein. The Persians are of this faith, but tolerant to those of a different opinion; while their adversaries denounce on them, the most unequivocal condemnation.

But to return to the beautiful banks of the Diala, and their inhabitants. The dress of these people, a mixture of Courdish, Arabian, and Turkish: consisting of large flattened turbans, long white trowsers, and wide ample-sleeved kaftans bound round the waist with a piece of linen, or silk of various colours, in which they stuck a large crooked knife. Such were the persons who appeared from the town, but we did not then enter it, rather taking up our quarters in an excellent khaun; the most spacious, indeed, I had seen on either side of the Zagros. Close to it flowed a clear stream; the usual object of our idolatry, after one of these hot and dusty rides. We reached this place about ten o'clock in the forenoon; the distance from Kesra Shirene

being five farsangs, on a general course I should suppose of nearly south 45° west, the peculiar circumstances of the morning not having permitted me to remark by the compass. But I must not neglect to note, that before evening our pilgrim-chief again appeared amongst us at the head of his motley band. By patient waiting in the plain, he had re-collected the greater part of his dispersed flock; many of whom, who had fled in good suits, returned with scarce a covering, having been literally fleeced by the freebooters, to whose hands, it seems, they had yielded themselves as unresistingly, as a field of slaughtered sheep to the flaying knives of the butchers. "How could it be otherwise, (they said,) when they saw hundreds of fresh robbers spotting the hills in every direction!" A description which, with regard to the numbers of persons in sight, might be very true; while no doubt remained with us, that the scared senses of these people had mistaken their own fugitive brethren, for coming flights of newly-arrived banditti. No lives were lost; but many mules, laden with the goods and chattels of the company. And, after all, I was most happy to hear that the goods and chattels least valued by these doughty heroes, had suffered least: the poor women, and helpless children! They had, indeed, lost a few useless cries after their flying husbands; but not the tears dropped to Heaven, in behalf of themselves and babes.

Tuesday, October 6th. — To avoid a repetition of the excessive heat of yesterday, we left our menzil this morning at half-past three o'clock; and crossing the bridge, passed through the western division of the town of Kanakee, and thence under the refreshing shade of the charming gardens which embosom it. Leaving these luxuriant environs, we journeyed for a farsang and a half over the plain, in a direction south 30° west; at which

distance we came again upon an uneven country, full of ravines like that of yesterday, and shewing nothing but unvaried desert for nearly eight miles. Having issued from this heavy part of our march, we found ourselves on a vast plain, stretching to the very horizon, and towards the north-west a perfect flat. In the opposite direction its level was interrupted by large rugged tracts, in the same style with the low hilly ground of the morning. The town of Kizzil Robat, our projected halting-place, lay about four miles further on the plain, wooded to the north-east by high bushy thickets, and plantations of date-trees. Cultivation extended to a considerable distance round the town; and where neither trees, nor the brightness of verdure appeared, thousands of sheep and goats were feeding on the apparently desert land: a proof that its barren and parched aspect, belied its real state. The disposition of the small towns and villages of this pashalick, resembles some places in Persia which do not possess defensive walls. The houses are constructed in the same form, and of similar materials, with those of the great kingdom; while the sole difference in the general appearance of the place, consists in the lofty date-tree; whose delightful groves wave their branches over the gardens of every house. By the time we arrived at Kizzil Robat, we had made that day five farsangs; and some of us being fairly knocked up with the heat, we were all glad to hasten into our quarters; a small khaun at the verge of the town.

October 8th. — I found it impossible to proceed this morning, owing to the sudden illness of two of my party, and those the most valuable to me; namely, Sedak Beg, and my remaining European servant. I had been obliged to leave my other Russian under medical charge at Shiraz; and this poor fellow, with

my faithful Persian, being now attacked in a similar way, from the same cause, the excessive heat; fearing the consequences, I was cautious to expose them further, till some amelioration of their symptoms might better enable them to bear fatigue in so parching an atmosphere. Indeed, at the moment I sat down by my invalids, to prepare them medicines to the extent of my skill, the degree of heat was so oppressive, that, from my own feelings, I should suppose it not to have been less than 95° in the shade; and this too so late as October!

October 9th.—My people were still too ill to-day to give any signs of speedy amendment; and in order to while away my anxiety in this untoward detention, I sent for the master of the khaun, to make some enquiries respecting the country and its inhabitants. He told me, that they consider October the first month of their autumn, and feel it delightfully cool in comparison with July, August, and September; for that during forty days of the two first-named summer months, the hot wind blows from the desert, and its effects are often destructive. Its title is very appropriate, being called the Samiell or Baude Semoon, the pestilential wind. It does not come in continued long currents, but in gusts at different intervals, each blast lasting several minutes, and passing along with the rapidity of lightning. No one dare stir from their houses while this invisible flame is sweeping over the face of the country. Previous to its approach, the atmosphere becomes thick and suffocating, and appearing particularly dense near the horizon, gives sufficient warning of the threatened mischief. Though hostile to human life, it is so far from being prejudicial to the vegetable creation, that a continuance of the Samiell tends to ripen the fruits. I enquired what became of the cattle during

such a plague, and was told they seldom were touched by it. It seems strange that their lungs should be so perfectly insensible to what seems instant destruction to the breath of man, but so it is, and they are regularly driven down to water at the customary times of day, even when the blasts are at the severest. The people who attend them, are obliged to plaister their own faces, and other parts of the body usually exposed to the air, with a sort of muddy clay, which in general protects them from its most malignant effects. The periods of the wind's blowing are generally from noon till sun-set; they cease almost entirely during the night; and the direction of the gust is always from the north-east. When it has passed over, a sulphuric and indeed loathsome smell, like putridity, remains for a long time. The poison which occasions this smell, must be deadly; for if any unfortunate traveller, too far from shelter, meet the blast, he falls immediately; and, in a few minutes his flesh becomes almost black, while both it and his bones at once arrive at so extreme a state of corruption that the smallest movement of the body would separate the one from the other. When we listen to these accounts, we can easily understand how the Almighty, in whose hands are all the instruments of nature, to work even the most miraculous effects, might, by this natural agent of the Samiell brought from afar, make it the brand of death by which the destroying angel wrought the destruction of the army of Sennacherib. Mine host also told me, that at the commencement of November the nights begin to be keen; and then the people remove their beds from their airy and star-lit canopies at the tops of their houses, to the chambers within; a dull, but comfortable exchange when the winter advances, the cold being frequently at an excess to freeze the surface of the water in their

chamber-jars; but almost as soon as the sun rises, it turns to its liquid state again. Some of this modifying coolness I should have been most glad of, at the time we were discoursing of it; to check the progress of the fever, which I now began to fear would detain us much longer under the speaker's roof than I had finances to pay for his entertainment. Sedak was ill, but my Russian so much worse, that, besides my uneasiness respecting the consumption in our purse, I felt an increasing anxiety to proceed at any risk of present annoyance, rather than remain so totally out of the reach of real medical aid for the poor souls now painfully dependent on my slender skill, and failing means; for the lack began to extend to my medicine-chest.

October 10th. — This morning I dispatched a message to Bagdad, (a distance of about eighty-five miles,) to apprise Mr. Rich, the British resident there, of my arrival as far as Kizzil Robat; of my probable detention there, and of the departing state of my resources. The good man of the khaun, (whose occupation answers to that of the keeper of an inn, the whole stores, &c. being furnished by himself in like manner,) soon after my courier's setting out, conceived some guess of his errand; and questioning Sedak, he found his conjecture right. On this discovery, he came to me, bringing a large bag of piastres in his hand; and presenting it, with the most respectful earnestness entreated me to accept it for my immediate use, and to call for as much more as I might want during my stay with him, or for my necessities on the road. My word, that it should be repaid to a friend of his at Bagdad, would be bond sufficient. On my expressing surprise at this ample trust in a stranger, he replied, that the high character Mr. Rich bore, made him serve with pleasure any Frangy going to, or coming

from that gentleman. Besides, the English Elshi* Malcolm, when passing that way, had honoured him with a present; and his gratitude for this distinction extended to all that princely traveller's country. Hence, as I was an Englishman, for both these reasons he considered himself happy in the opportunity to serve me. Again I cannot but remark, how such instances of the influence of just and liberal conduct, ought to stimulate those who follow in the track, to emulate the conduct also; that, in like manner, respect or grateful remembrance may smooth the way to those who, treading the same path under less propitious circumstances, may find in an hour of want and suffering, some such unhoped-for well in the desert. The situation of my invalids put declining the offer of our good host out of the question, and taking the address of his friend at Bagdad, I told him, that being now provided with the means of travelling, I should, if possible, set out next day in the cool of the evening; being impatient to get my sick under the care of Mr. Rich's physician. On my communicating with Sedak and my poor Russian, they declared themselves willing to move, but incapable of sitting on horseback. Here was a sad obstacle; but we got over it, by having recourse to the panniers used by the lower order of Persians in conveying their wives, and which they hang on the sides of a mule or ass.

October 11th. — While these machines were preparing to-day, for the commencement of our journey at night, and some of my people were balancing them, to be even with the respective weights of the two invalids they were to contain, we were disturbed by the solemn appearance of a particularly grave-looking Turk entering the gates. He was dressed in a rather faded pelisse

* The Turkish term for embassador.

of green satin, floating majestically down to his heels; and an unusually large turban on his head. On his advance into the khaun yard he happened to turn his eyes towards the open space where my two invalids lay, and their groans attracting him, he approached the spot; and seating himself on the ground by the side of Sedak Beg, first took several long whiffs of his chabook, or pipe, and then began a solemn address, which ended with information that he was a celebrated doctor from Bagdad, and possessed a nostrum which would cure him and his companion on the first application. After this assertion, he enquired their complaint, and the answer brought forth a second boast of his skill. Both my patients seemed so willing to try its power, that Sedak undertook to ask my permission; and which he did with such earnestness, that, considering him the best judge of medical knowledge so near the frontiers of his own country, I gave my consent, on condition that the application of the nostrum was not to detain us beyond the night in the khaun. 'The doctor declared that delay was so unnecessary, the patients might set out the moment it was applied; the cure, being as speedy as certain. Accordingly, while the preparations were going on for our march, in about an hour he came forward with a couple of huge cataplasms, he had been all that time preparing, of coffee-grounds, yolks of eggs, and spices. These were to be applied to the heads of the patients, to relieve their aching. The bald pate of the Persian suited the surface of the sable plaister with admirable fitness, but the unshaven locks of my poor Russian were obstacles in the way of the specific; however the forehead was at last deemed sufficient, and to that the cataplasm, in smaller dimensions, was adapted. The next proceeding was to administer an infallible aperient. This piece of news put me

into great spirits. To produce the effect on my invalids, that he now promised in a few minutes, I had been for hours pouring in large doses of calomel and rhubarb; but all in vain. I knew that my old and invaluable remedy, castor oil, was no longer to be procured; so I hoped this experienced Esculapius had found something else in the country, equally efficacious. But what was my surprise, when, instead of ordering the liquid, which he presented in a phial, to be taken internally, I heard him tell my Georgian to rub it well into the loins of the sufferers. The principal ingredient, he informed me, was bullock's gall. The application was made according to the command, and with as much success towards the effect desired, as if it had been cold water. The fee which this sage of the green mantle condescended to accept from Sedak (for money he refused,) was a half worn out garment. I had been amused at the ceremonious gravity with which he concocted his nostrums, and inspected their application; but when so superb a personage put up an old rag with so much satisfaction, it was impossible to prevent laughing outright. He retired to his menzil, to be ready, he said, to see us off; and, in the due course of time, my invalids, not a whit better, were carefully disposed in their panniers, which were bound on a particularly strong mule, hired from our good host for the purpose. All then being in order, we bade him, and the still fair promising doctor, farewell at the western egress from the village, and at ten o'clock at night, under a beautiful moon, once more found ourselves travelling towards Bagdad.

Our cavalcade was by no means so warlike in its appearance, as when it marched into Kizzil Robat the day after our high commission of *garde de corps* over the whole body of pilgrims; and our present pace, to accommodate the uneasy situation of two of our party, was nearly as slow as a funeral march. How-

ever we got on tolerably well over a good road, until, at the end of two miles, we had to ford a small stream which ran between very rugged banks; the descent was therefore awkward to the animals which carried the panniers, and the bed of the water being covered with weeds, the feet of the mule got entangled in their net-work; he struggled a moment, and then fell, with my two poor sufferers, into the water. The accident was distressing in every way; and the more so, from the time we lost in extricating them, and replacing all in array for resuming our pace. Having accomplished this, and set forward again, we found the road sandy, on a perfect flat, and due south. The equalizing light of the moon, spreading one hue to the horizon all around, gave a solemn and almost desert appearance to the wide extent of a country which filled us with other alarms than those of banditti. At this time we were under constant apprehensions that a couple of lions might issue out upon us; which tremendous animals had been devastating the environs of Kizzil Robat for several weeks past, destroying their herds and flocks. Whether the growlings of these beasts were mingled with the unceasing howls and screams of the wolves, jackalls and hyenas, which yelled on all sides of us, I do not pretend that my knowledge of such sounds yet enabled me to decide; but what I can say is, that from the helpless condition of my two sick companions, I dreaded a rencontre with one of these animals, more than the closest quarter with all the wild Arabs we had seen a few mornings before. I killed one jackall, who was skulking within pistol-shot of us. In the course of an hour and half's farther travel through this howling wilderness, the country totally changed its character; becoming intersected with ravines, and broken masses of most singularly shaped cliffs, whose fretted and

honey-combed sides obtruded themselves so frequently, and impedingly into the road, as to render it unusually winding and intricate, besides being so straitened in places as to scarcely leave room for a foot-path; in other parts it was extensively open. This sort of up-and-down labyrinth proved painful; as well as dreary to my invalids: and from its wearisome coiling out a space which, on a more direct line, might have been passed in quarter the time, I found it nearly as irksome to myself, having no longer the conversation of my intelligent Persian to beguile the way; but at length it brought us forth into an immense plain, where the eye at least found relief in the free expansion.

The rocky ground we had just left, is part of a long ridge of high uneven country, called the Hamreen Hills, which stretches eastward towards Kuzistan; the Susiana of Cyrus, and the dominion of his friends the celebrated Abradates and Panthea. Susiana and Persia Proper are supposed to comprise the Elam of the Scriptures. These hills are the last considerable heights we had to pass, before we should behold the vast and almost uninterrupted level of that part of ancient Babylonia which lies north of the Tigris. It now lay before us. After descending them into the plain, we soon came to the brink of a rapid stream, called Bela-Drooz, which falls ultimately into the Diala. Its banks are rather steep, and thickly clothed with high reeds. Having crossed it by a bridge of one arch, a tolerable road led us on for nearly an hour and a half, till we reached the gardened vicinage of Sharaban; and there we traversed many a ditch and swampy tract, owing to the waters having been let loose to irrigate the ground. For some time I had been glad to find that the free, refreshing air of the night had beneficially affected my sick people; (I cannot allow such merit to the cataplasms and

bulls' galls !) for they were so far better, as to look about them in renovated spirits; and at last to say, they felt strong enough to exchange their uneasy and fractured panniers, for the saddles of their horses. The transfer was accordingly made; and we entered the village of Sharaban about five o'clock in the morning of October the 12th, in a much more respectable order than we had quitted that of Kizzil Robat the preceding night. The distance is computed at five farsangs.

Sharaban (or Shahr-e-Van) is a small town or village, which the inhabitants say, was in former times a large city more magnificent than Bagdad. Not a vestige of this past grandeur remains, though, according to D'Anville, it stands on the site of the ancient Apollonia; an opinion certainly corroborated by the tradition on the spot. The ground it covers is pretty extensive, and its appearance rather imposing. Like other towns and villages of the pashalick, it is built without a surrounding fortification; but each house has its own encircling high wall, entered by a gate; which walls, when connected in the circuit of the town, give the whole a demonstration of strength nearly equal to the circumvallation of a Persian town, bating the absence of towers. The general appearance has the advantage of being more open, from the trees and gardens which intersect the place in a variety of directions. Besides the date, limes grow in great perfection; and farther around, wheat, barley, tobacco, and cotton diversified the fields. Sharaban is watered by a small stream running along a deep bed, whose abrupt banks at one part, are surmounted by a picturesque mosque, shooting up its grey minarets over the expanding and feathery branches of date and other trees. These groves spread through the town; and under their shadowy boughs we found the few shops which

compose its little bazar, enjoying a more delightful canopy from the piercing heat of the sun, than the richest arcades of ornamented masonry could have afforded.

October 12th. — At seven o'clock the same evening, we began again to move; my invalids, impatient as myself to reach Bagdad, having once more betaken themselves to their panniers, which I had caused to be put into more comfortable repair. On quitting the palm-groves of Sharaban, we proceeded due south over a dead flat of light sand, which in a gust of wind is terribly annoying to the traveller: and at the distance of a farsang over this yellow land, we discerned the dome-roofed tomb of an imaun zada (a son of the holy race) rising from amidst its embowering shelter of the same sort of beautiful Asiatic trees. We soon after passed close to it; and found it built of brick, and standing on the margin of a pretty stream or canal, called the Kara Mucthar. The first person who remarked to me the peculiarly delightful appearance of the palm in regions arid as these, was my gallant friend Sir Sidney Smith; and he observed, that after a long march over the desert, even a distant view of the top of a palm-grove was an object of joy; for it promised not only shade for repose, but coolness, and the most grateful beverage from the springs, which were always to be found on or near the spot. No one, indeed, could better describe such paths than he, to whom his sovereign gave the *impresse* of the second *Cœur de Lion.*

We did not halt for the refreshment of Kara Mucthar, but crossed it by a bridge of three small high arches, the banks being very steep; and again entering on the sterile plain, traversed its monotonous flat till, at about five o'clock in the morning, (October 13th,) we were cheered with a vision of the lofty trees and gardens of Bacoubi, (or Yacoubi,) fringing the horizon.

I looked at my poor invalids, and did indeed feel as if these signals from the distant town, welcomed our approach to its rest. The distance from Sharaban to Bacoubi, is about eight farsangs, which we accomplished in nine hours and a half. We did not enter the place itself, but took up our quarters in a spacious khaun near its extremity. The travellers in the panniers, from their packed-up position, were hardly able to move when extracted from their compressing vehicles; and while I was inspecting their more comfortable lodgement for repose, I observed several young women come into the court to sell bread. Their dress was so different from any I had seen before, it excited my attention. They were Arabs, settled in Bacoubi; and as their faces were free to the gazer, though I was at some distance from them, I could perceive that their features were marked and fine, but with complexions of an extremely sallow and gipsy hue. Their heads were bound round with a handkerchief, which hung down loose behind, while a long shift-like gown, with wide sleeves, covered their bodies, and reached below the ankles. At the bosom it was slightly open; in short, the whole dress proclaimed freedom with modesty.

Not long after my contemplation of this specimen of the fair sex, so far onward in the country of the beauteous Zobiede and her three enchanting and enchanted sisters, my eyes were arrested by a very different group entering the khaun-yard; a Turk of high apparent consequence, but totally unlike our Esculapian friend of the faded-green satin; this venerable personage being in all respects splendidly attired. A gorgeous pelisse and turban, with richly embroidered pistol-cases and saddle-cloth, adorned himself and horse; while two martial-looking Arabs, well mounted and armed with daggers and lances, attended his steps, as he

rode forward with an air of authority that made every one in his way fall back with due respect to his magnificence. I was yet too mere a novice in the signs of distinction used by the Islamites of the pashalick, to suppose that I now saw before me any thing less than one of his highness's prime-ministers; whose more numerous train had, probably, halted without the gate. My surprise, therefore, was not a little excited, when this great personage, having alighted, proceeded direct to me; and, making as many reverences as if I were the pasha himself, declared himself to be one of Mr. Rich's trusted servants; that he brought me a letter from that gentleman, with a purse containing a thousand piastres, and the proffer of his own services to conduct me, with every accommodation in his power, to Bagdad. I had many reasons for pressing on, besides the earnest wishes of the sick of my party; and, therefore, lost no time in making arrangements with this superb *chawosh*, (that being the title of his office,) for resuming our journey that day, towards the cool of the evening.

By that hour, my poor fellows seemed to think themselves sufficiently rested; and returning to their slender equipages in spirits, renovated at the prospect of soon being at the end of their travels for some time at least, I saw them safely stowed. The rest were speedily on their saddles, and by six o'clock, again in respectable array, we set forward from the khaun gate. We had to pass through the town; and from the slight cognizance I could take in so transient a view, I should say that Bacoubi is rather a considerable place, agreeably situated amidst gardens; many of which extend to the verge of the Diala, through whose groves of date-trees we approached its banks. The water was so low, that we forded it with ease, at a point where the stream could not be more than thirty yards wide; but from the steep

expanse of its bed, we saw that its more usual current must flow at treble the width. After gaining its western shore we again rose upon the sandy plain, which we crossed in a direction south 80° west; and continued to that point till after four hours' travelling we stopped at a half-erected khaun, about four farsangs from Bacoubi, to rest our invalids and beasts of burthen. Our carpets were spread under arched recesses, yawning with many a yet undefended aperture through which the wild prowlers of the waste, or more ready whirlwinds of burning sand which often sweep these solar regions, might find unobstructed ingress. However, our sojourn was not disturbed by either; and those who required it, enjoyed a repose of four hours. This unfinished, half ruinous structure was begun by order of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, for the convenience of his Persian pilgrims journeying to the shrines of Ali and Hossein; and it is to be lamented, that so good a commencement has proceeded no further.

October 14th.—At two o'clock this morning we resumed our march, lit by the stars and moon. The bright concave above, and the far-spread Chaldean plain below, without other visible object to distract the eye from contemplating the planetary heavens, possessed a sublime monotony, which seemed to tell the same divine tale to the present traveller under its arch, that it told some thousand years ago to the first astronomers of mankind. In the midst of these meditations, a little before morning broke, I observed, in a direction north-west, an elevated stream of water, which, from its situation, must be the Tigris. Its surface was brilliantly illuminated by the moon; but the longer I kept my eye fixed on this noble river of many interests, the more my surprise became excited at the extraordinary height of its waters above the level of the desert, till at last I began to

suspect that some optical illusion, from refraction, was assisting the apparent elevation of the stream; but I had not conceived the extent of the deception, for as the dawn advanced, the phantom river totally sunk from my sight.

With the progress of the day, real objects presented themselves; but none so agreeable as the horizon, turreted with the long grey line of substantial walls which embattle the great city of Bagdad, the bourn for which my way-worn sick addressed their prayers. On approaching it from the north-east, the stretch of building appears immense, covering a vast expanse of plain, and enriched towards the northern extremity, with clustering plantations of date-trees. I passed through the gates soon after seven o'clock; having galloped forward with my Turkish conductor and his Arabs, while my encumbered train followed at its more convenient leisure.

A stranger arriving from Irak Ajem, into this renowned capital of Irak Arabi, cannot fail being instantly struck with the marked difference between the people before him, and those he left north of the mountains. There, the vesture was simple and close, though long, with a plain-hilted knife stuck in the girdle, and the head of the wearer covered with a dark cap of sheep-skin. Here, the outer garment is ample and flowing, the turban high and superbly folded, and the costly shawl round the waist additionally ornamented with a richly embossed dagger. With personages in every variety of this gorgeous costume, I saw the streets of Bagdad filled on my entrance. Monstrous turbans of all hues, pelisses, and vests, of silk, satins, and cloths, in red, blue, green, yellow, of every shade and fabric, clothed the motley groupes who appeared every where; some slowly moving along the streets, others seated cross-legged on the ground, or

mounted on benches by the way-side, sipping their coffee, and occasionally inhaling a more soporific vapour from their gilded pipes, with an air of solemnity not to be anticipated from such a tulip-garbed fraternity. The contrasted appearance of the gaily coloured, and gloomily pompous Turk, when compared with the parsimoniously clad Persian, sombre in appearance even to the black dye of his beard, yet accompanied with the most lively and loquacious activity of body and mind, amused me much; and in traversing these characteristic paths, I could not but recollect I was now in the far-famed city of the Caliphs, the capital of Haroun-al-Raschid, through whose remote avenues he and his faithful vizier used to wander by night, in disguise, to study the characters of his subjects, and to reign with justice. But history was not alone, in busying the memory with recollections; the delightful tales of childhood started up along with her, and remembrances of the *Arabian Nights* seemed to render the whole a sort of eastern classic ground, consecrating its bazars, mosques, palaces, and even coblers' stalls, to a kind of romantic celebrity. I must confess, however, that as I rode along the narrow streets, I was assailed by scents far different from those of fairy-land; though I found a vestige of that left-handed humanity towards the brute creation which is the boast of Islamism, and was so eminently exhibited in the beauteous queen of the great Caliph, when out of pure tenderness to her three canine friends, she daily flogged them within an inch of their lives! In short, I beheld, in a variety of places, droves of dogs and cats with the forms of skeletons, which the humane Turks would neither feed, nor put out of their misery. Wild with hunger, or tottering under the weakness of famine, they crossed us at every twenty yards; and those which were too

feeble to move fast, narrowly escaped being ridden over; while spots on the way-side were covered with crawling kittens just ejected from the nearest houses, and in other places, whole litters of them lay on dust-heaps stretched by their dead mothers. These sights a little disenchanted my imagination, respecting the scenes which had once animated such avenues to the palace of Haroun-al-Raschid.

The outward fashion of the houses, bore an aspect new to me in the East. They are built in different stories, with window openings thickly latticed; which style giving them a European appearance, I felt a kind of welcoming old-acquaintanceship in looking at them; that, perhaps, made me prefer their height before the low Asiatic dwellings I had left in Persia. In proceeding to Mr. Rich's house, the point whither we were moving, we crossed through part of the great bazar. It was crowded with people, and displayed every kind of Asiatic commodity for traffic. Numberless coffee-houses, intermingled with shops, were ranged on each side; all of which were well-stored with silent and smoking guests, seated in rows like so many painted automatons. There was a rustling sound of slippered feet, and silken garments, and a low monotonous hum from so numerous a hive; but nothing like the brisk, abrupt movements, and clamorous noises of a Persian assemblage of the same sort. Yet, as all present were not of the taciturn nation; Jews, Armenians, and even some of the great king's subjects, mingling in the exchange of commerce; at times the swell of human voices augmented a little; but take it in general, had the mysterious crier who called the enchanted merchandise of the fairy *Parabonoo*, then appeared amongst them, his sonorous proclamation would have been audibly

heard over the usually low murmuring sounds from the company at large.

On arriving at the gate of the British resident's mansion, I was saluted by a Sepoy guard, and then ushered into a spacious saloon overlooking the Tigris. It would be vain to attempt entering into the details of my reception. Personally, I was a stranger to Mr. Rich; yet the most eloquent language cannot describe the friendly warmth with which both himself and his accomplished wife bade me welcome; nor can I express, in any words, my sense of their subsequent kindness. I felt it the more, since I came to them under the impression of having received one of the most essential services from him while I was in the desert; and I arrived in a situation, from the state of my party, to incur still accumulating obligations.

In this place I cannot refrain from remarking how indispensable it is to the progress of science and research, that our European residents in the East, and in all countries under similar circumstances, should not only be selected for eminent talent in their vocation, but with reference to their character for prompt benevolence of heart. If men in these stations hesitate about the whys and wherefores for assisting any travelling countryman, who may chance to require it when passing near the places of their influence, the critical moment of service may be irretrievably lost during the demur, and the lamentable consequences I need not describe. To such persons, delegated from their country as its representatives, to aid and shelter, when required, those of its people who go forth on errands of commerce or investigation, every traveller of that description turns his eyes as to a sure refuge: and no one who so looked to Mr. Rich at Bagdad, or to Sir Robert Liston at Constantinople, have been disappointed.

Soon after my personal introduction to himself, Mr. Rich lost no time in bringing me acquainted with Mr. Hyne, the medical professor to the mission, to whom I confided my poor invalids. I also found a valuable companion in Mr. Belino, a German gentleman, who was Mr. Rich's Oriental secretary. These were all the Europeans of his establishment; but his Asiatic officers bore a more imposing appearance, seeming to make up in numbers, what the others had in real ability: and it was necessary to the honour of England, and the dignity of the British East India Company, that in this country the resident from both should be surrounded by the usual oriental parade of high authority. Indeed it was a good remark of some ancient author, I forget who, that "when we wish to influence men, we must make the habits of their own minds our instruments."

The pashalick of Bagdad, according to the accurate description of Mr. Macdonald Kinnier, extends in a north-west direction from the mouth of the Shat-ul-Arab, (a noble stream formed by the junction of the Tigris with the Euphrates, whence flowing onward, it empties itself into the Persian Gulf,) to the rocks of Merdin, the Bagdad frontier towards Constantinople. In an east and west line, it stretches from the confines of Persia to the banks of the Khabour, which separates it from the pashalick of Orfa; (the Osrhoene of the Romans, and that part of Mesopotamia which contained the Harran of Abraham, and the famous Edessa of the crusades.) The general boundaries of the pashalick of Bagdad, may be called, the Euphrates and Arabian desert of Nedjid to the west and south; Kuzistan and the stretch of Zagros to the east; the pashalick of Diarbekir or Hollow Mesopotamia to the north-west; and Armenia, with the Courdish territory of Julamerick to the north. The whole, forming a

kind of irregular oval, comprehending ancient Babylonia, and all of Assyria Proper. That portion of the pashalick which lies north-east of the Tigris, and comprised the chief part of Assyria, is now called Lower Courdistan, (or Kurdistan ;) a name not very dissimilar, as Major Rennel observes, to the old Scripture appellation for Assyria, found in the second book of Kings and in the Prophet Amos, both of which, probably, refer to the country east of Nineveh as the land of Kir. The rest of the vast tract under his highness's jurisdiction, and which lies between the widely-sweeping currents of Tigris and the Euphrates, commands the no less renowned boundaries of Babylonia, including Chaldea, its most eastern quarter. This insular country was also designated by the ancients, by the name of Mesopotamia; so denoting its situation between two rivers; and modern times have changed its appellation again; the Arabians calling it Al Gezera, and the Persians including it within the line of Irak Arabi. In passing our eye over these particulars, we must feel, that the pride of nations can no where receive a more striking lesson, than in looking upon the map of Asia; and marking those two kingdoms, which at different times, severally, or united, commanded the empire of the East, now reduced to the character of a mere province; and attached to one of the least considerable potentates of Europe, a power, which, in fact, only reigns by sufferance.

The city of Bagdad, (now to be regarded as the capital of Assyria and Babylonia!) is the residence of the Pasha; and, according to the character of the man who fills that station, proceeds a temporary independence of the pashalick, or its continued subjection to the Sublime Porte. Being so distant from the seat of the Ottoman empire, the sovereign can seldom

stretch his hands so far, as to have any substantial control over his delegate; and when either Persia or the Arabs chuse to annoy the pashalick, its defence is usually left to the ways and means of the deputed governor. This latter circumstance, connected with the exorbitant revenue demanded by the Porte, renders the government an affair of great difficulty, and indeed danger, when the Pasha really holds himself entirely responsible to his unreasonable master. But in cases where the character of the man is bold, enterprising, and full of that conscious talent which can maintain a separated power, then the pashalick makes itself be considered an independent principality, and is treated with accordingly. Ahmed, the famous Pasha, was one of these; and of whom was once uttered a noble saying, by the tyrant Nadir Shah. When an ambassador from the court of Constantinople to that of Persia, was expressing a feeling of self-gratulation on then having seen the two greatest men in the world; "his master, the grand signior, and the renowned sovereign in whose presence he stood." "No," replied the Shah, "there is yet a greater, the Pasha of Bagdad, who sets us both at defiance!"

Dowd (David) the present pasha, who holds the mace of deputed dignity over this far-eastern boundary of the Ottoman power, like many of the Moslem princes, was originally a slave. He is a native of Tiflis, and was sold when very young, with several companions in captivity, to one of his predecessors in the rank he now holds. His scarcely formed Christian faith easily changed to the profession of Mahometanism; and as he grew towards manhood, he became one of the Georgian guards attendant on the person of the Pasha of Bagdad. This was a step to future trust and honours, to which his address and talents

introduced him; and when his master met his melancholy fate, the accomplished Georgian found sufficient influence with the divan to get himself nominated his successor.

A day or two after my arrival at the residence of Mr. Rich, he accompanied me to the palace, where I was to be presented in due form to this almost independent viceroy. The state he assumed was perfectly that of a sovereign prince. In himself, his manners were pleasing, his person rather handsome, with an intelligent, and particularly urbane countenanance. On his learning that I had passed through Georgia in my way to his capital, the feelings of nature took place of princely ceremonies in his heart. He questioned me repeatedly on the present state of the country; on its hope of lasting tranquillity, and consequent welfare; and as repeatedly expressed his great pleasure in the answers I made, which described the prosperity and comfort it enjoys under the Russian government. He then told me, that his father, mother, and brothers lived in Tiflis; and asked, "if he were to write to the Russian governor of Georgia, recommending his family to that illustrious person's especial protection, did I think it would be attended to?" I said, "Doubtless; the heart of General Yarmoloff was too good, not to be ready, of itself, to dispense kindness; but I was sure he would be particularly delighted in any opportunity of redoubling his attentions to the pasha's family; and above all, gratified at receiving a letter from so distinguished a prince." All epistolary communication between the great of these countries being accompanied by a present, his highness proposed to me, sending a particularly fine shawl to the Russian general; but, in consideration of his intended correspondent being a celebrated military character, I took the liberty to recommend a sword. On this suggestion,

the pasha commanded, that several of the best should be brought before him; out of which, at his request, I chose what I esteemed the most valuable, and that was one of little exterior ornament, but with a blade well adapted to a soldier's hand. Its temper and beauty could not be exceeded in any country.* Our entertainment in the saloon of this Turkish chief, differed in some respects from the like hospitable ceremonies in the courts of Persia. Soon after taking our seats, which we did on our entrance, and opposite to the pasha, small portions of sweetmeats were presented to us on the end of a gold spoon; which was replenished from a golden saucer, held by an attendant in one hand, while he thus appeared to feed us with the other. That over, silken towels were spread on our knees, and coffee served. These napkins were then changed for muslin finely embroidered, and sherbet in costly little cups given us to drink. This light regale being finished, our right hands received from a silver ewer, a profuse ablution of rose-water, which his highness set us the example of bestowing plentifully on the beard and mustachios. In order to accomplish our perfect fragrance, a kind of censer, filled with all sorts of aromatic gums, was held by another attendant for a few seconds near our chins; the exquisite exhalations of which were carefully wafted by our hands over our faces, till the perfume, uniting itself with the essence of rose, insinuated its delightful odours through all the rough appendages of our unshaven visages. Here was the actual ceremony performed upon us, after eating, which I have

* In the course of a few days after I had made the selection, the present and the pasha's letter, were dispatched under the charge of one of his highness's confidential servants to Georgia; but unfortunately they never arrived, the messenger having been robbed by the Courds near Merdin.

described as sculptured on the walls of the banqueting chamber in the palace of Persepolis. There a group of persons are seen, "one, holding a sort of censer, evidently intended for burning perfumes, while in the other hand he carries a vessel resembling a pail; probably to contain the aromatic gums. The man who follows him, bears a little bottle set in the palm of his right hand, and in the left he holds a piece of linen or towel:" * we cannot doubt that all this apparatus was to perform the cleansing rite we had just gone through. The saloon in which we were received, exhibited no gaudy variety of ornament; and those in attendance, both in demeanour and apparel, were in unison with its cleanliness and simple furniture. Most of these persons, for they were numerous, appeared to be Georgians; a regular garde de corps, amounting to several hundred well-looking young men of acknowledged bravery and talent, having been the long-established household battalion of the pashas of Bagdad. It is from this body that their favourite ministers are usually chosen; and too often the ambitious servant manifests his gratitude to his master, by engaging in intrigues to displace him from his authority, or to remove him to a better world; that he may, for a brief while, seat himself on the same slippery chair of state!

The pashalick does not, at present, enjoy that entire quiet it had anticipated from having placed the *golden wall*, I noticed when writing of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, between it and "the incursions of the Medes." Its own assumed subjects, the Arabs of the deserts, to the south and south-west, excited by injuries, have arisen in open war against it; asserting their right of resistance to certain heavy oppressions laid upon them by their Turkish

* See Vol. I. page 654. Plate XLVII. The group of two, with circlets round their heads.

tyrants. This, of course, the pashalick denominates rebellion; though the independent minds of these people have never suffered themselves to be virtually subjugated by any of the numerous powers which have assailed them. Indeed, their habits defy the common means of subjection; and the late attack on their real freedom, was instantly resented by most of the tribes nominally under the influence of the pasha of Bagdad, and who occupy the districts I have just mentioned. Several assembled in considerable strength on the eastern side of the Tigris, in the vicinity of Tackt-i-Kesra; now again a field, having of old been an encampment which, in after-times, formed the site of Ctesiphon; out of the ruins of which city, mingled with those of its opposite neighbour the Grecian Seleucia, the Persian monarchs built the famous capital of Al Maidan, and adorned it with the Tackt-i-Kesra, or palace of the renowned Noushirvan, Khosroo the Great. Other tribes, of a still wilder and more determined description, collected in similar force beyond Hillah, on the western side of the Euphrates, and stretching towards Felugia. This is a tract pregnant with interest; for between the last named place, and the bitumen springs of Hit, the battle of Cunaxa was fought, in which the younger Cyrus lost his life, and whence Xenophon made a retreat more brilliant than victory.

A few days before my arrival at Bagdad, a detachment had been sent by the pasha to reduce the insurgents on this side of the river. The chastising band was not very numerous, but formed of the elité of his troops, many of whom were Georgians, and being commanded by the chief of his Mamelukes, the most sanguine hopes were entertained of their entire success over the rebels; but the reverse was so much the case, that a very in-

ferior number of the Arabs drove back his highness's forces with disgrace, killing and taking prisoners about three hundred. This unexpected disaster determined the pasha to draw together an army sufficient, he calculated, to quell the insurrection on all sides; and, accordingly, he placed at its head the Kiahya, one of his greatest ministers. But the whole warlike array that the pashalick can of itself now send into the field, does not exceed 10,000 men. It may have, in addition, a few auxiliaries lent by the Arab chiefs who yet acknowledge its influence; and those of Kerkook, Suliemania, and Arbille, (under the name of Arbela, renowned for the decisive battle between Alexander the Great and Darius,) furnish about 8,000. The rest of the army would be composed of hired people; soldiers we cannot call them; though, in fact, they are put forward in the place of the proper troops of the pashalick, whose regular pay and allowance are embezzled by the officers commissioned to command them. Those *great men*, instead of forming actual regiments, hire wretched substitutes to appear on days of muster, or emergencies; but who, on the latter occasions, always take care to abscond, leaving their generals to form what excuse they can for having enlisted such light-winged gentry. Such, certainly, were not the means by which the judicious Ahmed held the Grand Signior and the great Shah at defiance. With respect to artillery, I believe three or four guns are all the moveable train the state can boast. By this account, it will be seen that the present force of the pasha, like too many of the Asiatic armaments, is composed of a mixed multitude of undisciplined rabble, armed in various ways, and more intent on plunder than maintaining the honour of the field. I must not, however, altogether omit mentioning, that amidst the military parade of his highness,

there is a splendid body of unserviceable troops, used merely as appendages to the palace and person of the sovereign. These people, besides the usual pompous Turkish garb, wear a preposterously large fur cap, projecting on all sides over their heads like a huge fungus. Long pistols, knives, daggers, pikes, and pouches, with a few leaves from the koran, complete their martial equipment. The latter appendage is attached to a belt, crossing the shoulder, and appears to be a supernumerary pocket for ammunition; but it is a cabalistic shield from danger, without which no Mussulman of condition would think of facing his enemies. His highness, Dowd, seldom puts these privileged heroes in a situation of trying its invulnerable powers: they must always follow him, and he never leads his troops but on occasions of necessity; yet, whenever his courage has been set to the proof, which has happened in several hard-fought battles, it has always come off with honour. His intellectual acquirements are considerable; and his ambition respectably within the bounds of duty to the Sublime Porte. But with the modern religious faith of Constantinople, he has adopted also some of its creed on civil subjects; and, desirous of remaining quiet in the seat of his government, he finds it convenient to barrier the Persian frontier, with tribute-money; and to sometimes sanction violences hostile to the dispositions of his heart, in the establishment of his provincial authority.

Bagdad is said to have been founded about the 45th year of the Hegira, (A.D. 668) by Almansour, the second caliph of the Abbassides. In its earliest ages, it occupied no more than a part of the western shore of the Tigris; but on the accession of Haroun-al-Raschid, one of the most magnificent of the vicars of the Arabian prophet, he not only added to the grandeur of its

palaces, colleges, and other public buildings on that side of the river, but extended the city along the opposite bank, uniting the new quarter to the old by a bridge of boats. In my arrangement for visiting both divisions, I paid the compliment to seniority, by choosing to go over the western quarter first; and, accordingly, Mr. Hyne was so good as to be my guide to its objects of interest. Mr. Rich's house is on the eastern side of the town; hence we had to cross the bridge of union, which is still formed of pontoons, thirty in number, but in so ruinous a state, that few of the natives venture to trust themselves on its rotten planks. To avoid this, they pay a trifle to the small craft on the river, and are paddled over. The width of the stream at the bridge is about 670 feet.

On rising the steep bank of old Bagdad, (now only considered a suburb to the larger and more modern city on the eastern shore,) I found it well furnished with shops, ranged along numerous and extensive streets; which, for security against the inroads of the refractory Arabs, were protected by stoutly-embattled towered walls, and strong gates opening towards Hillah and Kazameen. Beyond these recent bulwarks, vestiges of yet more spreading lines of buildings are visible on the plain; by rendering it uneven, from the numerous undulating mounds which envelope the ruins of the houses. These low, irregular heaps, are strewed with fragments of brick, tiles, and rubbish; nothing of more consequence being traceable, to distinguish the site of common habitations from that of the most splendid palaces. A burying-ground, covered with Asiatic memorials of the dead, has extended itself over a large tract of land that must have been formerly occupied by streets of the city. The tomb of Zobiede, which rises from amidst it, probably, at first stood

alone on its own separated spot; but the revered corse within, having been not only the favourite queen of their great caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, but in many respects the benefactress of the city, it is probable that from veneration to her memory, this became a chosen cemetery of the dying inhabitants, for successive generations. The tomb * is built of brick, of a high octagonal shape, surmounted by a lofty superstructure in the form of a cone. This latter part of the building is elaborately indented with ranges of small arabesque niches, rising one over the other, till they reach the top. On issuing forth, a view presents itself vast and sublime, but far from pleasurably so. The sky burnt above, and the hot brown desert below, spread on all sides; not an object appearing, to break the dreary expanse to the farthest horizon, till the eye, in wandering round, met a lonely and huge dark mass, rising from the verge of the waste to the north-west, like an enormous rock, and which the natives call Akarkouff. Withdrawing the sight from that black pile, and along the intervening stretch of desert, to the immediate scene around me, I looked on the city on both sides of the river; its sombre and irregularly roofed dwellings, varied here and there by a dome or a minaret; its embattled walls, dark towers, and gardens at intervals breaking the dun line of the streets. These cultivated spaces yield a variety of excellent fruits; pomegranates, grapes, figs, and olives, with the abundant date-tree; and mingling their verdant tracts with the animated current of the Tigris, partially shaded by the palm-groves which grow on its steep banks, they presented a cheering object in the dismal waste. But beyond, not an habitable spot appeared for countless

* See Plate LXVII.

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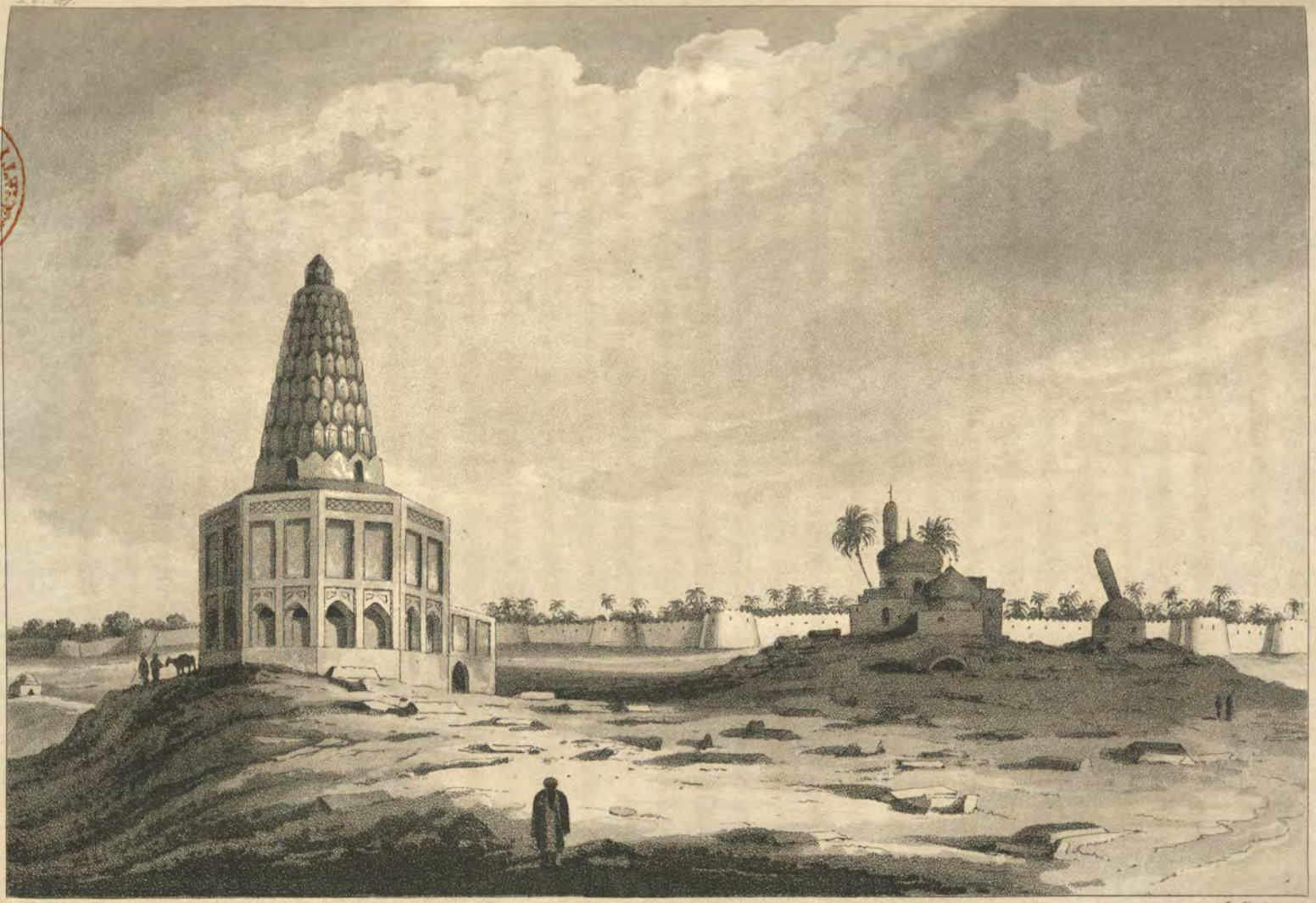


Sir Robert Porter. T. Clark Sc.

Tomb of Zobiedé near Bagdad.

miles. When looking down on these delightful gardens, amidst a country thus lying under the curse of nature, they seemed like the last parting smile, on a face haggard with famine, and stiffening into death.

The interior of the mausoleum consists of a single chamber, vaulted to the very top of the cone. Some fragments of its originally fine plaistering, coloured, and gilded decorations, still adhere to its sides. Two sarcophagi, of the most simple forms, but now in the saddest neglect, stand on the floor directly under the center of the cone. They do not appear of quite such ancient workmanship, as the spiral shell which shields them from the changes of the elements. The one which contains the relics of Zobiede, was pointed out to me; the other, I was told, holds the body of a lady equally royally favoured, having been the beloved spouse of one of Haroun-al-Raschid's immediate successors; and, not improbably, of Caliph Ameen, the only son of the celebrated queen by whose side she lies. When it is recollected that these two princesses must have been entombed here about a thousand years ago, and that Bagdad has undergone so many mutations from conquest and pillage, it is, perhaps, surprising that the sepulchre and its contents are not in a state, even nearer to decay. At some little distance from the royal monument, stands a small mosque with its enshrined grave, dedicated to the memory of the Sheik Maruf-Kerkhy.

The high, and often abrupt undulations of the ground, all about this extensive burial tract, are very numerous, and have been produced, some by the low mounded ruins of fallen buildings, and others by the broken embankments of once deep canals. The remains of the latter are useful to the present day; for, notwithstanding their utterly neglected state, they serve to

carry off the superflux of waters, when the spring inundations from the Euphrates would pour them too abundantly towards the Tigris shore. One of these old canals, in better condition than the rest, by its sudden filling gives the first signal to Bagdad, of the overflowing of the great river. The direction of this canal is north-west, and it communicates with the ancient division of the city, a little to the southward of the Hillah gate.

The Tigris varies as much in the rapidity, as in the depth of its stream, both being governed by the periodical waters that rush from the mountains of Armenia, where its sources are, about fifty miles north-west of the valley of Diarbeker. It flows thence, with a swiftness that gave it the ancient Persian name of *Teer* or *Tir*, the arrow, which is descriptive of its course. The average rate of its current is about seven knots an hour. Its first swell takes place in April, and is produced by the melting of the winter snows in the mountains; its second appears towards the close of October, or the beginning of November, and rises immediately after the annual rains in those high regions. But it is only during the spring torrents, that a complete inundation covers the land, and the city of Bagdad stands like a castellated island in the midst of a boundless sea. This mighty flood does not, however, owe all its waters to the Tigris; those of the vaster Euphrates, which flow also from Armenia, having received their superabundance about the beginning of March, continue increasing in elevation till the end of April; at which period, the river being at its highest pitch, remains so until the expiration of June; and, during that time, having spread its welcome waters to meet the overflowing Tigris, both united cover the surrounding country, west, east, and south, to beyond the reach of sight. Soon after they have subsided, spots, which

at this season flourish only partially, become enriched to an amazing luxuriance. Herodotus, speaking of the fertility of Babylonia, ascribes it to the influence of the river; but remarks, that it does not, like the Nile, enrich the soil by overflowing its banks; the dispersion of the waters, he adds, being produced by manual labour. Rather, we might say, held in check by that means; for, doubtless, the perfect state of the numerous canals, now in ruins, or totally lost, would regulate the diffusion more within the limits of what might be called voluntary irrigation; and when the water is very low, it has always been raised to use by machines on its banks. The Euphrates, or Phrat, is a much more magnificent stream than the Tigris, flowing in a more abundant, circuitous, and majestic course, from its sources in Armenia, through a length of channel estimated at 14,000 miles.

The Tigris is not navigable, beyond sixty miles above Bagdad, for vessels of more than twenty tons burthen; but even considerably higher up, it does not cease to be serviceable to the purposes of communication and commerce; a kind of float called a Kelek, having been in very ancient use, which carries both passengers and merchandise, (the latter chiefly corn and copper,) from Mosoul to Bagdad. Its construction is singularly well contrived for its purpose, consisting of a raft in the form of a parallelogram; the trunks of two large trees, crossing each other, are the foundations of its platform, which is composed of bunches of osier twigs, fastened with admirable ingenuity to the stems below. To this light bottom, is attached sheep-skins filled with air, and so arranged, that in case of necessity they can be replenished at will. On these, the floor of the float is laid. The whole is then wattled, and bound together with well-twined wickerwork,

and a raised parapet of the same, secures the passengers and goods from the water. It is moved by two large oars on each side, and a third at one end acts as a rudder. When these machines reach their place of destination, and the cargo is disposed of, all their materials, excepting the skins, are sold; but they, being previously exhausted of their air, are laid on the backs of camels, and return by land with their masters to the port whence they had been embarked. Eight or ten days are required in summer, to make one of these voyages; but in spring, it may be accomplished in four or five; which may sufficiently shew the great increase in the rapidity of the current. Of course it will be understood, that its general impetuosity prevents the return of these rafts by water.

But the Kelek is not the only singular description of vessel, traceable to antiquity, that appears on these rivers of ancient celebrity. The Kufa, (so named from the Arabic word, which means basket,) used as the common wherry-boat, appears a more extraordinary invention than even the preceding. Its fabric is of close willow-work, well coated with the bituminous substance of the country; which pitch-like crust, by making it water-tight, completely secures it from sinking. Perfectly circular, it resembles a large bowl on the surface of the stream, and holds about three or four persons with room enough, though not in the most agreeable positions. It is paddled across with ease, and without losing much way from the force of the current. Herodotus notices these different kinds of boats plying on the rivers of Babylon, mentioning them as composed of willows, and the skins of animals; and adds, that on their arrival at the great city, the owners sold every material of the boat, excepting the skins, and

those they packed on the backs of asses, and carried whence they came.

I am informed that a curiously formed vessel, of a crescent-shape, carrying one mast and a large latteen-sail, which trades between Bagdad and Bussorah, may, under a fair wind, reach the latter place in six or seven days; but the voyage, at all times dangerous from the piratical Arabs on each side, is not now to be attempted, unless the expedition amounts to a fleet of these lunar barks, in sufficient numbers to overawe the marauders from the shore.

The latitude of Bagdad, from the mean observations taken by Mr. Rich and others, is 33° 19′ 40″, and the longitude east of Greenwich, 44° 44′ 45″. The climate, in general, has the advantage of parts of Persia, in not being variable in such violent extremes; but then its warmest months are certainly insufferable, from the abiding effects of the forty days prevalence of the consuming samiell. At that season, the thermometer frequently mounts in the shade, from 120 to 140 degrees of heat, according to Fahrenheit. Hence it may easily be conceived that winter is the most genial season here; and the inhabitants tell me, that the air then becomes soft, and of the most delightful salubrity; particularly, they say, from the fifteenth of November to about the middle of January. At present, towards the latter end of October, while I am writing, the skirts of the "withering blast," seem to be yet hovering over us; the heat standing at 90, and has been from that to 93, on an average, ever since my arrival. When the heat approaches ten degrees beyond this point, the inhabitants betake themselves to the refuge of certain arched apartments, called the Zardaub; constructed deep in the foundations of the house, for this very

purpose. From their situation they can have no windows; therefore catch their glimpse of daylight as it may glimmer through the doors from the chambers above. Thin matting supplies the place of carpets, and every precaution and method is pursued, that can bring coolness to these gloomy abodes; where the chief part of the natives of Bagdad pass the whole of the sultry day, while the atmosphere without retains its more scorching fires. At sun-set, each family issues from their subterranean shelters, and ascending to the top of the house, take their evening repast beneath the arch of heaven. And under the same free canopy, "fanned by tepid airs," they spread their bedding along the variously disposed divisions of the roof; whose irregular forms are so contrived, to catch every zephyr's breath that passes. In these elevated apartments, the natives repose, until the close of October; at which time the days become comparatively cool; and sudden blasts blowing up during the night, from the north, and south-east, render sleeping in the open air chilling and dangerous. Hence, at these nocturnal hours, the good people begin to nestle into the warm corners within the house; but during the day, they describe the atmosphere to be every thing that is celestial; so clear, so balmy, so inspiriting, as to yield sufficient excuse to the great monarchs of Persia for deserting the arid regions of their own kingdom at this season, to take up a temporary abode in the salubrious gardens of Amyites.

The eastern division of Bagdad, while it owes existence to Haroun-al-Raschid, may be said to have derived its real greatness from the good regulations of Jaffer Barmecide, his celebrated vizier. Since those splendid days, it has undergone many changes; and at present is defended by a lofty wall, formed of

burnt and sun-dried bricks, mingled together. This bulwark is additionally strengthened by round towers, placed at different distances in the wall; and surpassing in height and thickness, those of any fortified town I had seen in Persia. Seventeen of them are higher than the rest, and, each surmounted with five guns of various calibre, command a pretty fair range on all sides. Some of a considerable size, like their unwieldy carriages, appear scarcely serviceable; and others gape, dismounted, over the breast of the embrasure. At the north-west termination of the wall towards the river, an, embattled area presents itself, but of no great extent, to which is given the imposing name of the Citadel. Its fortifications are a few feet higher than the general ramparts of the city; and it is so placed, that its western face overlooks, and commands the egress from the old suburb on the opposite bank. It is used as an arsenal, and a barrack for the hairy-capped guards of the pasha.

Three gates lead into the city on this side of the river. That to the east, called *Al Talism*, bears an inscription, with a date of 618 of the Hegira, (A.D. 1221,) only a few years before the destruction of the caliphate by the irruption of Holakou and his Tartars. This gate is now bricked up, in honour of its having been entered in triumph, (about 400 years subsequent to that date,) by the Sultan Murad, after his having recovered Bagdad from the Persians, and the weak grasp of the unworthy son of the great Abbas. In consequence of this signal event, the portal was instantly closed on the victor having marched through, and from that day, has never been re-opened. This custom of shutting up any passage that has been peculiarly honoured, that it may not be profaned by vulgar footsteps, appears to have prevailed very generally over the East. I found an instance of

it at Ispahan, where the Ali Copi gate is, in like manner, held sacred for a similar reason.

Immediately beyond the walls of the city, behind the *Talism* gate, stretches an extensive space of ground; which, at the time of Sultan Murad's public entry, would be filled with the gallant array of his troops, and the people, (whom the tyrant afterwards massacred!) crowding to meet them. Now, it is a miserably desolate spot; in part dug up for the manufacture of bricks, and the residue consigned for the purposes of burial; Mahometans, Jews, and Christians lying mingled there, under the same clay. And, I lament to add, that after having seen it for the first time, I was compelled to pay it a second visit on an occasion most melancholy to me; to follow, to his last rest, the remains of my poor Russian boy, who had died in the course of a few days after my arrival at Bagdad. The medical skill and unwearied care of Mr. Hyne had done their utmost to save him, but in vain. He had been born in my family, and was a faithful creature; I may say, indeed, "devoted unto death!" and to bury him so far from his native land, to feel myself at that moment perfectly alone, (no other European in my service being now near me,) left me in a distress of regret, and a sort of desolation I cannot describe. Indeed, no one, who has not been in a similar situation, can imagine the void that such a loss leaves in the mind of a traveller in these countries; daily circumstances, creating between master and servant, as well as between friend and friend, a mutual clinging to each other, and a sense of reciprocated protection, of which none but the wanderer over distant, desert regions can have any conception. It was, indeed, with a heavy heart, that I turned from my poor

Feodor's grave; and, that I had brought him so far, to lay him there, was not, perhaps, the least of my pangs.

The circumference of the walls, embracing the whole city of Bagdad, including all its buildings on both sides of the Tigris, is computed to be about five miles. Six gates enter them; three on one bank of the river, and three on the other. But the bulwarks are more numerous on one side than on the other; a hundred and seventeen towers strengthening the walls on the eastern quarter, while only thirteen are observable on the west. Thickly built, and crowded, as the streets appear, little of civic magnificence shews itself. Few of the ancient public buildings remain, and not a vestige of the palace of the caliphs is visible. The present pasha's residence seems a very humble dwelling for their successor. The existing population of Bagdad, I should think, can scarcely exceed 100,000 people; the number of its inhabitants, together with the national consequence of the city, having been long on the decay: and its frequent changes of masters, with the calamities usually attending those events from Asiatic conquerors, may well account for such a decline. Massacre, devastation, and oppression, have ransacked this city during several hundred years; and yet it bears a name, and a certain respectability in the East, solely from the circumstance of its situation being a central depot; or rather, with more propriety, we might call it "the still important great caravansary of Asia;" from its lying on the main road of traffic between so many distant countries, to receive, and protect, and set forward on their business, all the merchants and merchandise which pass to and fro, from

Indus to the Nile,
Or Caspian wave, and Oman's rocky shore.

Bagdad, under its caliphs, was not merely the great exchange of nations, but one of the most powerful capitals of the East; and at the extinction of that second class of pontiff-kings, it might be said that a second Babylon had fallen. Holâkou, the grandson of Gengis Khan, (Gibbon writes the name Zingis,) wrested it from the feeble hands of Mustasim, fated to be the last that wore the sable *bourda*, or sacred mantle of the Abbassides. His eldest son died gloriously in one of the gates, attempting to defend it against the enemy; but the caliph and his younger son perished miserably after the capture, by the ruthless commands of the conqueror. This terrible event, when the Tigris, according to Persian writers, "ran red with the blood of the people," happened about the middle of the 13th century. After this fatal catastrophe, scarcely a hundred and forty more restless years had passed away, ere a new race of Tartars, following the fortunes of Tamerlane, possessed themselves of this unhappy city. It remained under the sway of his posterity till Usum Cassim, the head of a powerful faction, made himself its master, and bequeathed the sceptre to his descendants. Ismail, the brave but ambitious founder of the Sefi race in Persia, was of this family by a female branch; and therefore, though he wrested Bagdad from the princes of the direct line, in his own person he still maintained the dynasty of the preceding conqueror. Since that period, many have been the sieges it has withstood; many the thousands of lives that have been sacrificed in its defence: and such a continuation of the horrors of war continuing unto this very day, have gradually reduced this once rich and powerful city to a state of comparative poverty, and the feeblest means of defence.

From some sad warp in the present government, hardly a

year elapses without making an apparent necessity, under the plea of apprehended scarcity and consequent tumults, for driving some hundreds of the poor inhabitants from within the walls, to seek their bread, on chance, beyond them. That such fears are not groundless, is certain; want of grain creating high prices, and high prices exciting famishing poverty to despair and revolt. Such scarcity arises from two causes. First, oppression in excessive taxation on the husbandman, by robbing him of its fruits, paralyses his industry; and relaxing his labours, less corn is grown, less profit is produced to the revenue; exaction then comes in the place of due payment: and the peasantry, driven to desperation, abandoning their villages, seek employment in the city. There the defalcation of grain makes itself speedily known; and the new ingress of claimants renders the want more apparent every hour. To obviate this difficulty, the summary measure is resorted to, of annually banishing the most miserable of the inhabitants; to starve in the desert, to wander to the mountains; or, abiding nearer home, to league themselves with robbers, and support themselves and families by plundering and murder.

We see poverty and distress in the Christian countries of Europe; but we must come to the East to witness the one endured without pity, and the other only noticed to have fresh afflictions heaped upon it. I do not mean to say, that there are not amiable exceptions to this remark; but where charity is not a leading principle of duty, the selfishness of human nature readily turns from the painful or expensive task of sympathising with the miserable. General hospitality, and universal benevolence, arise from totally different motives; and are, often, as completely distinct in their actions. The one is bestowed on

grounds of probable reciprocity of benefit; the other, when not commanded by religion, can only arise from the compassion of a disinterested heart. Hence, though we find individual instances of this species of benevolence in all countries, it is only where Christianity prevails, that care of the poor is practised as a national concern. In the midst of the scenes just described, acting within and without the walls of Bagdad, luxury grows as rankly round the rich, as in the most prosperous cities; and the expences lavished on "singing men, and singing women," brought from afar, are equally enormous. The ladies of Bagdad, in particular, appear to be singularly inclined to festivity; and their assemblies, like those of our own countrywomen, are generally held during the later hours of the twenty-four. They usually meet, by invitation, at the harem of some one of the wives of the chief officers of state; where due care has been taken to provide the best female dancers, singers, and musicians that the city affords; and thither, about sun-set, the several bidden guests assemble, in the most lovely groups of youth and beauty, attended by their serving-women bearing their narquillies; a sort of hooker or kalioun, of which even the most delicate of the fair sex in these countries, are remarkably fond. Before I proceed with the details of the entertainment, it may not be amiss to stop, and describe the dresses of the ladies, in the customary style of drawing-room paraphernalia.

Women of the first consequence here, go about on ordinary occasions, on foot, and with scarcely any attendants; it being the etiquette to avoid, when in public, every striking distinction of appearance. In compliance with this fashion, all the fair sex of the city, high and low, walk abroad in the blue-checked *chadre;* its folding drapery having no other mark of an august

wearer, than a few gold threads woven into its border. Instead of the white towel-like veil of the Persians, these ladies conceal their faces behind a much more hideous mask; a black stuff envelope of horse-hair. The liberty they possess, of paying visits without the *surviellance* of a male guard, and under these impenetrable garbs, are privileges, perhaps too friendly to a licence their husbands do not intend. So much the reverse is the case with Persian women of rank, they hardly move but on horseback, and escorted always by trains of eunuchs, and other trusty vigilants.

When the fair pedestrians of Bagdad issue from behind their clouds, on entering their own apartments, or those of the ladies they go to visit, dresses are displayed in every group, of the most gorgeous magnificence; for it may easily be conceived, that rivalry with regard to personal charms, and graceful habiliments, flourishes amongst the belles of an Eastern harem, as gaily as with those of a European ball-room. The wives of the higher classes in Bagdad, are usually selected from the most beautiful girls that can be obtained from Georgia and Circassia; and, to their natural charms, in like manner with their captive sisters all over the East, they add the fancied embellishments of painted complexions, hands and feet dyed with henna, and their hair and eye-brows stained with the rang, or prepared indigo-leaf. Chains of gold, and collars of pearls, with various ornaments of precious stones, decorate the upper part of their persons, while solid bracelets of gold, in shapes resembling serpents, clasp their wrists and ankles. Silver and golden tissued muslins, not only form their turbans, but frequently their under-garments. In summer, the ample pelisse is made of the most costly shawl, and in cold weather, lined and bordered with the choicest furs. The

dress is altogether very becoming; by its easy folds, and glittering transparency, shewing a fine shape to advantage, without the immodest exposure of the open vest of the Persian ladies. The humbler females generally move abroad with faces totally unveiled, having a handkerchief rolled round their heads, from beneath which their hair hangs down over their shoulders, while another piece of linen passes under their chin, in the fashion of the Georgians. Their garment is a gown of a shift form, reaching to their ankles, open before, and of a grey colour. Their feet are completely naked. Many of the very inferior classes stain their bosoms with the figures of circles, half-moons, stars, &c., in a bluish stamp. In this barbaric embellishment, the poor damsel of Irak Arabi has one point of vanity resembling that of the ladies of Irak Ajem. The former frequently adds this frightful cadaverous hue to her lips; and, to complete the savage appearance, thrusts a ring through her right nostril, pendent with a flat button-like ornament set round with blue or red stones.

But to return to the ladies of the higher circles, whom we left in some gay saloon of Bagdad. When all are assembled, the evening meal, or dinner, is soon served. The party, seated in rows, then prepare themselves for the entrance of the show; which, consisting of music and dancing, continues in noisy exhibition through the whole night. At twelve o'clock, supper is produced; when pilaus, kabobs, preserves, fruits, dried sweetmeats, and sherbets of every fabric and flavour, engage the fair *convives* for some time. Between this second banquet, and the preceding, the perfumed narquilly is never absent from their rosy lips; excepting when they sip coffee, or indulge in a general shout of approbation, or a hearty peal of laughter at the freaks

of the dancers, or the subject of the singers' madrigals. But no respite is given to the entertainers; and, during so long a stretch of merriment, should any of the happy guests feel a sudden desire for temporary repose, without the least apology, she lies down to sleep on the luxurious carpet that is her seat; and thus she remains, sunk in as deep an oblivion as if the nummud were spread in her own chamber. Others speedily follow her example, sleeping as sound; notwithstanding that the bawling of the singers, the horrid jangling of the guittars, the thumping on the jar-like double-drum, the ringing and loud clangor of the metal bells and castanets of the dancers, with an eternal talking in all keys, abrupt laughter, and vociferous expressions of gratification, making, in all, a full concert of distracting sounds, sufficient, one might suppose, to awaken the dead. But the merry tumult, and joyful strains of this conviviality, gradually become fainter and fainter; first one, and then another of the visitors, (while even the performers are not spared by the soporific god,) sink down under the drowsy influence; till, at length, the whole carpet is covered with the sleeping beauties, mixed indiscriminately with hand-maids, dancers, and musicians, as fast asleep as themselves. The business, however, is not thus quietly ended. "As soon as the sun begins to call forth the blushes of the morn, by lifting the veil that shades her slumbering eye-lids," the faithful slaves rub their own clear of any lurking drowsiness; and then tug their respective mistresses by the toe or the shoulder, to rouse them up to perform the devotional ablutions usual at the dawn of day. All start mechanically, as if touched by a spell; and then commences the splashing of water, and the muttering of prayers; presenting a singular contrast to the vivacious scene of a few hours before. This duty over, the fair

devotees shake their feathers like birds from a refreshing shower; and tripping lightly forward, with garments, and, perhaps, looks, a little the worse for the wear of the preceding evening, plunge at once again, into all the depths of its amusements. Coffee, sweetmeats, kaliouns, as before, accompany every obstreperous repetition of the midnight song and dance; and all being followed up by a plentiful breakfast of rice, meats, fruits, &c., towards noon the party separate; after having spent between fifteen and sixteen hours in this riotous festivity.

Fêtes of the same kind are sometimes in request with the husbands of the ladies; when, to the great surprise of the latter, in spite of the enjoyment they are said to produce, it is always understood that they pass in almost total silence on the part of the spectators. I had the curiosity to be present at one of these scenes of taciturn jollity, which took place at one of the most respectable houses in Bagdad. After sunset, is the time of rendezvous for the gentlemen; and, as they are excluded from the ladies' coteries, I had no hope of seeing any of the gentler sex at this. The details of the entertainment, with regard to the order of refreshments, kaliouns, coffee, dinner, supper; and of the amusements, dancing, singing, and music of as many instruments and sounds, as those which drowned the cries of some Moloch feast, were performed before us with as much diligence as uproar. But with us, all the performers were men and boys; and the latter, being dancers, were dressed in female habits of the wildest garb. Their black hair, allowed to grow exceedingly long, full, and bushy, hung loosely down their backs, and fell over their faces in huge disordered masses. A light vesture of silk, or gaudily decorated stuff, covered their bodies, bound at the

waist by a belt of crimson cloth or velvet, set with studs, and odd conceits in silver patterns. Quantities of coins, of different sizes and sorts, were suspended from their necks and breasts, while numerous strings of the same traversed their bodies, so low as to shake loose upon their thighs. Their arms were covered to the wrists with very wide linen sleeves, fringed with bunches of small bells, like those formerly the ornament of falcons. Besides these jingling appendages, their thumbs and fore-fingers were furnished with a pair of large metal castanets. Thus accoutred at all points for clatter and motion, some guess may be formed of the abominable congregation of noises that broke forth the moment a groupe of these gentry began their evolutions, which they performed, not only in every limb, but in every finger and toe and muscle of their bodies. But to finish the rest of their dress. A sort of petticoat, or rather petticoats, (for this part of their apparel consists of three divisions, one over the other, in blue, red, and any third gay colour,) depend from the bottom of the tight vest, and have, by way of a finish to each, a long fringe at the hems hanging half-way down a pair of dirty naked legs, terminated by feet in the same sorry condition. Their copper-coloured and sallow complexions, dark, hollow, and piercing eyes, lank cheeks, and ring-bored noses, accompanied by an impudent, emaciated expression of countenance, derived from the fevered exhaustion of unremitted midnight revels, merriment without joy, and fatigue without the balm of rest, gave them, when in the most violent exertions of their performance, an air of savage madness, almost amounting to demoniac possession. Not the phrenzied dance of the Theban Bacchæ; for in Greece, with even their greatest extravagancies, we associate the ideas of grace; but of a taste as barbarian as the spirit which led them,

these seemed the enfuriated votaries of the Indian idol Jugurnaut; leaping, whirling, tumbling head over heels; in short, every violent action and contortion of person, formed the manœuvres of this much admired and hideous entertainment. The more temperate, and, according to Asiatic description, the most *elegantly delightful* part of the ballet, is performed by twisting the body into all kinds of odious postures, accompanied by a manderine-like dodder of the head, which is duly answered by a wriggle from the back, or hips.

While all this was going on, I observed that the solemn Turk gradually descended from his gravity; and, as the gesticulations increased in rapidity, violence, and fury, (augmented, in frightful harmony, by the uproarious howlings and shrieks of the music,) his features gradually relaxed, and his tongue gave utterance, till his ejaculations of delight, and bursts of enraptured laughter, became little less tumultuous than the noise from the performers. A substantial meal, however, settled all discomposed nerves into their usual saturnine buckle; and the whole assembly, highly gratified with the varied entertainment, took their leaves before sunrise to prepare for matin prayers, and the public visits of the morning.

The amusement just described, is the only one of a theatrical complexion known amongst the people. It is often called for by the female part of the inhabitants of Bagdad; but, I am told, that with the men it is now very rare; the pasha so setting his face against it, as to forbid the avowed existence of hireable dancing-boys in his capital.

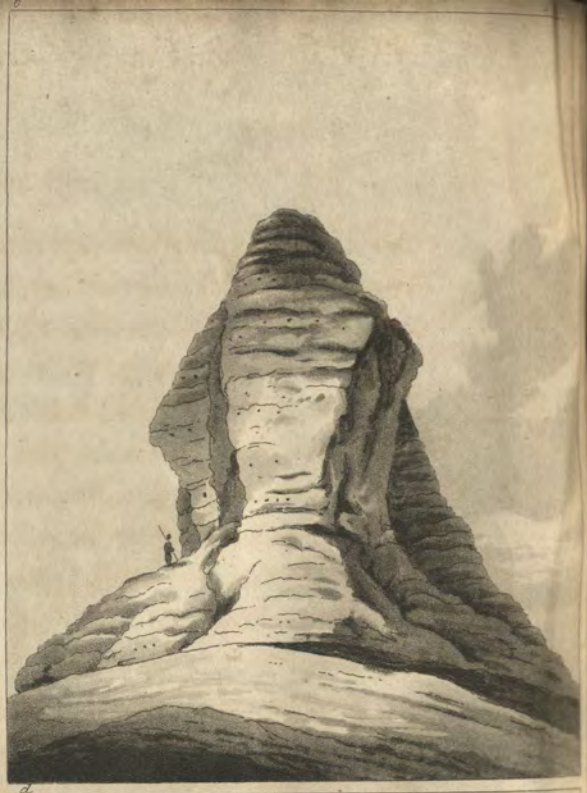
So much for the modern ways of ancient Babylonia! But my purpose being with the remains of the past, I lost no time in making arrangements for visiting the eminence, called that of

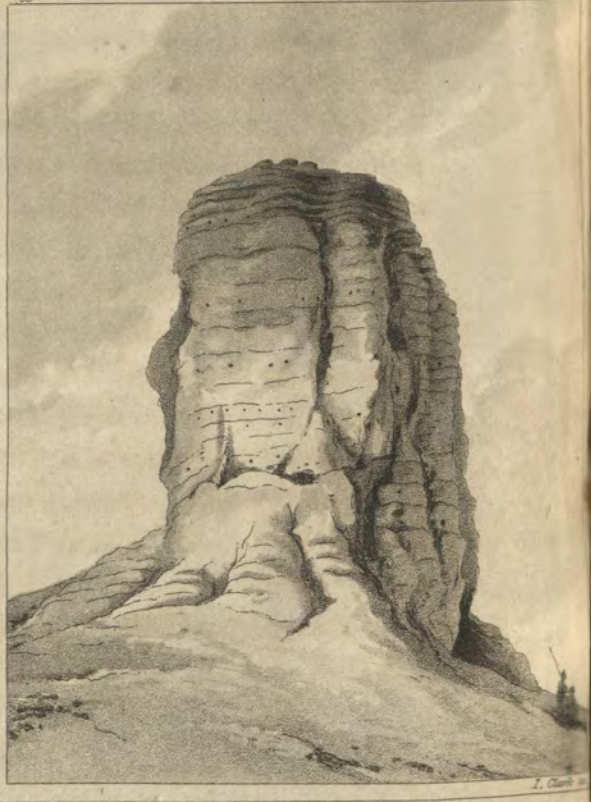
Akarkouff, which had excited my attention in prospect from the tomb of Zobiede. The late successes of the Arabs, having emboldened them to advance in plundering parties, even to the walls of the city, it had become dangerous to go to the smallest distance without a guard; I, therefore, set off on this, my first expedition to explore the colossal relics of these Titan regions, with an adequate escort, besides the good company of the two gentlemen attached to Mr. Rich's mission. We crossed the bridge of the Tigris to its western shore; and again traversing that large suburb, with the still more extensive remains of old Bagdad beyond the walls, our party took a north-west direction over the plain, towards the point of my present curiosity; which lay at several miles' distance. The tract of country we passed over this morning, is regularly overflowed by the waters of the river; and many spots were left not yet dried up, of an expanse wide enough to be called little lakes. The soil, consequently, even under neglect, is very rich; while the endless intersecting remains of the numerous canals, which, in former days, conveyed away the superfluous waters from the whole land of Shinar, show the great care of the ancient inhabitants to cultivate the ground to the utmost power of husbandry. Near to these broken embankments, rise mounds of higher elevation; marking, no doubt, the sites of the villages, once inhabited by these industrious peasantry, who wrought on those banks, and in the fields now abandoned to the desert.

The pile to which we were directing our steps, is called by the Arabs *Tell Nimrood*, and by the Turks *Nemrood Tepassé*, both of which appellations mean the *Hill*, not as some would translate them, the *tower* of Nimrod. The term Akarkouff, given by the Arabs, is intended to signify the ground only, around it; and the

word, having no distinct meaning in the Arabic language, most probably was the name of some ancient city of the Babylonians, long ago disappeared. I recollect that the learned Prideaux, writing on the changes of names with regard to places of antiquity, and on those usually preserved by the Arabs, remarks, " that these people being the oldest nation in the world, and who have never been by any conquest dispossessed, nor driven out of their country, but have always remained there in a continued descent from the first planters until this day, and being also as little given to make alterations in their manners and usages, as in their country, have still retained those names of places which were at first attached to them; and on these aboriginal people acquiring the empire of the East, they restored the original names to many cities, after they had been lost for ages under the arbitrary changes of successive conquerors. Thus," he observes, " the ancient metropolis of Egypt, which, from Mizraim the son of Ham, was called Mesri; afterwards, for many ages, had the name of Memphis; but, on the Arabs making themselves masters of Egypt, they recalled the name of Mesri, and the remains of the city hath retained it ever since. For the like reason, the city of Tyre, which was anciently called Zor or Zur, hath, since it fell into the hands of the Arabs, been again designated Zor or Sor; and is, at this day, known by no other name in that part of the world. By the same custom, the city of Palmyra hath again recovered the old name of Tadmor, by which it was called in the time of Solomon, and is now known over the East by no other." Hence, we may reasonably suppose, that the Arabian appellation, Akarkouff, has been one of these long traditionary names for a district, or a city sunk in oblivion.

On arriving at the huge pyramidal mass which appeared in





Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark sc.

Views of Akarkouff.

the center of this tract, we found it standing upon a gently gradual elevation, ascending from the perfect level upwards of sixty yards. * This apparently foundation hill, though in fact only a collection of rubbish round the pile itself, consists of loose sandy earth, intermixed with fragments of burnt brick, pottery, and a kind of hard clay partially vitrified. I measured one of the baked bricks that was nearly entire; it formed a square of twelve inches, in thickness two and three quarters, and was of an excessively hard substance. No characters whatever were traceable on this specimen, nor on any of the fragments we saw. From the gentle elevation just described, rises an enormous solidly-built mass, crowning it like a rock, and composed entirely of sun-dried brick. Its present irregular shape, worn away by time, and furrowed by the rain of ages, leaves no possibility of doing more than conjecturing its original form. Its sides face the cardinal points, and their present appearances are shown in the four accompanying drawings. Neither mounds nor any rubbish of ancient decay, track its more distant vicinity in any direction except to the east, where, not many paces from the foot of the Tepessé, a couple of extensive and high heaps of ruins, composed of the same materials with those of their more gigantic neighbour, vary the perfect flat of the plain. The height of the Tepessé, from the summit of the gradual slope, from which the more ponderous fabrick shoots upwards, to the towering irregular top of the whole, may be about a hundred and twenty-five, or thirty feet; and its circumference at the bottom of this upper structure, is three hundred feet; which huge pile, at about ten feet in a perpendicular line from its base, measures a hundred feet in the breadth of its face. From its foundation, and the

* See Plate LXVIII. a. b. c. d.

whole way up to its summit, the different layers of sun-dried brick or clay, of which it is composed, may be traced with great precision. But the several courses vary so much in height, that some are twelve, others eighteen, or twenty feet; while every brick in each layer of the course is united to its neighbour by a thin lining of pure slime; no other cement whatever being visible; though each horizontal division between these courses is marked by a stratum of reeds, similar to those which at present grow all over the marshy parts of the plain. They bed every fifth or sixth layer of brick, to a thickness of two inches, lying regularly one over the other, unmixed with any other substance; and, as the adjacent part of the bricks gradually crumble away, these strata project from the surface, and are very distinguishable at a considerable distance. Their state of preservation is indeed wonderful; the only apparent difference, between them and the gathered growth of the present year, seeming to be, that these of so remote a harvest are of a darker hue. I drew a large quantity out, and found many of them two feet in length. It does not appear that in constructing these sun-dried bricks, any straw was mixed with the fabrick; and in examining various fragments of burnt brick, I sought in vain for a morsel of bitumen. The whole of this curious pile seems to be solid, excepting where certain square perforations, going directly through, must intersect each other in the heart of the building, and were, probably, intended to preserve it from damp, by the constant succession of free air. There is also, on its northern face (which is nearly perpendicular,) and at a considerable elevation from the base, an opening of an oval form, rather larger than a common-sized window; but it does not penetrate farther into the pile than six or eight feet.

From the already mentioned ruins and mounds near to the Tepessé, some traces of a former city are certainly apparent; and the scripture account of the establishment of Nimrod in this country, give authority for seeking in it the remains of several places of that consequence, besides those of the great capital. The words are these, from Genesis, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." Hence, we may find one here; and the third name in the above enumeration seems not very dissimilar to that of Akarkouff. Pliny mentions the existence of a city, called in his time Hippara, or Sippora, that was situated in the immediate vicinity of the Nahar-raga stream; and certainly the remains of a canal of great magnitude are still visible somewhat to the north of Akarkouff. Some writers would find the Sittace of Xenophon on this spot; but the changes of the names of places, in the course of ages, are differences of no consequence in establishing their actual existence. The neighbourhood of this departed city, to that of Bagdad, may satisfactorily account for the relics of brick and mounds being so few; both, doubtless, having afforded abundant stores for the erection of the Arabian town; though, indeed, several writers have roundly asserted that it was built out of the remains of Babylon itself. The actual distance between that most ancient, and this modern capital, is sufficient to disprove the idea to any traveller on the spot; though he can have no doubt of the city of the caliphs having collected its materials out of one of Babylonian origin: and what so likely as from this, comparatively, at its very gates? But, from the system of tearing down one city, when on its decline, to help the erection of another more agreeable to the views of the founder, Babylon, "the queen of nations," was so far from being exempted, that

Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, and Al Maidan, &c. &c. were severally reared from its ample quarries. Like the many kingdoms which rose out of the fall of its empire, the decaying relics of the city itself were sufficient to form a succession of capitals, for a succession of kings "of a variety of tongues and people."

Immense pyramidal piles, like this of the Tepessé Nemrood at Akarkouff, seem to be peculiar marks by which we may discover the sites, at least, of the earliest settlements of mankind; but to what different purposes they were severally applied, must, with most of them, always remain a matter of conjecture. With regard to the Tepessé, I should suppose the mass we now see, to be no more than the base of some loftier superstructure, probably designed for the double use of a temple and an observatory; a style of sacred edifice common with the Chaldeans, and likely to form the principal object in every city and town devoted to the idolatry of Belus, and the worship of the stars.

In returning from Akarkouff, we passed the town of Kazimun, at two or three miles distance from the north-western boundary of Bagdad. It is celebrated for containing the superb tombs of Imaun Toukeh, and Imaun Moussa Kazim; two holy men of such exalted Moslem saintship, that the place is chiefly inhabited by a colony of devout Persians; who were induced to transplant themselves there, by the religious motive of living near a spot in which it was the object of their prayer to be buried. The name of the place is derived from that of Imaun Kazim, while the mosque which covers his relics stands proudly eminent, piercing the high and featherys ummits of the date-trees with its loftier minarets and gilded domes. The sacerdotal establishment annexed to these shrines, is supported by the voluntary contributions of the numerous pilgrims, whose halt

it is between Persia and the yet more sacred monuments of Kerbela.

On re-entering the gates of the British residence, at Bagdad, I found some of my Mahomedan servants, just come back from paying their duties at the shrine of Hossein in the latter place. Taking advantage of the protection that would be afforded to them, by a company of Sepoys marching that way to honour the marriage of a lady, the daughter of a great man from the East of the Indus, who had settled in that holy city, I had given my people permission to make their devotions in his train. On their return, my muleteer, as an offering of gratitude, presented me some sacred cakes, made of the earth which had borne the tent of their martyr; and which are kept in a sort of sanctuary near to the entrance of his tomb, being close to the spot where he was assassinated. The description of the manner of his death, given by the historian Gibbon, is particularly beautiful and affecting. The earth, even in its simple state, is purchased with avidity by the pilgrims, and is said to possess the most miraculous properties; while the privilege of being interred near the remains of the saint himself, is bought by the rich at the most extravagant prices. But Hossein is not the only star of this ascendant; a constellation, of smaller magnitude indeed, yet occupying the same heaven, share the devotion of the pilgrims, and at a smaller charge allow them cemeteries near their humbler graves. The revenues arising to the hierarchy of Kerbela, from all these drains on the purses of its visitors, are enormous; and must more than sufficiently pay for all the expences of its state. Kerbela is about sixteen farsangs from Bagdad; the city is large, and crowded with inhabitants. Being respected as a place of refuge, the run-aways from both Turkey

and Persia fly thither in flocks; and amongst the fugitives from the latter country, are several khans of too sensible consciences to venture giving account of their misdeeds within grasp of their king. It was near this town, then an inconsiderable village, that the terrible battle was fought which decided the fate of the Caliph Ali; and also that of his son, whose tomb has "enlarged its borders," and rendered the place so illustrious. Notwithstanding the extensive circuit and strength of its walls, it has often, since, suffered by the violence of war; and several times been plundered by certain sects of the Arabs, who did not spare the treasures of its tombs. It is still, however, a flourishing town; and deliciously situated amongst gardens and groves, which border one of the finest canals now existing in the country. This noble work, supposed to have been begun on the foundation of one of the very old flood-gates of the ancient empire, had various restorers, but Hassan Pasha was the first to plan its present grand scale, leaving it to be finally effected by Mirza Ashreff, during the reign of Shah Thamas the last king of the Sefi race. That monarch's murderer, Nadir Shah, gilded the cupola over the tomb of the Imaun Hossein.

My Kerbelite pilgrims, and those returned with them, brought very alarming accounts of the numerous bands of Arabs; who, emboldened by the late successes, were scouring the country in all directions, between Bagdad and the south-western parts of the pashalick. This information was far from being exaggerated; and I only awaited the marching of the pasha's troops that way, to commence my movements in the same quarter, towards the fallen towers of Babylon. His highness's army had been some little time encamped on the plain of Bagdad, near the great burying-ground on the western shore of the Tigris; and was daily expected to proceed to the neighbourhood of Hillah (a

town on the Euphrates,) to take up a central position against the enemy. This disposition, being entirely in my purposed track, would enable me to pursue the researches I meditated, without much apprehension of disturbance from the belligerent Arabs; and, accordingly, when the troops had advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, I prepared to follow. The time was soon settled; and on the day appointed, having received every necessary protection on the way from the pasha, and also his letter to the general in command, ordering that all attention should be paid to me; I set forth at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of November the 9th; additionally escorted by some of Mr. Rich's armed household, and accompanied by Mr. Belino.

November 9th, 1818.—I was now fully embarked on my long-anticipated expedition; and having passed the gate of the western suburb, I looked around me on the vast extended Chaldean plain east of the Euphrates, with a delight that seemed for some minutes to send me on the wing over its whole interesting tract; ranging both sides of that mighty river, and to wherever the majesty of Babylon had flowed down its venerable stream. Ptolemy, in describing the great plain of Babylonia, bounds it by the Arabian desert to the west, by Susiana to the east, the Persian Gulf to the South, and Mesopotamia to the north. The appropriation of the latter term here, (which, properly speaking, designates the whole country girt by the two rivers,) is to be received as meaning that part only, which stretches south-east from Mount Masius, to the celebrated Median wall, that closed the isthmus between Macepracta and Opis; nearly where the land draws in, something like the shape of an hour-glass. This wall is understood to have been built by the Babylonian monarchs, to prevent the incursions of the Median kings, when

they were masters of Assyria; all north of that boundary having formerly belonged to the dominion of Nineveh. It was not till after the destruction of the latter capital, by the father of Nebuchadnezzar, that Babylon attained its acmé of glory under that great prince himself. And, in advancing towards its prodigious remains, (apparently doomed to exist for ever, in some form or other, an awful monument of confusion!) it may not be disagreeable to refresh our memory of the subject a little, by a clear view of the city, as it is represented in the descriptions of our best authorities.

According to Herodotus, the walls were 60 miles in circumference, built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, and raised round the city in the form of an exact square; hence they measured 15 miles along each face. They were 87 feet thick, and 350 high, protected on the outside by a vast ditch lined with the same materials, and proportioned in depth and width to the elevation of the walls. They were entered by 25 gates on each side, made of solid brass; and additionally strengthened by 250 towers. Within these walls rose the multitudinous streets, palaces, and other great works of Babylon; including the temple of Belus, the hanging gardens, and all the magnificence which constituted this city the wonder of the world. A branch of the Euphrates flowed through the city, from the north to the south; and was crossed by a strong bridge, constructed at the foundation, of large stones fastened together with lead and iron. While it was building, the course of the river was turned into a large basin, to the west of the town; which had been cut to the extent of 40 square miles, and 75 feet deep, for a yet nobler purpose; to receive the same ample stream, while the great artificial banks were erecting of brick on each side of the bed of the river, to secure the country

from its too abundant overflow. Canals were cut for this purpose also; one of these led to the immense basin already described, which, when required, disembogued the river into its capacious bosom; and always continued to receive its superflux; returning the water, when necessary, by various sluices to fructify the ground. During the three great empires of the East, no tract of the whole appears to have been so reputed for fertility and riches as the district of Babylonia; and all arising from the due management of this mighty stream. Herodotus mentions, that even when reduced to the rank of a province, it yielded a revenue to the kings of Persia that comprised half their income. And the terms in which the Scriptures describe its natural, as well as acquired supremacy when it was the imperial city, evidence the same facts. They call it, "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency. The Lady of Kingdoms, given to pleasure; that dwellest carelessly, and sayest in her heart, *I am*, and there is none else beside me!" But now, in the same expressive language, we may say, "She sits as a widow on the ground. There is no more a throne for thee, O daughter of the Chaldeans!" And for the abundance of the country, it has vanished as clean away, as if "the besom of desolation" had indeed swept it from north to south; the whole land, from the outskirts of Bagdad to the farthest stretch of sight, lying a melancholy waste.

As we rode forward, nothing broke the monotonous line of horizon, excepting the uneven embankments of some old canal, or the more elevated accumulations of earth that once marked the dwellings of the Chaldean shepherds or husbandmen. In about half an hour we approached a bend of the Tigris, which here takes a sweep to the westward, embracing a small sandy

space, like an island. Our course lay south 10° west from this point of the road, and whence we saw the Tepessé of Akarkouff, in a direction north 70° west.

In about two hours we reached the Kiahya khaun; so named from having been built by a Kiahya, or minister of a former pasha: and, from the rate our horses walked, I should estimate its distance from Bagdad at nearly seven miles. Having ridden onward a couple more, we observed a rather elevated pile, standing a considerable way out of the road to the south-east; the natives call it the Boursa Shishára. After a quarter of an hour's brisk canter, we arrived before it, and found that its height might measure thirty feet, including a sort of sloping mass whence it appeared to rise, similar to the rubbish-hillock round the foundation of the Tepessé at Akarkouff. The whole composition of the Boursa Shishara, is like that of the Tepessé, except that the courses of reeds (which were in as good preservation as those at Akarkouff,) were spread between layers of only two bricks deep. From the mode and materials of construction being so much the same in both, there can hardly be a doubt that they owe their origin to the same period; and around this latter relic of antiquity, at some little distance from its base, we remarked many scattered fragments of bricks, tiles, and other vestiges of former building. We easily ascended to the top of the Boursa Shishara, and thence had a distinct view of the Tackt-i-Kesr, on the eastern shore of the Tigris. It is the remains of the palace of Noushirvan, or Chosroes the Great, at Ctesiphon; and bore north 70° east from us.

On considering the circumstances generally related of Alexander's death, and that he marched from Ecbatana to Babylon, where the event happened; it occurred to me, while standing on the

summit of Boursa Shishara, that the ground immediately around it might have been the site of Borosippa; the place mentioned by Strabo, as that "to which Alexander retired," when he was warned by the Chaldean soothsayers not to enter Babylon by its eastern side. Some authors, and I think Plutarch, say he was exhorted not to enter it at all. Historians remark, that Borosippa was a city of considerable consequence, and particularly revered on account of its temple, dedicated to Diana and Apollo, (the sun and moon of the Chaldean worship;) and Josephus also, situates the place of Alexander's retreat in Babylonia, not very far from the great city itself. Therefore I should be inclined to suggest, that if there be any thing in the resemblance of names, and more in apparent agreement of situation, this spot of Boursa Shishara, may offer some pretensions to the distinction of having been the last halting-place of the Macedonian hero. When we compare the circumstances with the situation, we find that Alexander was approaching Babylon from the east; and, on his road, being successively warned, not only from astrologers, but by various omens, not to enter the city, a superstitious dread continued to grow on him, "like water creeping on the ground;" till the whole strength of his mind giving way, he stopped, and after retiring to Borosippa, abandoned himself in a kind of despair to the horrible excesses, of which, after entering the city in one of their mad paroxysms, he died. The term *retired*, used by the historian, certainly implies that he returned to some place he had just left, or at least that lay in his rear; which rear was eastward of Babylon, his march having been from Media. Had Borosippa lain on the west of the city, (which those writers must suppose, who would trace its site to the base of Birs Nimrood,) surely the historian would have found other terms for describing Alex-

ander's approach to it, than the word *retiring;* since, according to the route he was then on, he must rather have advanced than retired; also have crossed the Euphrates, and marched far onward, over much marshy ground, before he could have reached even the neighbourhood of the present most stupendous monument of the Babylonian age. Our Greek accounts of the intemperance, which really induced his fate, is dishonourable to their hero; but Persian authors, in writing of Alexander, (who, though their conqueror, they idolized under the name of Secunder Roomee, and derived his birth from one of their own monarchs, rejecting both Philip of Macedon, and Jupiter Ammon, as his reputed fathers!) speak of the manner of his death with an interesting, as well as romantic legend. The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh relates, that astrologers foretold, that whenever he should find himself seated on a throne where the ground was iron, and the sky above it gold, he might then be sure that his death drew near. This account seemed to promise him immortality; but one day on a march, returning from some field of conquest, he found himself on a sudden seized with a bleeding at the nose; when an officer who was by, unbracing his coat of mail, laid it down for the king to rest on; and to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander observed himself in this situation, he exclaimed, "The word of prediction is accomplished! I no longer belong to the living! Alas! that the work of my youth should be finished! that I die in the bloom of my years!" He wrote to his mother to be comforted, for that he was passing away to the quiet regions of the dead; and desiring her to give large alms in honour of his memory, added, that it was his particular request they should be bestowed on those only, who had never known the miseries of this life, nor experienced the loss

of those they held most dear. His mother, in the extremity of her affliction, sought in vain for persons answering the happy description he had given; and finding that all had tasted bitter woes, and most outlived the objects they best loved, she received the comfort her son had intended, by being convinced that her own affliction was the common lot of mankind. Some Persian writers say, that their renowned Secunder died in Babylon; others, that the event took place at a city called Zour; and they add, that his body was embalmed, and being put into a golden sarcophagus, was sent to Greece to his mother, who re-inclosed it in one of Egyptian marble; thus giving him a tomb from the land of his boasted father, Jupiter Ammon.

Having descended from the Boursa Shishara, we "retired" to the road we had left, and then proceeded direct on our former route towards Assad Khaun; which we passed at about five or six miles distance from the fine menzil I had so admired, erected by the beneficent Kiahya. At a little more than another hour's march, (nearly five miles,) we crossed the ruinous dry bed of the Nahar-Malcha, or Fluvius Regum, the most famous of the canals attributed to Nebuchadnezzar. The remains of a second, supposed to be the Nahar-Sarsar of the same monarch, traverse the plain a little higher up; and, with its vaster neighbour, was used at certain seasons to convey the waters of the Euphrates into the more rapid and deeper channel of the Tigris, instead of flowing forward in their full body towards the immediate vicinity of Babylon, where an unrestrained inundation would have damaged the city and adjacent lands. The Nahar-Malcha, or royal canal,

* This account seems another evidence in favour of the Egyptian Soros brought to England by Dr. Clarke, and now in the British Museum, having been that of the Macedonian hero.

which it was called by way of eminence, terminated on the east, near the site of the city of Seleucia, where it poured itself into the Tigris, after having borne ships of considerable burthen on its broad and magnificent current. Of course it suffered with other great public works of the early monarchs, during the various contests for sovereignty which took place after the death of Alexander; but it was repaired by Trajan at the time of his conflicts with the Parthian kings; and afterwards bore the barks of a Roman emperor on its bosom, in like manner as we are led to believe it carried those of the Macedonian admiral.

A ride of three more hours brought us to the khaun of half-way, called by the natives Beer-Junus, from a deep well, and the tomb of a saint, close to its wall. Having passed it, and proceeded another hour, we arrived at the point where a road branches off in a south-westerly direction to Mosseib on the Euphrates, whence the pilgrims going to Kerbela cross the river by a bridge. Our path lay as usual south 10° west; and two more hours brought us to the khaun of Iskanderia; a large and commodious halting-place, built by order of Mahmoud Hussein Khan, the present Ameen-i-Doulah of the king of Persia. The materials of which the edifice is constructed have been gathered on the spot; the whole ground about being covered with the usual Chaldean vestiges of former ancient buildings; namely, bricks of the old Babylonian fabrick. We arrived at six o'clock in the evening, and were to rest there the night, having made a journey of not less than twenty-eight miles. Opposite to the new establishment, stand the neglected walls of its predecessor; a much inferior structure, though never to have been despised, for when shelter is wanted, the humblest shed is a blessing in these countries of intolerable suns and scanty shade. Close to the deserted khaun, the miserable low huts of the

village, bearing the proud appellation of Iskanderia, (Alexander,) present themselves to the eye; from dirt, fabrick, and dimensions, looking more like pig-styes than human habitations. The fragments of antiquity about, seem to connect with the name of the spot; and to say, that some considerable place once stood there; erected, probably, by or in honour of the hero.

The present population of this part of the country consists of a race of Arabs called the tribe of Zobiede; but, from their situation, being much in contact with the Turks, they have lost their national character of independence, and acquired in its stead rather degrading than elevating habits. In times of tranquillity from openly declared warfare, these people and their chief are responsible to the government of the Pasha for the general security of the road from casual depredators; but under the present circumstances, when their brethren of the desert issue forth in such formidable hordes, these poor creatures dare hardly show their heads.

If I complained of want of cleanliness in the persons of the Persian lower orders, I have not terms to express the exceeding loathsomeness of the Arab *Fellah*. The skins of these people are actually ingrained with dirt; and the male children, additionally embrowned by the roasting sun, run about till thirteen or fourteen years of age, without the shadow of a garment. The mothers answer pretty well to the description I have already given of the lowest class in Bagdad. The only difference appears to be, that here their shift-like gowns are always of a coarse red flannel, open a good way down in front, buttoned at the neck, and touching the ankles and wrists; both of which extremities are usually adorned with massive silver rings. Strings of many-coloured beads hang on their tattooed necks, sometimes en-

riched with a silver or gold coin. A black handkerchief binds their heads, beneath which devolve their long uncombed tresses. The nose is never without its weighty ring also, which gives rather a snuffling grace to the voice of the wearer. Though it may seem something disrespectful to the fair daughter of Laban, to recall her remembrance by any assimilation with these dingy ladies of the Zobiede tribe; yet I cannot but remark, that we have here a specimen of the massive bracelets and rings which the servant of Abraham bound round the wrists of Rebecca, in the neighbourhood of this very country, (Harran in the higher part of Mesopotamia,) nearly four thousand years ago: — "And he took a gold ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold." Gen. chap. xxiv. ver. 22. Isaiah mentions the nose-jewels worn by the Israelitish women.

The men do not, like the Turks and Persians, shave their heads; but letting their hair grow, its dark locks much increase the wild and often haggard appearance of their roughly bearded visages. They frequently are seen without other covering than the *kaffia* or cloak, formed of an extremely broad-striped stuff. This is the domestic attire, in which they are met in the vicinity of their homes; but when they go farther a-field, they put on a brown woollen tunic, girt about the middle with a stout leathern belt, armed with a short wooden club, or a long crooked dagger. Most of them carry, in addition, a scymetar, and a small round shield. The head-dress of Arab men, appears the point to which they pay the most attention. It is usually of one fashion with all; being composed of a yellow and red piece of stuff, wound round the brows like a close turban, with pointed ends hanging long upon the breast. The wearer sometimes throws one of them across his chin; which piece of drapery, falling on

his shoulder, conceals his neck and the whole of the lower part of his face. From the folds round his forehead, depend two twisted braids of long black hair; which add not a little of the savage to the wily air of the lower orders of this tribe.

November 10th. — We left the khaun of Iskanderia at half-past seven o'clock this morning. Soon after clearing the numerous low heaps of ruins and rubbish diverging from the place, we discovered the golden cupola of Mosseib, reflecting the rising sun, in a direction south 40° west. Having travelled about four miles farther, the usual traces of former buildings spread a vast way on the left of our road; and one relic, not inferior in bulk to that of Boursa Shishara, stood very conspicuous. It was built of unburnt bricks, marked at their lines of union with no other cement than that of slime; neither reeds, nor straw, appeared outwardly; and at first I judged it to have been of more recent construction than the former pile I had ascended; but, on examining some broken pieces of the bricks, which lay thickly around, I found several bearing remnants of cuneiform inscriptions; proof sufficient of the antiquity of the materials at least. But whether the place, of which the edifice they composed had formed a part, were coeval with Babylon, or was afterwards erected out of her remains, cannot easily be determined. Yet, so extensive and numerous are the traces of former buildings on the spot, we must conclude that something like a town has existed here; and if the historical accounts are to be depended on, that the original dimensions of Babylon extended to a length and breadth of fifteen miles, the adjacent great villages, or minor towns, usually attendant on metropolitan cities, might very well reach thus far.

After a ride of newly awakening interest at almost every turn of our heads, we arrived at the khaun of Hadgé Sulieman, (a

poor little place, erected by a devotee of that name,) about eight miles from Iskanderia. Here we halted, to refresh our horses, and regale ourselves with coffee; a beverage much increased in flavour by our Arab host adding a few cloves to its composition. Close to this place the road is intersected by a canal, full of water in the earlier part of the year; but when we passed it, not a drop of the genial fluid was to be seen. An hour more, however, brought us in view of something like moisture and vegetation; the date-trees of the village of Mahowil rose before us; and they were the first trees of any kind we had seen since we quitted Bagdad. Mahowil lies four miles from the Hadgé's khaun; and is only separated from the plain more immediately connected with the remains of Babylon, by the embankments of two once noble canals, very near each other, and running almost due east and west. In the first, which we crossed by a brick bridge, we saw water. These canals seem at present to be regarded as the boundary, whence the decided vestiges of the great city commence; and we soon discovered their widely spreading tracks. In crossing the bridge, which leads to those immense tumuli of temples, palaces, and human habitations of every description; now buried in shapeless heaps, and a silence profound as the grave; I could not but feel an undescribable awe, in thus passing, as it were, into the gates of "fallen Babylon."

Between this bridge and Hillah (something more than eight miles distant), three piles of great magnitude, particularly attract attention; but there are many minor objects to arrest investigation in the way. A mound of considerable elevation rose on our left as we rode along, not five hundred yards from the second embankment; its sloping sides were covered with broken bricks, and other fragments of past buildings, while the ground around

its base presented a most nitrous surface. At a few hundred yards onward again, another mound projected of still greater height, and from it branched subordinate elevations in several directions. I here had a fine view of the great oblong pile, called by the Arabs Mujelibé, or rather Mukallibe, "the overturned:" an attributive term, which, however, they do not confine to this sublime wreck alone; other remains, in this immense field of ruin, bearing the same striking designation of the manner of its fall. Mujelibé bore from the elevation on which we stood, south 10° west. Having proceeded about a couple of miles from the two canal ridges near Mahowil, we advanced to another and higher embankment, of a totally different appearance from that of a water-course. It ran almost due east and west, until lost to the eye in the horizon on both sides. I rode a considerable way along its base, to examine whether there might not be some trace of a ditch, and though I did not discover any, nor, indeed, aught that was at all answerable to our ideas of what would have been even a fragment of the vast bulwark-walls of Babylon, yet I saw no cause to doubt its being a remnant of some minor interior boundary. Before this, I had particularly inspected the two canals adjacent to Mahowil, with the view of finding some clew to the ancient limits of the city; but every thing in their construction, proved them to have been nothing more than mere water-courses. Any standing remains of such walls as those which the oldest and most respected authorities assign to Babylon, must have certain internal evidences about them, very determinate to the eye of mature investigation. Darius Hystaspes, in dismantling the city after its revolt from him, not only destroyed the gates, but beat down the walls (according to the computation of Strabo) to the level of 50

cubits, or 75 feet; a great reduction from their first towering height; estimated by Herodotus (who had visited the city) at 350 feet. We may therefore suppose, that the immense trench which had protected these primary walls, and which, it is said, was so equally proportioned to them, that the clay which formed their bricks, was dug out of its bosom;—we may reasonably suppose, that the precipitated 275 feet of wall, would be cast into the trench, to finally accomplish the monarch's design of rendering the rebellious city thereafter comparatively defenceless. Could we, then, ever discover any one part of these hidden masses of overthrown brick-work, filling up a wide and deeply subterraneous area, (such as that must have been which formed one of the great ditches of Babylon;) from that point, by steady investigation, the line and extent of these long-lost walls might, probably, be even distinctly traced.

The whole of our road was on a tolerably equal track; excepting where unavoidably broken by small mounds, detached pieces of canal embankments, and other indications of a place in ruins; mingled with marshy hollows in the ground, and large nitrous spots, from the deposits of accumulated rubbish. Indeed it was almost impossible to note, while their number confused our antiquarian researches, the endless ramifications of minor aqueducts, whose remains intersected the way. At about four miles in advance from the long single embankment, or interior boundary ridge I mentioned before, we crossed a very spacious canal; beyond which, to the eastward, the plain appeared a vast uninterrupted flat.

Rather more than half an hour's ride further, brought us parallel with the east face of the Mujelibé, which then rose at about a quarter of a mile's distance on our right. Just at this

place, the present pasha is cutting a very extensive new canal; which may prove useful to himself, but to the future European traveller, can only add another link to the bewildering maze which has hitherto thrown out all his predecessors from ascertaining the realities of ancient Babylon; the chief cause of every difficulty in tracing any regular plan from the general remains, having always arisen from the like intersections, (the work of so many different ages, from Nimrod to Pasha Dowd!) dividing and subdividing the ruined embankments again and again, like a sort of tangled net-work over the interminable ground.

An hour and a quarter more brought us to the north-east shore of the Euphrates, hitherto totally excluded from our view by the intervening long and varied lines of ruin, which now proclaimed to us on every side, that we were, indeed, in the midst of what had been Babylon. From the point on which we stood, to the base of Mújelibé, large masses of ancient foundations spread on our right, more resembling natural hills in appearance, than mounds covering the remains of former great and splendid edifices. To the eastward also, chains of these undulating heaps were visible, but many not higher than the generality of the canal embankments we had passed. The whole view was particularly solemn. The majestic stream of the Euphrates wandering in solitude, like a pilgrim monarch through the silent ruins of his devastated kingdom, still appeared a noble river, even under all the disadvantages of its desert-tracked course. Its banks were hoary with reeds, and the grey osier willows were yet there, on which the captives of Israel hung up their harps, and while *Jerusalem was not*, refused to be comforted. But how is the rest of the scene changed since then! At that time, these broken hills were palaces; those long undu-

lating mounds, streets; this vast solitude, filled with the busy subjects of the proud daughter of the East! Now, "*wasted with misery*," her habitations are not to be found; and, for herself, "*the worm is spread over her!*"

Our road bent, from the immediate bank of the river, to the south-east; and, after crossing the bed of a very wide canal, almost close to the bank we were leaving, we entered on an open tract, on which I saw the extensive encampment of the Kiahya Bey. The town of Hillah lay a couple of miles beyond it; a long stretch of low-bulwarked wall, but enlivened by cupolas and glittering minarets, and the tops of numerous plantations of date-trees, with other green boughs from the gardens, through whose pleasant avenues we soon approached the gates of the place. On passing them, I found a house prepared for me in the suburb of the city, on the east side of the river, and not far from the bridge. I could not have had a more desirable situation, for comparative coolness, and interest of prospect. Our ride this day had occupied nearly nine hours, and over a space of ground about the same as the day before, namely, twenty-eight miles.

November 11th. — This morning I set forth at an early hour, to pay my ceremonial visit to the kiahya, in command of the pasha's army; and to deliver the official order, that was to ensure me military protection during my sojourn in its vicinity. I had previously sent to apprise his excellency of my intention, and that I brought a letter from his prince. The observations I made on my approach to the camp, did not inspire me with very respectful ideas of its discipline; and its general appearance, so far from being magnificent, (the common idea attached to every thing Asiatic,) was rather that of a disorderly poverty.

Not a sentinel was visible; nor any precautions whatever, against surprise from enemies, with whom the desert then swarmed, and whose modes of warfare were usually in the style of "the jungle," by tiger springs. On my remarking, to those who rode with me, on the scattered lines of the camp, they easily explained so anti-military a confusion, by reminding me that the pasha's army was principally made up of bodies of men collected from distinct tribes, and used to perfect liberty of cantonment; hence, it was not surprising to see their tents, formed of the humblest materials, pitched in any convenient fashion round the equally unpretending canvas-dwellings of their natural chiefs. After some circuitous windings amongst these irregular divisions, we at last arrived at the kiahya's pavilion. It was green, the sacred Moslem colour, and stood in the centre of the camp, guarded by two pieces of cannon: I believe the whole artillery of the armament!

The commander received us with every mark of respect; rising from his cushion on my entrance, and placing me near him on a similar seat. The tent was crowded with officers and attendants, standing in ranges on the sumptuous carpet that covered the hot sandy earth, while the sides of the place were hung with a beautiful chintz. The scymetar, pistols, and other glittering arms of the kiahya were suspended over his head, on the pole against which he sat. This sort of trophy in that situation, had a wild martial effect; something like what we might have expected in the tent of Cyrus the younger, when marching along the banks of this very river, at the head of similar barbarians, to the fatal plain of Cunaxa. But the commander before me, certainly had no resemblance to the youth and fire of the Persian prince; neither did I see any warriors in

his armed train, that at all reminded me of Xenophon or his Greeks; though the grim and mustachioed visages, rich and varied costumes, flowing draperies, and brilliantly mounted weapons of the rest, might present a not unlikely picture of Ariæus and his Asiatics.

As soon as the pasha's letter was read, the kiahya repeated his welcomes again and again; adding, that he "should take care never to let me stir, without an attendant force, sufficient to prevent the possibility of any danger; for the pasha had given such *orders on that head*, as made the command peremptory."

This was rather too much of a good thing, and excited my alarm, lest I should be in another danger, that of being most inconveniently checked in the object of my proposed expedition into the desert, by so exaggerated a care of my person. Accordingly, I lost no time in showing his excellency that I did not intend any such restriction; and, on expressing my determination to begin my observations, by proceeding to Birs Nimrood the succeeding day, which lies across the river, and about six or seven miles from his camp, he called the officer appointed to command my guard, into his presence, and gave him instructions to be always at my orders, but never to relax his vigilance over my safety night nor day. During these discussions, coffee, pipes, &c. were served in their due courses; and with every appropriate ceremony, similar to the style in which I had been received by the Pasha. But the figure and air of my military host were by far the most stately and solemn of the two. His features might be considered handsome, though of a too composed gravity to be called pleasing; a composure, however, when looked into, that seemed more the effect of intended concealment of the workings of the mind, than an original absence either of thought

or of active expression. Before I took my leave, he repeated his assurances of every aid in his power, to facilitate my excursions into the desert; but he reminded me, that as the Arabs were in greatest force in the immediate neighbourhood of the parts I most wished to visit, I must not venture at any time to stray from my escort, which he had selected from the most efficient of his people. Of course I expressed proper deference, and proper thanks; and, with a repetition of the formalities with which I entered, retired from the pavilion.

I proceeded next to the quarters of Abdallah, the deposed Pasha of Suliemania. This brave prince had been deprived of his authority in consequence of his fidelity to the Porte; the more powerful arms, and keener policy of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, having driven him from that part of Courdistan, and nominated another governor in his stead. Abdallah resides at the court of Dowd; and though stript of his dominions, still brings a few followers, brave as himself, to the assistance of his hospitable ally. I had met the chief at Mr. Rich's; and was so pleased with the manly frankness of his manners, that I hastened with no small alacrity from the stage-like solemnities of the kiahya's pavilion, to truth and nature under the rougher canvas of the Courd.

He received myself and companions with affability and warmth; and when we took our seats, which we did near him and his treasurer, (that officer being the only one in his train allowed to sit in his presence,) the conversation commenced with freedom; differing in substance, as well as in manner, from the costive pomposity with which the Turks announce their meagre sentences. Abdallah spoke with openness of his own circumstances; delivered his opinions on the objects about him, with the same

confidence; and asked us a variety of questions bearing on the subjects, which told well for the soundness of his judgment. He particularly enquired, how we regulated our encampments; adding numerous interrogations concerning military discipline; and by the rejoinders to our answers, shewed that he not only understood what we meant, but intended, should he ever have the opportunity again, to apply the lesson. I had seen the same aptitude in Persia; but so much the reverse amongst the Turks, that a word dropped there, which would have set the genius of Abbas Mirza in a blaze, or excited a hundred questions from the Courdish chief, would, in an Ottoman divan, not merely be left to die away of itself, but be extinguished with some supercilious look, if not expression of contempt, which seemed to say, "We have arrived at the summit of perfection!"

After coffee and pipes, we took our leave; and then bent our steps to the lines of an old Arab skeik, called Mahmoud Bassam; who, with his tribe, had adhered invariably, through all changes, to the pashalick of Bagdad. I had met this warrior also at the house of the British resident; and came, according to his repeated wish, to see him in a place more consonant with his habits, — the tented field; and, as he expressed it, "at the head of his children."

As soon as we arrived in sight of his camp, we were met by crowds of its inhabitants, who, with a wild and hurrying delight, led us towards the tent of their chief. The venerable old man came forth to the door, attended by his subjects of all sizes and descriptions; and greeted us with a countenance beaming kindness; while his words, which our interpreter explained, were demonstrative of patriarchal welcome. One of my Hindoo troopers spoke Arabic; hence the substance of our succeeding

discourse was not lost on each other. Having entered, I sat down by my host; and the whole of the persons present, to far beyond the boundaries of the tent, (the sides of which were open,) seated themselves also; without any regard to those more civilised ceremonies of subjection, — the crouching of slaves, or the standing of vassalage. These persons, in rows beyond rows, appeared just as he had described; the offspring of his house, the descendants of his fathers, from age to age; and like brethren, whether holding the highest or the lowest rank, they seemed to gather round their common parent. But perhaps their sense of perfect equality in the mind of their chief, could not be more forcibly shewn, than in the share they took in the objects which appeared to interest his feelings; and as I looked from the elders, or leaders of the people, seated immediately around him, to the circles beyond circles of brilliant faces bending eagerly towards him and his guest, (all, from the most respectably clad, to those with hardly a garment covering their active limbs, earnest to evince some attention to the stranger he bade welcome,) I thought I had never before seen so complete an assemblage of fine and animated countenances, both old and young; nor could I suppose a better specimen of the still existing state of the true Arab; nor a more lively picture of the scene which must have presented itself, ages ago, in the fields of Haran, when Tereh sat in his tent door, surrounded by his sons, and his sons' sons, and the people born in his house. The venerable Arabian sheik was also seated on the ground, with a piece of carpet spread under him; and, like his ancient Chaldean ancestor, turned to the one side and to the other, graciously answering, or questioning the groups around him, with an interest in them all, which clearly shewed the abiding simplicity

of his government, and their obedience. On the smallest computation, such must have been the manners of these people, for more than three thousand years; thus, in all things, verifying the prediction given of Ishmael at his birth, that he, in his posterity, should "be a wild man," and always continue to be so, though "he shall dwell for ever in the presence of his brethren." And that an acute and active people, surrounded for ages by polished and luxurious nations, should, from their earliest to their latest times, be still found *a wild people, dwelling in the presence of all their brethren*, (as we may call these nations,) unsubdued and unchangeable, is, indeed, a standing miracle; one of those mysterious facts, which establishes the truth of prophecy.

Sheik Bassam is chief of the Agelis Arabs, an eminently brave tribe; at whose head he has often distinguished himself with an intrepidity and prudence rare here; which renders him an object of such general reverence, that in disputes like the present he has formerly been of great service to both antagonists; allaying the fury of their resentments, and compromising differences, usually to the advantage of the oppressed. Strong coffee, black and thick, and bitter as possible, with the fumes of tobacco, composed the customary Asiatic formalities of the visit: but at my departure, the eloquence of hospitable nature broke forth afresh, in a thousand reiterated assurances of friendship from him, and offers of immediate services from his people, while he and they attended me some little distance from his tent. At the spot where we were to separate, I saw a man standing, holding a fine Arab colt by the bridle. It was instantly presented to me as an offering from the sheik; and, to excuse myself from accepting so really valuable a present, I found

impossible. He insisted "that my rejection of this mark of his respect, could only arise from my contempt of himself and people; but on the reverse, my acceptance of it, would be regarded by himself as a pledge of my esteem; and on that account give him honour in the eyes of his people." The compliment was even more unmerited than the present; but accepting both, with the best grace my modesty would permit, I bade adieu to the munificent "patriarch and his children," and returned to my quarters in the town.

November 12th. — By the appointed hour this morning, the kiahya's officer appeared before my gate, at the head of a hundred well-armed men, some of whom were Arabs, all fairly mounted, and ready to attend me to that part of the desolated land of Shinar which lies west of the Euphrates. My immediate object was the Birs Nimrood; the tower mentioned by Neibuhr with so much regret at his having been prevented, by apprehension of the wild tribes in the desert, from closely examining its prodigious remains. But the observations he was enabled to make, however short of his wishes, were sufficient to awaken in him an idea, now ably supported by the more comprehensive investigations of the present British resident at Bagdád, that in this pile we see the very Tower of Babel, the stupendous artificial mountain erected by Nimrod in the plain of Shinar, and on which, in after-ages, Nebuchadnezzar raised the temple of Belus. It lies about six miles south-west of Hillah. On leaving the suburb on the eastern shore of the river, we crossed a bridge of thirty-six pontoons, all considerably smaller than those over the Tigris at Bagdad, and like them in a neglected state. The width of the Euphrates at this passage, is 430 feet. On quitting the crazy timbers of the bridge, which gave terrible note of insecurity,

under the tramping feet of my attendant troopers, we entered the most considerable part of the town of Hillah; and, after riding through a narrow and crowded bazar, nearly suffocated with the double evils of heat and stench, and thence proceeding along three or four close streets, at intervals opened to the fresh air by intervening heaps of ruins, we reached the western gate, called that of Tahmasia, which happily delivered us into a freer atmosphere. We left the high banks of the Tajya canal on our right, or, as it is otherwise called, the Ali Pasha trench, (cut to defend the town from the marauders of the desert,) running in a direction north-west; and rapidly moving over the apparently boundless plain, found the ground in general perfectly flat, and in parts very marshy. My eyes ranged on all sides, while crossing this vast barren tract, which, assuredly, had of old been covered, if not by closely compacted streets, at least with the parks and gardens attached to distinct mansions, or divisions of this once imperial city; but all was withered and gone, and, comparatively, level to the very horizon, till the object of my expedition presented itself, standing alone in the solitary waste like the awful figure of Prophecy herself, pointing to the fulfilment of her word.

At the moment of my first seeing it, the tower bore from us south 7° west; to which point we made direct forward, hastening our speed as we approached nearer the stupendous pile. But having been about an hour in our course, we were suddenly startled by a cloud of horsemen just discoverable on our left; and who, gradually becoming more distinctly visible, continued to keep on in a parallel line with ourselves. Their unexpected appearance gave an instant check to the ardent career of my own troop, who now, at a more restrained pace, interrupted by short

conferences, maintained our advance. By this cautious marching, we had leisure to observe that the movements of our apprehended adversaries did not point immediately to ourselves, but to the very spot whither we were intending to go. As soon as we saw they had arrived at the Birs, which stood like an immense hill overshadowing their squadrons, several of our Arabs were dispatched to descry what they were, and their strength; my commandant assuring me, "there were none of the pasha's *warriors*, save ourselves, on this side of the Euphrates; therefore I must deem it advisable to proceed circumspectly, that we might not *lose the advantage of distance in a fair start*; he being certain it would prove that the enemy far outnumbered us."

Our gallop having gradually subsided to a walk, we were slowly proceeding, when in little more than a quarter of an hour, our scouts returned with the comfortable intelligence, that the apparitions of our dread were no other than the kiahya himself, and a numerous escort, who were now quietly disposing themselves on and about the object of my expedition. On this news, several of my valiant troop scampered off like madmen, to join their comrades; but for myself, since so strong an advanced guard gave us now absolute security, I followed with the rest of my party at a more moderate pace; having come upon ground bearing marks to engage my lively interest, even to the foot of the Birs itself. During almost the whole of our ride, I had observed numerous spots on the plain, shewing the saline encrustment usually found where buildings have formerly stood; also a long line of broken bank on our left: but here, at about five miles from Hillah, certainly commenced the first western very elevated traces of former edifices, beginning with some considerable mounds, near to the remains of an old canal,

through whose bed we passed, and which stretched first southward, and then bent westward. About six hundred yards further brought us to a second canal of vaster dimensions than the preceding, being full thirty yards across, with very high embankments, broken into a succession of little hillocks. This canal took a direction to our right for nearly three quarters of a mile, corresponding to the line of the other on our left; running first north and west, then taking a sweep gradually due south, bent again, and (according to the observation I could make by my glass, while standing on one of the hillocks,) described a line to the eastward, till it joined the narrower canal through whose channel we had recently passed. The space thus inclosed, seemed to be about two miles; forming, though in ruins, the outlines of a vast court, or area, round the sublimest monument of the past, still rearing its shattered summit towards the heavens. On observing the range of these canals, or trenches, it struck me, that the inner bank may have been a wall; and in that case, the surrounding channel becomes a feature of exterior defence. Almost all over the ground between the base of the great pile itself and these boundaries, abundant vestiges of former building are visible; exhibiting uneven heaps of various sizes, covered with masses of broken brick, tiles, and vitrified fragments, all silently eloquent of some former signal overthrow.

On coming within this traceable area, I found its irregular surface thronged with the Kiahya's horsemen; while the commander himself, with the leaders of his troops, had dismounted, and were already ascended into the mount itself. This intelligence did not delight me quite so much as my informer seemed to anticipate; for these were companions in my researches I had neither expected nor desired; being well aware that the for-

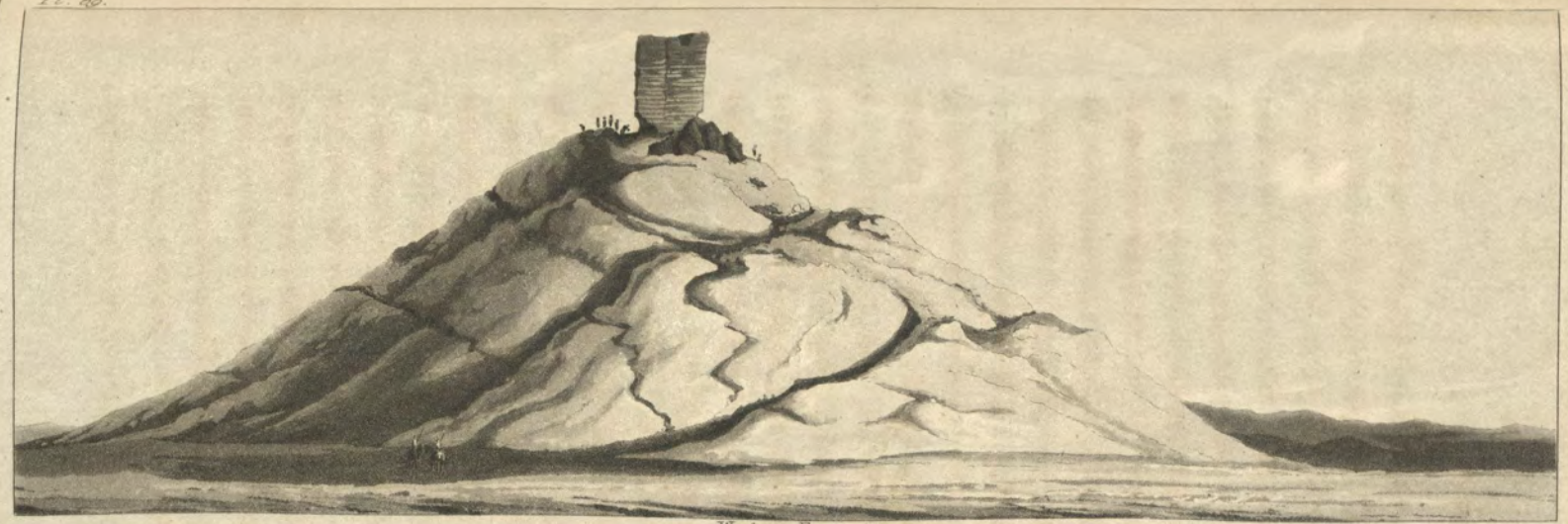
mality of court ceremonies would ill agree with the freedom of my purposed movements. I do not deny that their groups were eminently picturesque, and, from their magnificent or wildly various Asiatic costume, mingled more harmoniously with the character of this venerable wonder of the East, than the garb of a European stranger; but yet their presence was discordant to me; for, perhaps, that strange European garb covered the only breast present, which felt the solemn import of that still existing pile, up whose acclivities he was slowly ascending; and amidst whose awfully striken summits he found the Turkish commander, quietly seated amongst his officers, smoking his pipe, while awaiting the coffee his servants were preparing in another part of the stupendous ruin! The moment I appeared before him, he rose and welcomed me; declaring, with all the pomp of oriental compliment, that "though he had accorded me a personal guard for short excursions, he valued my life too highly, to permit its being exposed to the dangers of the desert, without an escort adequate to his friendship, — himself! Of course, I duly thanked him, though in far humbler language; and, probably, therefore much nearer the level of his real motive, which, I suspect, was curiosity, rather than such superabundant zeal in my service. It is a common idea with the Turks here, that the true object with Europeans, in visiting the banks of the Euphrates, is not to explore antiquities, as we pretend, but to make a laborious pilgrimage to these almost shapeless relics of a race of unbelievers more ancient than ourselves; and to perform certain mysterious religious rites before them; which excite no small curiosity amongst the Faithful, to pry into. However, nothing of this was shewn, by either my illustrious escort or any of his body-guard; and, after civilly enduring an hour's delay in

my pursuits, by remaining in his company, I left him to his repose, or his own pious ablutions; and descended the pile, to regularly commence my observations.

The present shape and dimensions of this huge mass of building, when seen from the East, appears like an oblong hill, sweeping irregularly upwards towards its western aspect, in a broad pyramidal form. It measures at the base 694 yards, (3082 feet;) at least, as nearly that, as the dilapidated state of the outline there would allow me to ascertain. On looking towards its eastern face*, it extends in width 153 yards (459 feet,) and presents two stages of hill; the first shewing an elevation of about 60 feet, cloven in the middle into a deep ravine, and intersected in all directions by furrows, channelled there by the descending rains of succeeding ages. The summit of this first stage, stretches in rather a flattened sweep to the base of the second ascent, which springs out of the first in a steep and abrupt conical form, terminated at the top by a solitary standing fragment of brick-work, like the ruin of a tower. From the foundation of the whole pile, to the base of this piece of ruin, measures about 200 feet; and from the bottom of the ruin to its shattered top, are 35 feet. On the western side, the entire mass rises at once from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular pyramidal hill, broken, in the slopes of its sweeping acclivities, by the devastations of time and rougher destruction. † The southern and northern fronts ‡ are particularly abrupt towards the point of the brick ruin; but in both these views we have a profile of the first stage of the Birs, which I fully described in approaching the eastern face. My advance to the northern steep, was

* See Plate LXX. † See Plate LXIX. ‡ See Plates LXIX. and LXX.

Pl. 89.



Western Face.

Sir Robert Porter. Southern Face. I. Clark Sc

Views of Birs Nimrood.

much interrupted by large masses of fine and solid brick-work, projecting from amongst the far-spreading heaps of rubbish at its base, and which had evidently been parts of the original facing of the lower ranges of the pile. I shall describe these fragments more particularly hereafter; meanwhile observing, that it is only on the northern side they occur.

The tower-like ruin on the extreme summit is a solid mass, 28 feet broad, constructed of the most beautiful brick masonry, and presenting the apparent angle of some structure originally of a square shape; the remains of which stand on the east, to a height of 35 feet, and to the south 22 feet. It is rent from the top to nearly half-way to the bottom; unquestionably by some great convulsion of nature, or some even more extraordinary destructive efforts of man. The materials of the masonry are furnace-burnt bricks, of a much thinner fabrick than most of those which are found east of the river, on the spot to which some writers confine the remains of Babylon. I had not explored that ground when I first visited the Birs Nimrood; but I had seen many of the Babylonian bricks at Hillah, forming the court and walls of the house I inhabited; and which had been brought from the mounds of the ancient great city, to assist in erecting the modern miserable town. The cement which holds the bricks together, that compose the ruin on the summit of the Birs, is so hard, that my most violent attempts could not separate them. Hence I failed in discovering whether these bore any inscriptive stamps on their surface; marks invariably found, where they exist at all, on the side of the bricks which faces downwards. Why they were so placed, we cannot guess; but so it is, in all the primitive remains of ancient Babylonia; but in the more modern structures of Bagdad, Hillah, and

other places erected out of her spoils, these inscribed bricks are seen facing in all directions. While on the summit of the Birs, I examined many of the fine brick fragments which lay near the foot of the piece of standing wall, to see whether bitumen had been used any where in their adhesion, but I could not trace the smallest bit. The cement throughout was lime, spread in a very thin layer, not thicker than a quarter of an inch, between each brick and its neighbour; and, thin as this cement was laid, it contained a spreading of straw through the midst of it. The standing piece of ruin is perforated in ranges of square openings; through which the light and air have free passage. The latter admission may have been deemed necessary to preserve the interior of the building from the abiding influence of damp. For, that this tower-like relic is a remains of what formerly constituted a part of some interior division of the great pile itself, I shall presently attempt to shew. At the foot of this piece of wall, on its southern and western sides, besides the minor fragments I have just mentioned as having inspected in search of bitumen, lay several immense unshapen masses of similar fine brick-work; some entirely changed to a state of the hardest vitrification, and others only partially so. In many might be traced the gradual effects of the consuming power which had produced so remarkable an appearance; exhibiting parts burnt to that variegated dark hue, seen in the vitrified matter lying about in glass manufactories; while through the whole of these awful testimonies of the fire, (whatever fire it was!) which, doubtless, hurled them from their original elevation, the regular lines of the cement are visible, and so hardened in common with the bricks, that when the masses are struck they ring like glass. On examining the base of the standing

Pl. 70.

Eastern Face.

Sir Robert Porter. Northern Face. I. Clark Sc.

Views of Birs Nimrood.

wall, contiguous to these huge transmuted substances, it is found totally free from any similar changes, in short, quite in its original state; hence I draw the conclusion, that the consuming power acted from above, and that the scattered ruin fell from some higher point than the summit of the present standing fragment. The heat of the fire which produced such amazing effects, must have burnt with the force of the strongest furnace; and from the general appearance of the cleft in the wall, and these vitrified masses, I should be inclined to attribute the catastrophe to lightning from heaven. Ruins, by the explosion of any combustible matter, would have exhibited very different appearances.

On the face of the pile itself*, a little way down its northern brow, a considerable space of similar fine brick masonry is visible. The bricks here measure three inches and a quarter in thickness, by twelve inches in length. They are a pale red, and cemented, like the upper mural fragment, with lime. In this wall also, are square apertures, running deep into the interior of the pile; and, notwithstanding that the masonry is greatly injured in places, yet, from its general smoothness and well-finished work, I cannot doubt its having formed a part of the grand casing of fine brick, which every observation on this gigantic ruin, leads us to suppose encrusted the whole structure in gradual stages. Lower down, and more to the eastward, we have another and larger vestige of this sort of wall, presenting itself in an angular form; one of its faces fronting the east. Here the work is altogether on a vaster scale; the bricks being four inches and three quarters thick, by twelve and three quar-

* See Plate LXX.

ters in length; and are joined by a bed of mortar more than an inch deep. The bricks, though decidedly furnace-burnt, are of a much softer texture than those described above, and the cement is of a coarser quality. The use of straw in the midst of the layers of lime, as seen in the upper remains, was here also every where evident; but here it was quite mouldered away, its impression alone being visible.

The space of wall, now under description, is of considerable extent, and appears to me to have actually formed part of the north-west angle of the pile in its ancient state. But what marks it as an object of particular observation is, that the courses of its bricks do not run level, but have a gentle *inclination on its northern face, towards the east; and on its eastern face, they slope to the south.* This singularity cannot be accounted for by ascribing it to the electric shock that may have split, and, possibly, overturned part of the superstructure; their situation in the building being too distant from that point, to be affected by the means of its destruction. At some yards still lower down, we came to an excavation, or rather very large and deep hole, made by the clearing away of the rubbish; and through it we plainly discerned, what I may call the pith of the building; that is, the composition of the solid body, and base of the pile; which consisted of sun-dried bricks, of the same dimensions with those from the furnace, described in the last specimen of wall, and which, like the bark of a tree, seem to have encased the whole. These interior, and, I may term them, imperishable materials, are cemented together by layers of slime and *broken* straw, lying full an inch and a half in thickness; and through this vast, consolidated mass, large square holes (each two feet in height, by one in width) penetrate, apparently, to the very heart of the structure.

I have now noticed, not merely the general appearance of the Birs on all its sides, but every remaining piece of wall still perceptible, through the deep accumulations of mouldering and broken fragments, which invade the distinct lines of this ever-wonderful monument; but I have yet to remark, that with regard to the use of bitumen, I saw no vestige of it whatever on any remnant of building on the upper ascents, and therefore drier regions. It was towards the foundations of the burnt-brick walls, lower down, and on the large fragments of brick ruins at the base of the pile, that I first discovered any specimens; and there I found them in great quantities. These circumstances lead me to suppose, that bitumen was chiefly confined by the Chaldean builders, to the foundations, and lower parts of their edifices; for the purpose of preventing the ill effects of the damp and water, to which this country must always have been liable from the successive inundations of the river. The same reason accounts for the perforations in the body of the buildings; to give vent to the consequent evaporations from the moisture below. Amongst the many specimens of bitumen I picked up, were several large cakes, more than ten inches long, and three in thickness; appearing to have been the casing of some work, perhaps the lining of a water course.

On observing Birs Nimrood from the plain, if we admit the projecting stage towards the east to have been any part of the real base of the original pile, then we must see that the tower-like remains, now forming its highest pyramidal point, do not rise over the true centre of the building. But if we subtract that projection from the base, and regard it only as a platform, or court of approach, then we have a remaining ground of elevation exactly adapted to make the present highest point that

of its primary centre; and this result, the four views I have given will sufficiently shew. Indeed, the effects of the gradual mouldering of any tower, or conical structure, will always, while a vestige remains, define themselves, and, therefore, in the general outline, that of the building; which common fact, if allowed in this instance, presents the present ruin, as I would limit its base, in a form more consonant to historical details of the Temple of Belus, than if we were to suppose its foundations had been spread over the whole oblong surface. And, as it is my full conviction that the extraordinary mass before me, is the remains of the Temple of Belus, I shall make a short statement of what the ancients say concerning it.

To Nebuchadnezzar (who flourished early in the sixth century B. C.) are attributed the vast extent, and architectural splendours of Babylon; amongst which is numbered the Temple of Belus, erected, we are told, in the midst of one of its quarters. But to Nimrod is ascribed the first foundations of the city, with its mountain-tower, not two hundred years posterior to the deluge. After its desertion by the son of Cush, we hear no more of it till Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, returned to the depopulated city with new colonies, surrounded it with walls, and established the worship of its hero-god. But it appears that the temple of Bel or Belus, in its most renowned state, was not erected till the time of Nebuchadnezzar; who, after the accomplishment of his many conquests, raised this superb edifice to the idolatrous object to whom he ascribed his victories; and who, probably, had been worshipped on the same high tower ever since the deification of its first founder. Nimrod, (according to Prideaux,) having been his name with the Hebrews, implying his rebellion; but he was recognised under that of Bel, or Baal,

by the Chaldeans, which means supreme lord. That the Tower of Babel, and that of Belus, were one and the same, I presume there hardly exists a doubt. And that the first stupendous work was suddenly arrested before completion, we learn, not only from the Holy Scriptures, but from several ancient authors, in direct terms; while the traditions of distant heathen nations, in some localising garb, support the particular fact; and almost every testimony agrees in stating, that the primeval tower was not only stopped in its progress, but partially overturned by the Divine wrath, attended with thunder and lightning, and a mighty wind; and that the rebellious men, who were its builders, fled in horror and confusion of face, before the preternatural storm.

Bochart writes, that fire fell from heaven on the centre of the tower, and split it through to the very foundation. Neither is it improbable, according to the idea of Mr. Faber, that fiery globes, similar to those which checked the mad enterprise of Julian at Jerusalem, might burst from the pile itself, and by that miracle overthrow the impious builders; who had undertaken the erection for the special purpose of concentrating their idolatrous superstitions, and of obstructing the Divine command, that they should further spread themselves over the earth. In this ruinous, and abandoned state, most likely the tower remained, till Babylon was refounded by Semiramis; who, in harmony with her character, would feel a proud triumph, in repeopling the city with a colony from the posterity of those who had fled from it in dismay; and covering the shattered summit of the great pile with some new erection, would there place her observatory and altar to Bel. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the first altars of the Babylonians, on this, or on

other high places, were a flat surface, like those I have described on the summits of rocks in Persia; and which are ascribed to its earliest ages of a similar worship: the Bel of Nineveh and Babylon, being generally understood to represent a mixed idea of their great apostate sovereign, with the sun; from which they possibly believed him descended, and to which he returned. The Mithratic worship, indeed, was so much purer than this attributed to the Chaldeans, that it considered the orb of the sun as the sacellum only of the Divine Intelligence, to whom was given the name of Mithra; while the others not only confused the identity of the sun with that of their deceased hero, Nimrod, but adored him in images; and so committed, I may say, a double dolatry.

That the observatory on this tower was erected in remote times, long antecedent to the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, we have good reason to believe, even from the testimony of its Greek conquerors. Prideaux mentions the circumstance, that when Alexander made himself master of Babylon, Calisthenes, the philosopher, who attended him thither, found amongst its learned men, astronomical observations from 1903 years back, to that very time; which, in fact, carries up the account nearly as high as the foundation of the tower itself. This testimony, Calisthenes sent from Babylon into Greece, to Aristotle; at least, it is so reported by Symplicius, from the authority of Porphyry, in his second book *De Cœlo*. In this simply appropriated state, as left by the Assyrian queen, if not quite in the dilapidated ruin it was quitted by the followers of Nimrod, Nebuchadnezzar found the stupendous monument of Babel; and, constituting it the chief embellishment of his imperial city, built a temple on its old solid foundations; but having preserved its

primeval design through all the additions he thought necessary to make, we still find traces that identify the present remains with our earliest impressions of the august original. And its being hardly doubted that Xerxes, in his destruction of the temple, overturned the whole of what had been added by the Babylonian monarchs, it does not seem improbable, that what we now see on the fire-blasted summit of the pile, its rent wall and scattered fragments, with their partially vitrified masses, may be a part of that very stage of the primeval tower which felt the effects of the divine vengeance; and on whose adamantine substance the king chose to erect his more splendid, and less durable superstructure. That this should be the case, appears to an eye-witness of these remains more credible, than that so very amazing a transformation should have taken place at any more recent period, or by any exertion of human power.

Herodotus visited the spot scarcely thirty years after its devastation by Xerxes, and he describes it in these terms: — "A sacred enclosure dedicated to Jupiter Belus, consisting of a regular square of two stadia (or 1000 feet) on each side, and adorned with gates of brass;" which existed even at the time he wrote. But, what is closer to our purpose, he adds "that in the midst of this area rose a massive tower, whose length and breadth (he does not notice its height) was one stadium; (which, according to Major Rennel, is 500 feet;) upon this tower rose another, and another, until the whole had numbered eight. On the outside, steps were formed, winding up to each tower; and in the middle of every flight, a resting-place was provided, with seats. In the highest tower, there was a magnificent chamber, expressly sacred to the god, furnished with a splendid couch, and table, of gold. In this chamber, there was no statue, the

god being supposed to inhabit it at will; and neither was any person ever permitted to pass the night there, excepting some one of those beautiful damsels whom Jupiter Belus, at different times, selected for that mysterious honour." Such was the information, communicated by the priests of this favourite deity of the despot and the libertine; and, surely we cannot read the account in the pages of the venerable Greek, without understanding the just indignation of that Almighty Being, "who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," hurling his thunders, whether by his own arm or human agency, against such blasphemous assumptions of his dignity, attended with practices which levelled the divine character to that of the grossest and vilest of men.

Strabo is the only writer who speaks decidedly of the altitude of the tower, which he calls a pyramid of one stadium in height; while he agrees with Herodotus in the extent of its base; namely, that the amount of its four sides would produce 2000 feet.

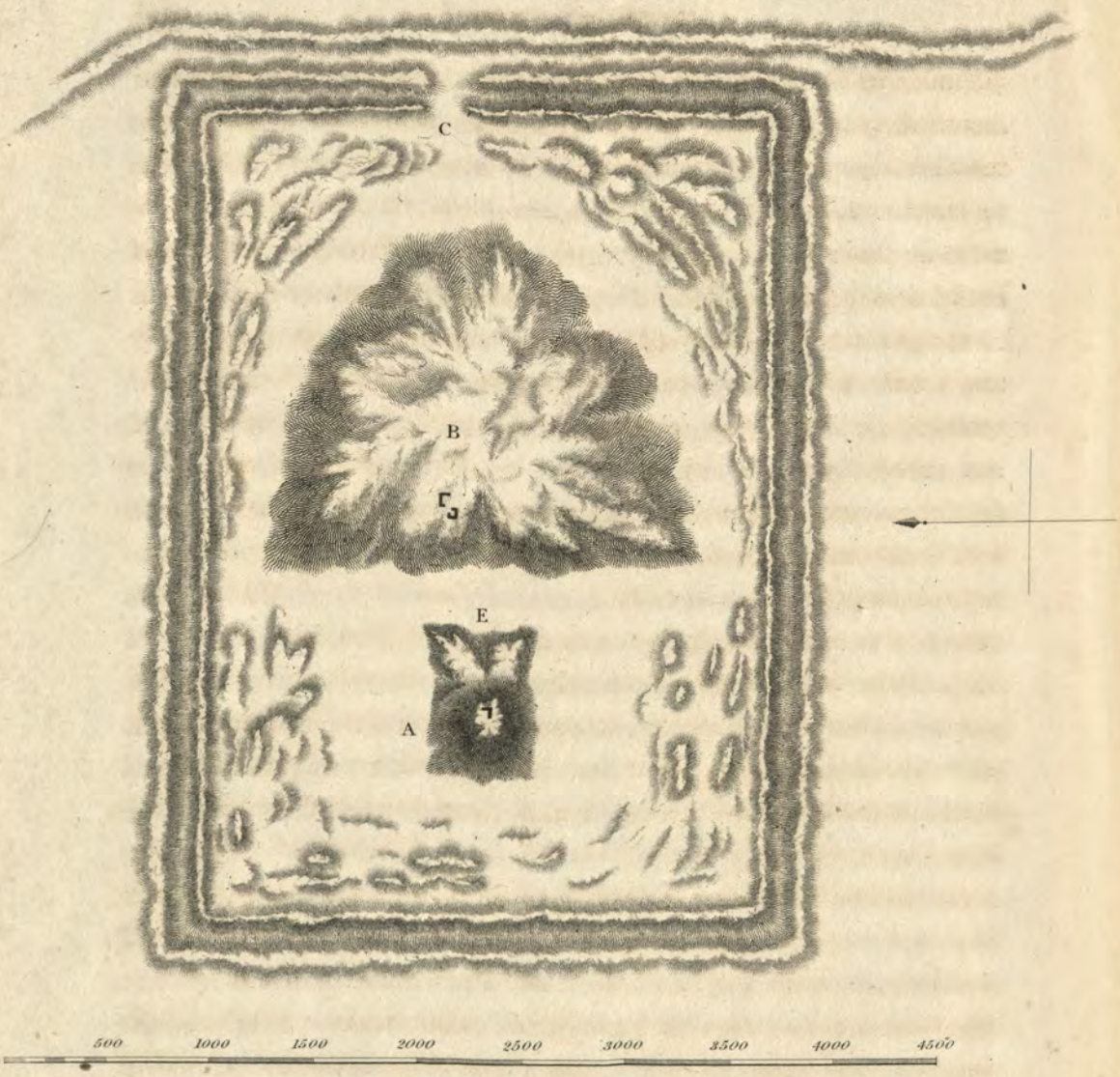
On compassing the base, as it at present presents itself, I found it to measure 2082 feet in circumference. But this includes the projection towards the east, which throws the usually received form of an exact square, into an irregularly oblong figure. In numbers, therefore, there does not appear much difference between the ancient and modern estimation of its basement circumference. But the former speak specifically, as if they confined their observations to the square base of the tower alone, making it 500 feet on each side; while my measurement includes the eastern projection, which transforms the quadrangular shape into an oblong figure, and yet produces only 82 feet more by that elongated addition, than is presented by the ancients as the result of the simple tower itself. Here, then, is a difficulty

between us, which may be attempted to be got over in two ways. First, that when Herodotus and Strabo made their calculations, they, in like manner with myself, included the eastern projection in their measurement; for the present compass of the tower, simply by itself, would come far within the Grecian estimate. But should the whole length of the oblong (which describes an extent of 643 feet on its northern and southern sides, and 420 on its eastern face; and now only 376 on its western,) be taken into the outline of their measurement; then, though we have nearly the same number of feet with our own calculation, we know not how to reconcile such a variety of lines, with the square stadia affirmed by both the Grecian writers. But, in the second place, if we return to the square base of the tower alone, as the positive point of their observations, we find, according to its present appearance, that it springs from a base beginning at the chasm before described*, in the eastern projection; and by excluding the projection from the real basement of the tower, we take off 240 feet in the length of its northern and southern faces, leaving to each not more than 403 feet; and that is 96 less to each than Herodotus gives them. This reduction of the present circumference of the tower itself, from what it doubtless contained at the time of its measurement by Herodotus, ought not to appear very extraordinary, when we recollect the encroachments of so many centuries on its time-worn sides: (encroachments, which have swept away all Babylon, excepting a few sad monuments, to show where it lies!) But the very circumstance of Alexander having to employ 10,000 men during two months, to remove

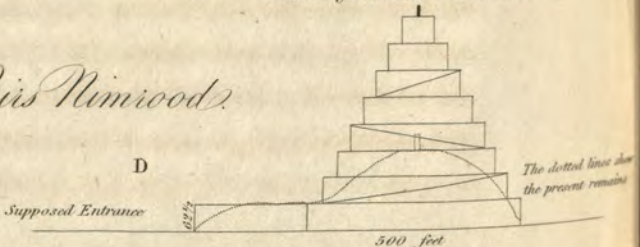
See Plate LXX. (E).

the accumulated ruins precipitated by the destructive orders of Xerxes nearly 200 years before, may well account for some dilapidation on the sides of the original foundation, (as it was beheld by Herodotus,) which might easily reduce it to the present circumscribed dimensions. And this argument receives no inconsiderable degree of support, from the traces of a gently inclined plane of unburnt bricks all round the foot of the tower, and which extends several feet beyond its present measured base.

With regard to its elevation; when comparing the present remains with the original height, specified by Strabo as disposed through the regular gradation of eight towers rising in successive stages to a pyramidal form, we find that hardly half its former altitude is now before us; three stages only, of those eight towers remaining; and a remnant of the fourth, in the piece of brick wall that now surmounts the pile. According to the appearance of that ruin, and of the vitrified masses around it, I have already remarked that I conceive the erections of Semiramis and Nebuchadnezzar to have begun from that stage of the ancient overthrow; and to the powerful means of the latter monarch, I would attribute the addition of the eastern projection, as an adequate elevated court of approach to the grand passage of ascent to the prime sanctuary of the god, and, most probably, the still higher chamber of astronomical observations. The surmounting tower of the whole, though the smallest, would be of sufficient extent to contain several apartments. And, that one of the purposes of the eastern platform was that of an approach, appears the more evident, from the circumstance of the wide chasm which divides its face, gradually conducting us, even now, up to its broken and extensive summit; and thence may be traced the regular and winding path, which (according to



Elevation of Birs Nimrood, (north face) according to Strabo and Herodotus



Plan of Birs Nimrood.

Engraved by Sidy Hall, Bury St. Blo

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1822

the ancient description) led to the pinnacle of the tower. The accompanying views of the south, north, and western aspects of the building, give examples of these observations. * That the projection was built as an appendage to the tower, we have sufficient evidence in the carefully arranged courses of sun-dried bricks which constructed it. Of the tower itself, I subjoin an elevation, according to the original structure as described by historians; and mark with a dotted line the height of the present remains. I have also shewn the position of the projection at the place of ascent. The fragment of wall now standing at the top of the whole ruin, (for it must be remembered that it is *all* a ruin,) by this sketch, shews itself to have been part of some central chamber in that stage, which would form the fourth: and, indeed, the accurately answering proportions of the whole, the calculation of the past reality from the existing remains, appear to me to be even a mathematical proof, that the elevation here given is that of the fact. Antiquarians have stamped as truth, documents of much less certain aspect than these before us.

So far the tower itself. All around its present base, extends to some distance an open area, bounded by mounds, which I shall more particularly mention hereafter, having first described one that may be called of prodigious magnitude, though under the shadow of Babel itself. It is distant from the eastern front of the great pile about 270 feet; extends north and south to a breadth of 1242 feet; where those two sides take rather a triangular form, to a distance of 1935 feet, meeting, in a bend, to the eastward. The whole of its summit and sides are furrowed into endless hollows, and traversing channels, the effect of time,

* See Plate LXXI.

accident, and various sorts of violences; and all are thickly embedded with fragments of bricks, tiles, vitrifications, bitumen, &c., the remnants of superstructures now no more. The Tower of Belus, having always been represented as the Olympus of Babylonia, we do not look here for his altar alone, but also for those of his attendant gods; and the Sabian idolatry multiplied them to a number equal, and of like characters, with those of Greece and Egypt. Hence, within the precincts of the great Temple of Belus, that is, within the vast quadrangular boundary which contained the ground sacred to his honour, and in the midst of which stood the ancient tower, his own peculiar *sacellum* crowned; within those comprehensive precincts, we must expect to find minor temples, dedicated to the moon, and other planetary gods and goddesses, the satellites of Belus; whether we regard him as the sun or Nimrod. Besides, a station for the dwelling of the sovereign pontiff, and the numerous priesthood attendant on the worship of the supreme deity, would, doubtless, be found of answering dignity to the altar before which they officiated; an altar adorned with the spoils of Nineveh, and of Jerusalem. From the Holy Scriptures we learn, that when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem, and levelled most of the city with the ground, "he brought away the treasures of the temple, and the treasures of the king's house; and put them all into the Temple of Bel, at Babylon." It has been said, (and, I think, by Josephus,) that the brazen sea, and other vessels, which Solomon had caused to be made for the service of Jehovah, were broken up by order of the Assyrian monarch, and formed into the famous gates of brass, which were so long the superb entrances into the great area of the Temple of Belus. Both Strabo and Herodotus speak largely of the immense riches

of this temple, besides numerous statues in massy gold; and Diodorus Siculus describes one of forty feet high; which our learned Prideaux, on very good grounds, assumes to have been that which Nebuchadnezzar set up on high on the plain of Dura. It is not improbable that the treasury of all these immense stores, was to be found within the great pile itself; somewhere between the present summit of the solid structure that remains, and the superior towers which held the peculiar chambers of the god. It, indeed, appearing reasonable to deduce, from the relic of an interior wall being yet extant on the summit of the third tower or stage, that all others from that point would be of a similarly heightened superstructure; that is, be divided into apartments, for various uses attendant on the immediate service of the idol and his treasury. Hence, the immense tract of mound, described as exactly facing the eastern projection of the great pile, seems well placed to have sustained the habitations of the chief ministers, sacerdotal or otherwise, required to officiate in the sacred rites, or to take charge of the sacred property.

The only objects now seen above its desolate surface, are two small Mahomedan buildings, called Koubbés; meaning oratories, or places of prayer. The one bears the name of Makam Ibraham Khali, the other that of Makam Saheb Zeman; but both are nearly in ruins. Standing on this supereminent mound, as a central position, from it I made my observations on all the remains yet visible within what must have been the great encompassing quadrangle of the sacred enclosure. The great mound, and the great tower, occupied the interior space of the quadrangle, with a large open area stretching on all sides of them; but, on looking towards the north, where the area

measured across between three and four hundred feet, at that distance I observed mounds of varied elevations in unconnected heaps, filling the ground from that line to the bank of the great canal I mentioned having passed in my approach to the Birs. Clustering ranges of these remains appear to continue, curving round to the east; then a vacuum occurs; then they commence again, running from the eastward in a similar sweeping direction along the southern front of the great mounds. Many of these latter vestiges are but very faint, yet they are sufficient to prove the existence of former structures on those spots, and the regular plan of their disposition. There are, likewise, answering chains, of apparent greater consequence, to the west, rising about 200 yards from the supreme pile; and these connect themselves with others to the north and south. When we recollect the numerous consecrated animals, protected, if not worshipped, by the Sabian ritual; also the multitudes retained for sacrifice, with all the inferior officers employed in their attendance, and the many occasional inhabitants of a place, which, at times, was regarded as a temple, a college, a royal sanctuary, and even a fortress in the day of extremity, we shall not be surprised to see so many traces of dwelling-places within its walls.

From the elevation on which I stood, I traced, without difficulty, the lines of embankment also, which had compassed the whole sacred area. The extent of their broken remains appears to agree very nearly with that mentioned by Herodotus as inclosing the ground of the temple of Belus; he, describing it to be quadrangular, on each side measuring two stadia, or 1000 feet. On extending my view beyond the boundary, to the south, all seemed flat, arid desert; to the westward, the same trackless waste presented itself; but towards the north-east, very consider-

able marks of buried ruins were visible to a vast distance. In a direction south 50° east, I could plainly discern the golden cupola of Mesched Ali; and, on the same line of the horizon, but about 30° more to the eastward, I saw the dark summit of a very lofty mound, which I calculate to be the same mentioned by Mr. Rich, in his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," distant many miles from their boundaries; and, to which notice, he adds the interesting circumstance, that a few years ago, a cap, or diadem, of pure gold, and some other articles of the same metal, were found there by the Khezail Arabs; but who refused to give them up to the pasha. Had they been resigned to him, and preserved, an opportunity of examining such antiquities would have been very desirable. So high a mass of ruin as the mound presented, can hardly be supposed to cover any thing less than the remains of a fortress, a palace, or one of those enormous piles consecrated to religion and astronomy, which appears to have been erected in every city of Babylonia; answering in general shape at least, as well as purpose, to the great center of Sabian worship, the Temple of Belus, in Babylon itself. Such a pile I believe that of Akarkouff to have been; and such, it is not improbable, was that which contained the golden diadem, the relics of its departed grandeur; each sacerdotal structure having formerly been surrounded by its appendant city of relative consequence. We are told, that at different stages between Ecbatana and Babylon, Alexander was met by successive soothsayers, warning him against his approach to that city. Hence, we may reasonably conclude, that astrological seers from the temples, or high-places, of the several great towns he passed through, were those who came forth to meet him, and announced the threatening stars.

Besides the mound I have just mentioned, as that of the diadem, I saw from the height on which I continued to stand, many distant points, to which my companions gave the names of Koubbés and tombs, and added several curious traditions respecting them. But while I was following their remarks with my eye, a fog came suddenly on, and with such denseness, that objects scarcely two hundred yards from me became instantly obscured, and the Birs itself totally veiled from my sight. The effect was most extraordinary: and, thus abruptly interrupted in my observations, I descended into the area, very unwillingly, to prepare for my return. In vain, at several times, I looked back for another even shadowy glimpse of the sublime tower; it was as much lost as if the whole had been a mirage of the desert. But tolerably near objects were yet sufficiently distinct; and almost immediately without the line of the great canal, just beyond the boundary of the area, I observed, while passing along, a pretty high mound, rising from amidst the elevated traces of ruins in this direction. It was completely covered with fragments of pottery, and lumps of black vitrified matter, in quantities enough to have induced me to suppose it had contained furnaces for manufacturing the latter substance. And noting that appearance, reminds me not to omit mentioning a remarkable tradition amongst the Arabs, respecting the great triangular mound to the east of the Birs; and which bears some affinity to the Bible account of the attempted burning of the three friends of Daniel by Nebuchadnezzar, for refusing to worship the golden image he had set up. It is here said, that a terrible fire was made on this mound by order of Nimrod, and that he commanded the prophet Abraham to be cast into it, while he surveyed the dreadful spectacle from the top of the

tower. Surely these kind of traditions, though confusing persons, and often disfiguring facts, having had truth to ground them on, are no bad arguments in establishing the locality of the places where they really did happen.

During my traversing the ruins, both of the tower and the mound, I picked up curious fragments of brick and bitumen, besides pieces of broken marble, and several thin copper coins in a very corroded state. With respect to the specimens of brick, both sun-dried and fire-burnt, there were ample quantities everywhere; giving us an idea, how very opportune the furnaces might have been, which manufactured the latter, to execute the mad judgments of either Nimrod or Nebuchadnezzar. The bricks which compose the tower, and its appending objects, are mostly stampt with three lines of inscription, in the cuneiform, or, as it is commonly called, the Babylonian character. Some extend to four, or even seven lines; but, though differing in this respect, the dimensions of all are the same; the only superiority appears in those of seven lines being better stampt than those with the fewer numbers. However, I could only draw these observations from fragments about, and I examined a great many; entire detached bricks not being now to be found on the ruin. I have already mentioned that the bricks of Babylon are of two kinds, sun-dried, and fire-burnt. The former is generally largest, as it is of a coarser fabric than the latter; but its solidity seems, by proof, to be equal to the hardest stone. It is composed of clay mixed with chopped straw, or broken reeds, to compact it, and then dried in the sun. Here, then, besides tracing the first builders of Babel in their very executed work, "Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly!" we find the exact sort of brick which the children of Israel made,

during their captivity in Egypt: "And Pharaoh commanded the task-masters, and said, ye shall no more give the people *straw* to make bricks, &c." These unburnt bricks commonly form the interior or mass of any strong foundation amongst these ruins; and this is the case with the great tower; while it is, or rather has been, faced with the more beautiful fabric of those manufactured in the furnace or kiln. From every account left us by historians, of the supereminently stupendous structure of the Tower of Belus, we must seek it on the banks of the Euphrates, and on the site of Babylon; and of all the colossal mounds which remain amongst its far-spreading ruins, not one appears to answer so fully, in place, dimensions, and aspect, to all their pictures of the tower, whether called by the name of Babel, or of Belus, as this sublime inhabitant of the desert, known universally to the present descendants of Ishmael, by the name of Birs Nimrood. The etymology of the word Birs, Mr. Rich considers difficult to trace. He observes, that it does not appear to be Arabic, though it is possible to be some term which has suffered the corruptions of time, that might originally be derived from that language, or the Chaldean. There are words in both, similar to it in sound; in the latter meaning a palace, or splendid building; in the former, a sandy desolation, or the habitation of dæmons. The Arabs, as I mentioned before, call it Birs Nimrood; but the remnant of the captivity, still abiding amongst "the waters of Babylon," when they speak of it, call it Nebuchadnezzar's prison. It is not improbable, that some old tradition of that monarch having been placed here, during his madness, in charge of the priesthood dedicated to his deified ancestor, may have given rise to such a name, amongst the Jews, who certainly considered his malady a punishment; or,

in their minds, it may have received that appellation from an equally likely circumstance: Nebuchadnezzar, after his last conquest of Jerusalem, might have confined its captive monarch in the heart of the tower itself, as the proudest part of the incalculable spoil he had consecrated to the idol. For, that the Jewish king was immured somewhere in Babylon, by his command, we find from the 2nd Book of Kings, chap. xxv. "It came to pass in the seven-and-thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, that Evil-Merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah, out of *prison*."

A day or two after my expedition to the Birs, the movements of the enemy made it necessary for the pasha's army to cross from the eastern bank of the Euphrates, to take up a position on the western shore; which was accordingly done, and the new camp pitched on the plain, about a couple of miles distant from the southern, or Nejef gate of Hillah. I viewed the scene of movement from the windows of my quarters, which gave me a complete command of the river as well as of the picturesque towers and minarets of the western division of the town. The various Asiatic distinctions of the troops, their standards, camels, and other beasts of burthen charged with the military equipage, presented a very striking scene; while the long and unstable bridge, alternately rose and sunk under the load it sustained, threatening the separation of its badly moored pontoons, to the inevitable drenching, if not drowning, of the passing cavalcade. But nothing could exceed the careless security with which the whole march proceeded; nor the clamorous irregularity with which it was conducted; neither describe the hooting, whirling of the pedestrian auxiliaries, clattering their naked swords against

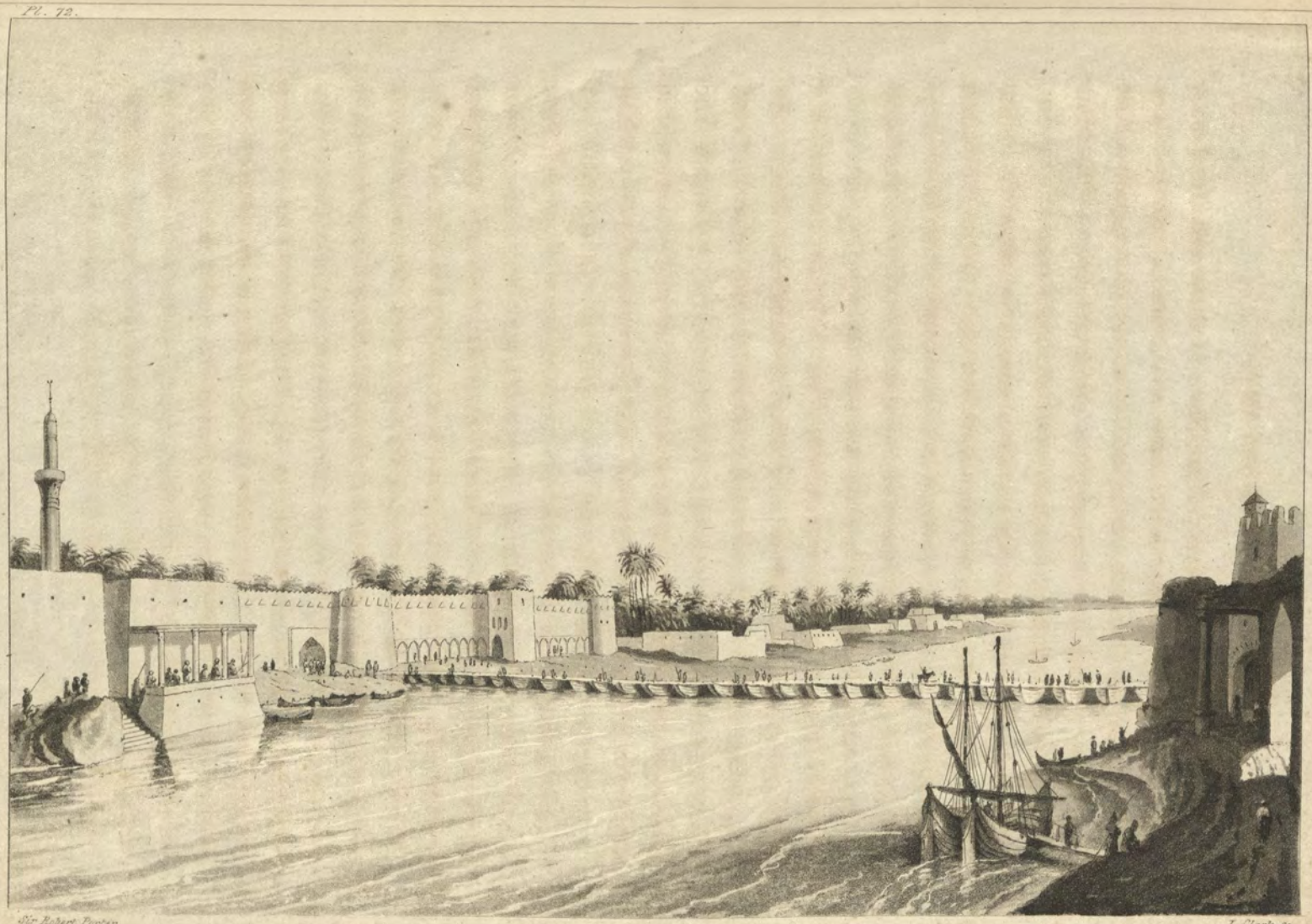
their small round shields, while they mixed indiscriminately amongst detachments of horsemen, not deficient in brandishing their lances, firing off pistols, and playing the noble animals they rode, to within a plunge of the water. The clangour of several long trumpets, accompanied by the thumping of three or four kettle-drums, mingled in the general noise. And while all this was going forward on the bridge, that its crazy timbers might not be strained too far, "the formidable park of artillery!" I before mentioned, was dismounted, unwheeled, and otherwise divided, to be put on board a couple of large boats, and so transported to the opposite shore. It was not in this manner that the armies of Cyrus, Xerxes, or Alexander, crossed the Euphrates! but, in all ways, how different is the scene! Hillah stands here, instead of Babylon!—And, being on the subject, I shall take the opportunity of describing the present place, before I proceed further in my researches amongst the ruins of the former.

The town of Hillah lies in latitude 32° 31′ 18″, in longitude 12′ 36″ west of Bagdad; and, according to Turkish authorities, it was built in the fifth century of the Hegira, in the district of the Euphrates, which the Arabs call El-Ared Babel. Lying on a spot of the vast site of Babylon, nothing was more likely than that it should be built out of a few of the fragments of that great city. The town is pleasantly situated amidst gardens and groves of date-trees; and spreads itself on both sides of the river, where it is connected by the miserable floating bridge I have just described; but which, perilous as it may be, is security itself, when compared with the pass of danger at Bagdad. The portion of the town, or, as it is usually called, the suburb, on the eastern bank, consists of one principal street of bazar,

reaching from the small defenceless gate, whence it is entered from Bagdad, down to the edge of the water; it is deemed the least considerable part of Hillah, being of far less dimensions in every way, than the more populous branch across the rotten timbers. There the inhabitants, Jews, Turks, and Arabs, are much thicker; the streets and bazars more numerous and abundant. From the great centre bazar, well filled with merchandise, branch off, in various crooked directions, minor ranges, amongst which are found the fish and flesh markets. In the former I saw several varieties; and some of enormous size, resembling the barbel. The fish in question ran from four to five feet in length, and were covered with very large thick scales. The head took up full a third of their length. I am told they eat coarse and dry, but are, nevertheless, a favourite food with the inhabitants. They are caught in great quantities near the town, and also to a considerable distance above it. The flesh market was sparingly served with meat, the whole not appearing to be more than the dismembered carcases of two sheep, two goats, and the red rough fragments of a buffalo. This display was but ascetic provision for a population of seven thousand persons. The streets are narrow, like those of Bagdad; a necessary evil in oriental climates, to elude the full power of the sun: but they were even more noisomely filthy; a most unnecessary annoyance any where. In like manner, also, they were crowded, but not with so many persons in gay attire. Here were groups of dark, grim-looking, half naked Arabs, sitting idly on the sides of the streets, and so numerously, as scarcely to leave room for a single horse to pass; and even a cavalcade in line would not have alarmed them, so indifferent did they appear, when we were almost compelled, at some abrupt turn, almost to ride over

them. A few sombre-garbed Israelites; and some of the Turks, attendant on official duties of the pashalic in this part of the government, also mingled occasionally in the passing, or seated crowd; where the solemn, saturnine air of the latter, with their flowing, gaudy apparel, formed a striking contrast to the daring, dirty, independent air of the almost ungarmented swarthy Arab. At not many paces higher up than the bridge, stands the palace of the governor; also the citadel, which was built by order of Ali Pasha. This imposing fortress, externally, is a handsome, smooth-faced, demi-fortified specimen of modern Turkish architecture, erected with ancient materials. Within, I found a spacious square court, partially shaded with date-trees, and every where else totally filled up with accumulations of rubbish of every possible description. I made this peep behind the curtain, during my visit to the governor of the district; to whose attentions, the pasha of Bagdad (under whom he serves) had recommended me; and I found also, that my passage through his excellency's state chambers demanded as many golden keys as any where else. In short, every attendant officer stands with an open hand for money; though they are certainly contented with smaller sums than are grasped at by similar cormorants in Persia. Excepting the governor's residence, no house of any respectable front, presents itself along the water's edge; yet the stretching, unbroken walls of the place, give it a shew of consequence; and the minarets of the only mosque it contains, rising from behind the battlements, and mingling with the feathery tops of the trees, add greatly to the character of the view. *

* See Plate LXXXII.



Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark Sc.

View of Hillah on the Euphrates.

The whole of the town, towards the desert, is defended by a pretty deep ditch, overlooked by a proportionate number of brick-built towers, (all the spoil of Babylon,) flanking the intermediate compartments of wall. Three gates open from this rampart; namely, that of Nejef, or Imaun Ali; that of Thamasia, and that of Hossein or Kerbela. All these gates lead to the places whence they take their names. As far as the eye can reach from the town, both up and down the Euphrates, the banks appear to be thickly shaded with groves of date-trees; displacing, it should seem, the other beautiful species of trees in its noblest growth, from which Isaiah names this scene the "Brook, or Valley of Willows;" though the humbler races of that graceful tribe, in the osier, &c. are yet the prolific offspring of its shores.

To the north-west, not far from the Kerbela gate, and in the midst of the gardens, rises the mosque called Mesched Esshems, surmounted by an obelisk and minaret. This style of obelisk is, undoubtedly, very ancient; indeed, something imitating the taste of old Babylon, in its pyramidal form. It is of the same character with that of Zobiede at Bagdad, covered with little niches from the base of its cone to the top, where it exhibits an iron-spike, crowned with a clay substance, in shape like the cap of liberty. Its interior, the people told me, contained the remains of Joshua; but the Jews declare their ignorance of any of their nation resting there, much less the son of Nun. Yet, that such traditions exist amongst the natives, who have no interest in making a fable on the subject, certainly are additional proofs that the Israelites did dwell there, "according to the Scriptures," not merely in captivity, but, in the persons of certain individuals, honoured while living, and buried, when dead,

with marks of distinction. The cone and minaret of this mosque, rising high above the line of trees, are the chief points whence, at a distance, the bearing of Hillah can be taken. A little farther, amongst these grateful shades to the south, there is another pyramidal structure precisely in the same taste as that just described; being elevated on an octagonal base, full twice the magnitude of that assigned to Joshua; but the height of the cone is diminished almost one third, by the effects of some act of violence, which has broken it off in that part; leaving it with something of the appearance of a huge decapitated sugar-loaf. The tradition respecting this piece of antiquity, modern when compared with those I so lately visited, is, that some miracle was wrought here in favour of the Caliph Ali; and that not only the monument was raised to commemorate the event, but the place shares the honours of the holy sepulchre of that celebrated caliph, which lies far south in the Desert, and is called Mesched Ali.

Having discussed Hillah, I shall proceed to the more interesting ground in its immediate neighbourhood, still named by the Arabs Babel; while its vast remains lay for ages in the depths of time, as much forgotten by the learned of Europe as if it had been a city of the antediluvians. The style of impassible approach in which it was long considered, when thought of at all, may be gathered from Sir John Maundeville, who travelled over Asia A.D. 1322. He writes, "that Babylone is in the grete desertes of Arabye, upon the waye as men gon towarde the kyngdome of Caldee. But it is fulle longe sithe ony man durste neyhe to the toure; for it is alle deserte and full of dragons and grete serpentes, and fulle dyverse veneymouse bestes alle abouten." These impressions remained until the journey thither by Pietro della Valle, in the year 1616, which

indeed "cast her forth from her grave," and re-awakened learned men to a new interest in what Babylon had been, and what it still was; the antiquarian, rejoicing in the ancient specimens of the arts it might present to his curiosity; the historian and the divine, in the connecting lights its present appearance might throw on history and religion. From succeeding travellers, Pere Emanuel, Niebuhr, Beauchamp, &c. we have had accounts of different parts of the remains; but amongst them all, none seem to have gone so far into the desert as to notice the Birs Nimrood, excepting the two first; and the one could not approach near enough to make the observations he wished; while the other observed to so little purpose, "that, if we may judge from the inaccurate description he gives, (remarks Mr. Rich,) he might as well never have seen it at all."

The ruins of the city, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, lay on more protected ground; and hence we have various accounts of them by all their pens. But Mr. Rich, from his residence near the spot, and consequent opportunity of estimating the value of each published observation, even now considers "the site of Babylon, as not having yet been either thoroughly explored, or described." His own "Memoir" on the subject, however, gives that satisfaction to the mind of his reader, which it appears he had vainly sought in others; and the sight of his manuscript, on the remains of a place I was determined to explore to the farthest reach of granted facilities, could not but doubly excite my ambition.

When we consider that so many centuries have passed, since Babylon became a deserted habitation, and that it yet lay in the neighbourhood of populous nations, our surprise ought to be, not that we find so little of its remains, but that we see so much.

From her fallen towers have arisen, not only all the present cities in her vicinity, but others, which, like herself, are long ago gone down into the dust. Since the days of Alexander, we find four capitals, at least, built out of her remains: Seleucia by the Greeks, Ctesiphon by the Parthians, Al Maidan by the Persians, Kufa by the Caliphs; with towns, villages, and caravansaries without number. Bagdad too, (had it not, most probably, completed its walls from a nearer neighbour, the ruins of the city, which appears to have occupied the tract of Akarkouff,) might, by some trouble, boast its towers from the great parent city also. That the fragments of one city should travel so far, to build or repair the breaches of another, on the first view of the subject, appeared unlikely to myself; but on traversing the country between the approximating shores of the two rivers, and observing all the facilities of water-carriage from one side to the other, I could no longer be incredulous of what had been told me; particularly when scarce a day passed without my seeing people digging the mounds of Babylon for bricks, which they carried to the verge of the Euphrates, and thence conveyed in boats to whereever they might be wanted. From the consequent excavations in every possible shape and direction, the regular lines of the original ruins have been so broken, that nothing but confusion is seen to exist between one course and another, when any traveller would attempt seeking a distinct plan amongst those eternally traversing minor heaps, hollows, and ravines. But certain huge and rugged masses yet stand pre-eminent; which, by their situation, and other local circumstances, seem sufficiently to warrant the conclusions which have been drawn of their original purpose. These vaster mounds are surrounded by subordinate ranges, now bearing the appearance of embankments;

and which, doubtless, have been the cause of the interior pile's comparatively unimpaired state. The yearly overflowing of the whole country, from the decay of the canals, made to draw off the superflux of the river, having for ages swept unimpeded over the faces of all the ruins which had not the protection of these, I may call them, break-waters, could not fail producing the devastation we see. All such exposed parts of the city, must necessarily be broken down into wider and more shapeless ruin, and be gradually washed down into lower and lower hillocks, till, in most places, all traces would be entirely swept away. The piles which I am now going to describe have, therefore, not only been saved by their extraordinary magnitude from the over-topping of the floods, but their foundations greatly preserved, by the majestic length of these banks inclosing them nearly on all sides. The pre-eminent mounds are three in number. First, the Amran Hill, (M), so named by Mr. Rich in his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon;" and who designates it by that appellation, from its supporting a small tomb erected to the memory of some personage of that name, said to have been a son of the Caliph Ali, who fell at the battle of Hillah. There must be some mistake in this tradition; Ali having had only two sons, Hassan and Hossein. The second pile is that called the Kasr, or palace, (k), which is separated from the preceding by a distance of only 750 yards. The third is known by the appellation Mujelibé, (A), or Maclouba, "the overturned." It stands about a mile and a half northward from the other. But this last mentioned, being the first of the three descried on approaching from Bagdad; and having already described the ground between it and Mahowil, I shall begin my notice of the great ruins on this bank with a detail of the Mujelibé.

This is the pile which Pietro Della Valle, and the Abbe Beauchamp, in two successive centuries, have described in such characters as to lead many of the learned in Europe to suppose that they there saw the remains of the Temple of Belus. Neither of these persons had ever seen the greater tower on the opposite side of the river; and where they really found the ruins of Babylon, it was not unnatural that they should fix on the most stupendous in their view, as the relic of that which had given the place "a local habitation and a name." The Mujelibé stands about four miles north of Hillah, on the eastern side of the Euphrates; and, perhaps, it is only second to the Birs Nimrood in being one of the most gigantic masses of brick-formed earth that ever was raised by the labour of man. It is composed of these sun-dried materials, to the present height of 140 feet. The form, an oblong square; and like the Birs, facing the four cardinal points. The side to the north measures along its base 552 feet; that to the south 230; that to the east 230; and that to the west 551. The summit is a broad flat, when compared with the pyramidal Birs, yet very uneven; its highest point being to the south-east, where it forms an angular kind of peak, sloping gradually down, in an opposite direction, upon the broad bosom of the mound, to a depth of about 100 feet. Regular lines of clay brick-work are clearly discernible along each face; and those on the western front bear every trace of a perfectly straight wall, that appears to have cased and parapeted this side of the pile.* The angle to the south-west is rounded off; but whether it thus marks the original shape of the corners, or that time has worn this so, I do not pretend to say. Towards the

* See Plate LXXVI.

b

c

d

Gilbert Porter. J. Clark sc.

Views of the Mujelibé.

London, Published July 1st by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown 1822

bottom, where it meets the loose dust and scattered fragments, it has mouldered away in an inward sloping direction, giving this angle of the Mujelibé the singular effect of an appending watch-tower. The decay at the base, and the form in consequence, are obviously wrought by the casualties of weather; indeed, all the parts of this huge fabric have been terribly torn by the rain, which here seems to fall with the body and force of water-spouts; the eastern face, in particular, is worn into a deep channel, nearly from the top to the bottom. However, all these depredations of the elements, have only acted on this pile like the wrinkles on a human face, marking the advance of years, without absolutely breaking the general lineaments. The sun-dried bricks, and mode of fixing them, differ in no respect in Mujelibé, from the method I had observed in most other massy fabrics throughout the general ruins; namely, the mixture of broken straw or reeds with the mud used as cement; also the layers of perfect reeds between the horizontal courses of the bricks. In many of the other structures, the courses were of unequal heights, which these reed strata marked; but here, the straw line ran its unbroken length between the ranges of every single brick course.

From the general appearance of this piece of ruin, I scarcely think that its solid elevation has ever been much higher than it stands at present. I have no doubt of its having been a ground-work, or magnificent raised platform, (like that of Persepolis, though there it was of the native rock;) to sustain habitable buildings of consequence. The whole of the existing mass, bears that affinity with those already described, as to lead us to conclude, it must have been superficed from the base to the summit with the usual fire-burnt bricks; where lofty battlements

of the same would inclose the edifices its ample area had been planned to contain. That it has been occupied by various buildings, is sufficiently proved by the fragments of such, covering the whole wide surface. Several deep excavations have been made, in different places, into the sides of the mound; some, probably, by the wearing of the seasons, according to the effects described above; but many others have been dug by the rapacity of the Turks, tearing up its bowels in search of hidden treasure. Several penetrate very far into the body of the structure, making angular turnings; and some, it is likely, have never yet been explored, the wild beasts of the desert literally keeping guard over them. In short, these souterains, over which the chambers of majesty may have been spread, are now the refuge of jackalls and other savage animals. The mouths of their entrances are strewed with the bones of sheep and goats; and the loathesome smell that issues from most of them is sufficient warning not to proceed into the den. However, into some of those which exhibited the fewest of these signals, I ventured to go a little way. One in particular excited my attention: it was in the northern face of the mound, near the west corner; and on examining it, I found it to be the same in which Mr. Rich, during his researches, discovered a wooden sarcophagus. His own interesting description shall speak for itself.

"In the northern face of the Mujelibé, near the summit, is a niche or recess, high enough for a man to stand upright in; at the back of which is a low aperture leading to a small cavity; whence a passage branches off to the right, sloping upwards in a western direction till it loses itself in the rubbish. The natives call this the sardaub, or cellar; and a respectable person informed me, that four years ago, some men searching for bricks,

pulled out a quantity of marble, and afterwards a coffin of mulberry wood, containing a human body inclosed in a tight wrapper, and apparently partially covered with bitumen; which mortal remains crumbled into dust soon after exposure to the air. This account, together with its appearing the most favourable spot to ascertain something of the original plan of the whole, induced me to set twelve men to work, to open a passage into this sardaub, from above. They dug into a shaft, or hollow pier, 60 feet square, lined with fine brick, laid in bitumen, and filled up with earth. In this they found a brass spike, some earthen vessels, (one of which was very thin, and had the remains of fine white varnish on the outside;) and a beam of date-tree wood. On the third day's work, they made their way into the opening, and discovered a narrow passage nearly ten feet high, half filled with rubbish, flat on the top, and exhibiting both burnt and unburnt bricks; the former with inscriptions on them; and the latter, as usual, laid with a layer of reeds between every row, except in one or two courses near the bottom, where they were cemented with bitumen, to conceal the unburnt brick, of which the body of the building was principally composed. Fronting it is another passage, or rather a continuation of the same, to the eastward; in which direction it probably extends to a considerable distance, perhaps even all along the northern front of the Mujelibé; but it was choked up with earth, and in digging out which I discovered, near the top, a wooden coffin containing a skeleton in high preservation. Under the lid of the coffin was a round pebble; attached to the coffin, on the outside, a brass bird; and inside, an ornament of the same material, which had, apparently, been suspended to some part of the skeleton. These, could any doubt remain, place the an-

tiquity of the skeleton beyond all dispute. This being extracted, a little farther in the rubbish, the skeleton of a child was found; and it is probable that the whole of the passage, whatever its extent may be, was occupied in a similar manner. No skulls were found, either here or in the sepulchral urns at the back of the river." Some observations on these urns, and their situation, will be made hereafter. But to return to the excavation itself: I found the reeds in its sides as pliable and fresh as if they had been gathered yesterday. From amongst them, projected a huge beam of date tree, nearly in a state of decay. The wall on one side of this passage, as far as I went down, is formed of burnt brick intermixed with sun-dried; and evidently constructed in haste, being merely a front of mortar and casual bricks, put together without regular arrangement: from which may be concluded, that the bodies found here had not been deposited in a spot originally intended for that purpose.

In traversing the summit of the Mujelibé, I observed, on a spot about 20 feet lower than its highest point, a great portion of erect building, smooth and well finished; another similar piece of wall joined it, forming, together, an angle that seemed part of some former chamber in the solid body of the pile. Between these walls, loose fragments had either fallen in, or been cast there purposely; but confused as they were, the irregular heaps were bound together with mortar. Not far distant from this angular remains, and towards the western end, a sort of circular lump of brick-work tapering towards the top, rises from a deep bed of rubbish. In this fragment, each stratum of mortar is four inches and a half thick, while the intermediate courses of brick are merely broken pieces, thrown together without the smallest care; but the hardness of the mass is in-

conceivable. From its lower extremity being so deeply buried in dust and rubbish, I could not inspect it to any depth. The whole surface of this irregular, cliff-topped ruin, is covered with the remnants of its former superstructure, but I was unable to get even one brick entire, to bring away. A stamp of seven lines, however, seemed traceable on most of the fractured pieces I took up to examine.

This huge mass stands totally unconnected with any other whatever, if we may except the remains of protecting lines of wall or embankment, which, at certain distances, surround it on three of its sides, that is, to the east, north, and west. The western line now terminates near a couple of small modern canals; but there can hardly be a doubt that it originally extended to the shore of the Euphrates, whence the Mujelibé is distant little more than half a mile. *

On looking at the drawing, which represents the different faces of the building as it now stands, sufficient remains to the eye, to ascertain that it never could have been intended to rise thence in a pyramidal succession of towers. Had one such a stage ever surmounted it, we should have found a slight elevation at least, towards the middle of the summit; but instead of that essential feature, it sinks there in a deep hollow. There is also another reason against its having any pretension to the

* This is the pile mentioned by Mr. Macdonald Kinnier, by the name of *Haroot and Maroot*, in his Geographical Memoir of Persia, where he observes, "the Arabs give it that name; for they believe, that near the foot of the pyramid there still exists, though invisible to mankind, a well, in which those two wicked angels were condemned by the Almighty to be suspended by the heels until the end of the world, as a punishment for their vanity and presumption." Mr. M. Kinnier visited Babylon 1808, and we cannot but be struck with the coincidence between all these legends, however varied, and the absolute great fact of the scene.

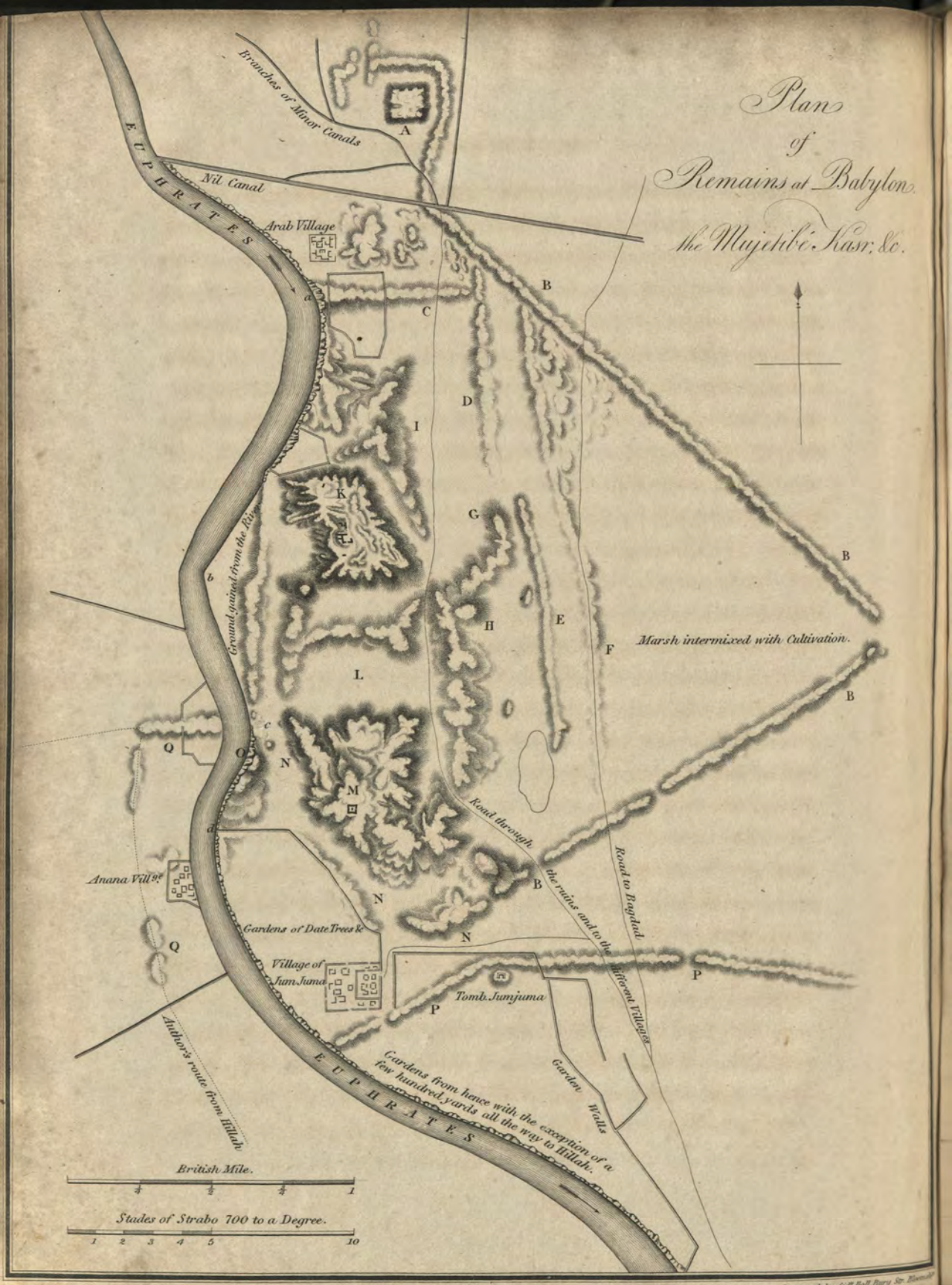
name with which some writers would distinguish it, — that of being the remains of the Temple of Belus; its size considerably exceeds the single stadium, specified by the ancients as the base of that tower. Besides, there are no traces whatever of any buildings near it; which seems necessary to make its adjacent ruins answer to the structures dedicated by Nebuchadnezzar to the great central worship of his favourite deity. Another remark I made, while exploring the ground about, which also bears against this having been the Temple of Belus: the high embankment described on three sides of the Mujelibé, is no complete inclosure of that pile; neither has it been intended for such especial appropriation, but is, evidently, only a part of a very extensive line of wall, which comprehends not merely this edifice, but a vast stretch around the Kasr and Amran ruins besides. But with regard to what the Mujelibé really was, my ideas are to be drawn from what I saw, when compared with certain representations I have read concerning Babylon. All ancient authors who have written on the subject, speak of its "Fortified Palace." In which title we must understand a fortified space, of sufficient extent to contain the terraced habitation of the sovereign, with his courts of pomp and ceremony, his private temples to the gods, his personal treasury, and residences for his officers of state; and, besides strong lodgments on the embattled surrounding walls, a fortress, or citadel, to garrison the royal body-guard.

The situation and style of the Mujelibé seem to mark it out, to have been the citadel of this embattled palace. Not only its superior magnitude presents it as the fittest platform for military erections and exercises, but its contiguity to the river, and its commanding power of observation on all sides, proclaim it, of all others now traceable, to be that of most extensive com-

mand. Hence, to that purpose I would venture to assign its original destination; and to some period in its besieged states attribute the inhumed remains. For instance, in the time of Seleucus, previous to the founding of Seleucia, Demetrius Poliorcetes besieged Babylon; and we are told that it then possessed only two old fortresses, one of which, from its *magnitude*, resisted all the efforts of the besiegers. During this period, many of its defenders of consequence might fall; and, for convenience, be buried hastily in the fortress itself. We have known the same to have been done in our days; and I myself have stood by the grave of one of our own most lamented generals, whose sacred corse was thus hurried into its last bed, in the ramparts of a foreign citadel. In the heart, therefore, of the excavated sun-dried clay constituting the solid substance of this pile, such graves, for such purposes, may have been dug. Or, if that appear too severe an exertion of manual labour at such a season, there may have been cellars, and in consequence subterranean passages, sufficient to contain all those whom the shaft of war, or other casualties, might take off during the siege; and that a child's remains should turn up amongst them, need not appear out of character, when we recollect that eastern usages carried women into all situations. With regard to the Mujelibé having originally been intended for a place of sepulture, had it been so, the magnificence of its dimensions would have demanded its dedication to the sovereigns of Babylon; and, in that case, surely some of the ancient writers, in describing the city, must have mentioned it. But that the remains of the illustrious dead may occasionally be found in embattled towers and walls, without any extraordinary military circumstances having rendered such interment necessary, the arbitrary directions of the de-

ceased having alone compelled the unusual place of sepulture, we have at least one instance from history to support, and the personage is Nitocris, queen of Babylon. It is related that she caused her own monument to be *built over one of the most distinguished gates of the city*, with an inscription "conjuring all who might have the power, as they valued their own future peace, never to bring themselves into the necessity of invading that tomb for the treasures it might contain." One of the early Persian monarchs, after the subversion of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, (Darius I believe, and probably when he was lowering the excessive strength of the walls,) broke open the tomb; but instead of the riches that were expected, found only a scroll, with something of these words. — "If thou hadst not a most improvident, sordid, and avaricious soul, thou wouldst never have violated the rest of the dead!" The great gates of these pre-eminent Asiatic cities, were in themselves fortresses.

The Mujelibé, or, as I would suppose it, the ancient citadel of this royally inclosed part of Babylon, is, at present, in a manner cut off from the range it formerly protected, by the extended line of the Old and New Nil (or Neel) canals; which cross before it, at about a quarter of a mile distant, reaching from the Euphrates to the great bounding embankment on the east of the pile, and severing that also, runs on far beyond the present point of my observations. Although it is generally said that the first mentioned of these water-courses is of deep antiquity, yet its very obstructing position, with relation to so vast a building as the Mujelibé, proves that it must have been dug in times so far subsequent to the era of Babylon, that these neighbouring great structures could then be deemed of no more consequence than accidental hills in the vicinity of a river. In a succeeding conversation with Mr. Rich, he was so kind as to



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Engraved by Sidl. Hall, Bury Str. Bloomsb.

shew me his second manuscript on the Ruins of Babylon; which gave me the gratification of knowing that my conclusions were right; he having clearly shewn that there are no traces of this canal having existed earlier than the eleventh century of our own era.

Before I proceed to a description of the Kasr and Amran Hill, it may promote a clearer view of the whole subject to follow the entire course of the high embankment I have mentioned, as beginning something west of the Mujelibé, in order to show how extensive an area it embraces, and how far it corresponds with the space described by ancient authors, as that of the castellated palace. This magnificent rampart, in its present ruined state, appears to commence a little beyond the north-west angle of the Mujelibé; thence passes before the northern and eastern sides of that pile, running in a strait-forward line almost due south, till it is cut across by the Nil canal. At that point, about a quarter of a mile from the Mujelibé, it makes a curve; whence it stretches away south 45° east, for a distance of two miles and two hundred yards. * It stops there, but only to leave an opening of about 300 feet, once, probably, filled by some majestic gate of entrance. This opening forms the point of a great angle towards the east; for at its southern side, the rampart line recommences, and runs in an answering expanding direction south-west, to the length of a mile and a half, where it unites with a cluster of low mounds belonging to the great mass of remains immediately to the south of the Amran Hill; but it may easily be traced through their lines, and thence followed in the same oblique sweep, south-west, till entirely lost in the recesses of a thick wood of date-trees, extending to the verge of

* See Plate LXXV. B, B, B, B.

the river. The whole of this embankment is of considerable breadth and elevation; and all along its summit, as well as slopes, the usual marks of ancient building are evident; but I sought in vain for any trace of a moat.

In casting the eye over the ground-plan * of the rampart-lines, from the open angle in the east, to the two expanding extremities towards the river, it looks something like a drawn bow whence the arrow had just been shot; the river forming the bow, and the two lines of embankment the string. But a great portion of this area takes a direct triangular shape, from an intersecting ridge of mound (F) commencing about 700 yards south-east of the invading passage of the Nil canal, and running right across the area to the opposite line of the rampart. This track of mound, from the point that the high road from Bagdad traverses the line of rampart to the north, becomes its causeway, the road running all along its ridge; and from this circumstance, in many places, the line of its elevation is reduced to little more than a gentle swell in the ground. It may, therefore, be conceived that what remains is daily decreasing, from the traffic constantly passing over it. About 200 yards to the westward of the commencement of this vanishing ridge, another begins (D), so much the nearer to the traverse of the canal. The mounds of this second line are seen rather low, till, after following them about half a mile from north to south, an opening occurs; which, making a trifling irregularity in the angle it occasions, presents the ridge rising again, in greater, nay, even high elevations, covered with broken bricks, and other marks of building, (E). These parallel banks of mound, range about south 10° east. Their southern terminations, before they can quite reach that

* See Plate LXXV.

line of the rampart, are lost in a deep marsh, lying to a considerable breadth and extent between the approximating banks of the great boundary. This spot contains some cultivation, but more water; which sapping element may well account for the abrupt disappearance of the parallel ridges, at its most swampy point.

Returning to the northern end of the bank of mound, marked D, we find another ridge, striking off nearly in an angle from that point, and running strait west to the verge of the river, where it finishes in a very elevated mass; the shore being there extremely high and steep, forming an admirable station for any surmounting embattled defence of its bank, which all who have examined this adjacent mass, acknowledge it to have been. We find from all the accounts of ancient authors respecting this fortified embankment, that it served a double purpose; against the element, and those who might wish to enter it hostilely. We read, that "Nebuchadnezzar built prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each side of the river; and over against every street that pointed to its banks, he placed a brazen gate in the wall that skirted the river, with stairs leading down to the water, whence the inhabitants crossed in boats to the opposite side, before the bridge was built. The gates were open by day, but always shut at night. While these banks were building, the river was turned into the vast artificial lake he had caused to be made to the west of the city." Both Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius particularly describe these fortified embankments, as formed with courses of sun-dried bricks, encased with mortar and bitumen. The sun-dried bricks may yet be traced in regular layers, (at least, I found them, as far as I was able to make the search,) all along the steep shore, in the direction from *a* to *d*; and huge fragments of the exterior wall, &c.

lie thick beneath, not only along the brink of the stream, but as far as the eye could discern under the water there they were also. The point *a* is by much the most elevated of the whole embankment, rising about 60 feet perpendicular from the level of the water; but the continual friction of the stream, has so acted on the steep at its base, as to give it the appearance of a regular flight of steps: this effect having been produced by the slime-cement of the courses of brick immediately against the river, being gradually washed away, when the ranges it had supported slid into the stream. I have marked in my sketch, traces of this river-bulwark, from the neighbourhood of the Nil canal, all along the eastern bank of the Euphrates to the point *a*; and thence following the bending sweep of the stream southward for nearly three quarters of a mile, at that extremity we come upon a projecting piece of flat marshy ground, forming an angle, in depth from the base to the vertex 220 yards, (b), evidently once the channel of the river, though now perfectly abandoned of its stream; for besides the nature of the ground, we find another proof in the bounding line, past which the Euphrates flowed of old, being still marked by a continuation of the same river-embankment we had traced from its northern point. It stretches across the angle, in an expanse, north and south, of 1,300 yards from one edge of the river to the other. The first 600 yards of this one colossal boundary are now fallen into a low and abrupt slope, in consequence of being the common pass, over which the plundered materials dug from the vast ruin at its back have been dragged during these last 2000 years, to be embarked on the river for farther transportation. The ruin I mean, is that of the Kasr, (or palace itself,) the western face of which extends the whole length of these 600 yards of reduced embankment; and the line of embankment continuing

afterwards, (which it does from the south-western extremity of the royal building,) shows it could not have been intended for a mere wall before the palace; therefore corroborating the preceding arguments of its having been the original bulwark of the river. Its remaining 700 yards, after leaving the Kasr, till it has completely crossed the deserted piece of channel at *c*, present a more elevated, though irregular aspect. At *c*, a small opening occurs, nearly on a level with the present surface of the river, which there takes a bend, and the embankment recommences in a rapid ascent, rising indeed to about 45 feet; thence it followed the course of the stream for another 700 yards; but I was unable to trace it farther along the shore, from the thick woods of bushes and date-trees which stretch from that point all the way to Hillah. Yet, as the identity of a regular and ancient embankment has thus been established by ocular observation, along all of the eastern bank of the Euphrates that circumstances would allow me to examine, a doubt does not rest in my mind, that, could I have explored into all the recesses of those thickets, &c., I should have found remnants of its northern and southern remains, extend far beyond the expanse of the two compass-like limbs of the great rampart (B B); which, I conclude, originally terminated at the river, and there joining the high bulwark on its bank, completed the whole fortified palace enclosure.

Near the center of this grand area, stands a very large and lofty conical mound, (G,) of a striking and singular appearance, being about 300 yards long, 100 broad, and between sixty and seventy feet in height; seeming entirely composed of fragments of burnt brick, of so bright a colour, that at a little distance it looks like one huge mass of red. From that spot I took the

following bearings: Hillah S. 5° W.; Birs Nimrood S. 25° W.; Mujelibé N. 10° W. But I must observe, that I do not allow for the magnetic variation of the needle.

I employed my men in digging, to find an entire brick from near the surface of the red mound, but without success; and my reason for the search, was to get possession of one complete specimen of a singular difference, discoverable on these fragments, respecting the manner of their inscription, when compared with any I had before seen. Those were always on the broad face of the brick, these were only along its edge, consequently could not be more than three or four lines; but the characters did not appear to vary in the least from those in the more abundant writing. This red cone rises immediately to the west of the northern end of the ridge of mound marked E, and unites with a vast range of unequal elevations, branching out into a thousand ramifications (H); the whole collection covering a space, in a direction due south, of more than a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth. This multitude of mounds are all inferior in height to the conical mount; but they correspond with the mean elevation of another extensive group of mounds (I), which extend along the eastern face of the Kasr, and spread thence to the north for three quarters of a mile; covering at the same time, almost the whole ground to the river, lying between the northern face of the Kasr, and the highest point of the river's embankment at *a*. These mounds are what Major Rennel, in his Remarks on the Topography of Ancient Babylon, imagines to have been the ruins of the lesser palace mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as having been divided from the greater by the Euphrates; hence, our venerable geographer, to support his idea, supposes that the river has altogether changed its course in this vicinity. The learned, at a distance from the real ground

of such an hypothesis, may maintain it very fairly by a thousand reasons drawn from as many supposed probabilities incidental to the place; but on the spot, one view of the simple fact, disproves the whole argument, to the eye of the plainest judging traveller. Yet, that no pains might be spared in the investigation of a question brought forward by so respected a head, Mr. Rich, and several others, carefully examined the entire ground between Hillah and the Mujelibé, and the result was invariably the same that I myself found it, namely, not a trace appears of any such change having ever taken place in the course of the river. Besides, there is no channel wide enough between the ranges of ruin to admit so majestic a stream; and for the mounds, to which the hypothesis would assign the dignity of the lesser palace, they do not possess any particularly elevated marks, to offer pretensions of comparison with the Kasr and Amran Hill; indeed, the situation of these mounds, as well as their subordinate appearance, lead me to suppose them the remains of buildings appropriated to the numerous ministers, and other retinue, attendant on the pomps and ceremonies of the royal palace.

I shall now proceed to the description of the remains of this palace, according to the belief of all who have visited the spot, that it is found in the vast mound or hill, called by the natives that of the Kasr, (K.) This mass, after the Mujelibé, is certainly the most august on this side of the river, standing above the general level full 70 feet. Its length is nearly 800 yards, its breadth 600; but its form is now very irregular. Much of the *local*, which this interesting spot presented to the Abbè Beauchamp in 1782, and to Mr. Rich in 1811, has now totally disappeared; the aspect of the summit and sides suffering constant changes

from the everlasting digging in its apparently inexhaustible quarries for brick of the strongest and finest material. From these incessant depredations, the whole mass is furrowed into deep ravines, many of considerable length and width, crossing and recrossing each other in every direction; indeed, there is hardly a ridge of the mound left that does not, at intervals of ten or fifteen feet, slope into hollows of from forty to fifty feet in depth, and some even deeper. From the unbroken succession of these traders in brick, during the progress of so many ages, and the system still going on, the minor features of the place are not only altered, but the whole surface kept in so decomposed a state, that at every step we made, we sunk into dust and rubbish. But that the aspect of the remains, as I found them, may be compared at one view with what they were when Mr. Rich saw them, I shall repeat his observations in his own perspicuous detail.

"This grand heap of ruins is nearly a square, of 700 yards in length and breadth; and its south-west angle is connected with the north-west angle of the mounds of Amran, by a ridge of considerable height, and nearly 100 yards in breadth. This is the place where Beauchamp made his observations, and it is certainly the most interesting part (on this side) of the ruins of Babylon. Every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter; the bricks are of the finest description, and notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest supplies have been ere now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant. But the operation of extracting the bricks has caused great confusion, and contributed much to increase the difficulty of

decyphering the original design of this mound; as in search of them, the workmen pierce into it in every direction, hollowing out deep ravines and pits, and throwing up the rubbish in heaps on the surface. In some places they have bored into the solid mass, forming winding caverns and subterranean passages; which, from their being left without adequate support, frequently bury the workmen in the rubbish. In all these excavations, walls of burnt brick laid in lime-mortar of a very good quality, are seen; and in addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of these mounds, we here find fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh. In a hollow near the southern part, I found a sepulchral urn of earthen ware, which had been broken in digging, and near it some human bones which pulverised at the touch. To be more particular in my description of this mound, not more than two hundred yards from its present northern extremity is a ravine, hollowed out by those who dig for bricks, in length near 100 yards, and 30 feet wide, by 40 or 50 deep. On one side of it, a few yards of wall remain standing, the face of which is very clean and perfect; and it appears to have been the front of some building. Under the foundations at the southern end an opening is made, which discovers a subterranean passage, floored and walled with large bricks laid in bitumen, and covered over with pieces of sand-stone a yard thick, and several yards long; on which, the whole weight being so great, has given a considerable degree of obliquity to the side walls of the passage. It is half full of brackish water, (probably rain water, impregnated with nitre in filtering through the ruins, which are all very productive of it:) and the work-

men say, that some way on, it is high enough for a horseman to pass upright. As much as I saw of it, it was near seven feet in height, and its course to the south. The superstructure over the passage is cemented with bitumen, other parts of the ravine with mortar, and the bricks have all writing on them. The northern end of the ravine appears to have been crossed by an extremely thick wall of yellowish brick, cemented with a brilliant white mortar, which has been broken through in hollowing it; and a little to the north of it I discovered what Beauchamp saw imperfectly, and understood from the natives to be an idol. I was told the same thing, and that it was discovered by an old Arab in digging, but that not knowing what to do with it, he covered it up again. On sending for the old man, who pointed out the spot, I set a number of men to work; who, after a day's hard labour, laid open enough of the statue to show that it was a lion of colossal dimensions, standing on a pedestal of a coarse kind of grey granite, and of rude workmanship: in the mouth was a circular aperture, into which a man might introduce his fist. A little to the west of the ravine is the next remarkable object, especially called by the natives, the Kasr, or Palace, by which appellation I shall designate the whole mass. It is a very remarkable ruin, which being uncovered, and in part detached from the rubbish, is visible from a considerable distance, but so surprisingly fresh in its appearance, that it was only after a minute inspection I was satisfied of its being in reality a Babylonian remain. It consists of several walls and piers, which face the cardinal points, eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters and buttresses built of fine burnt brick, still perfectly clean and sharp, laid in lime-cement of such tenacity that those whose

business it is, have given up working, on account of the extreme difficulty of extracting them whole. The tops of these walls are broken, and may have been much higher. On the outside they have, in some places, been cleared nearly to the foundations; but the internal spaces formed by them are yet filled with rubbish in some parts almost to their summit. One part of the wall has been split into three parts, and overthrown as if by an earthquake. Some detached walls of the same kind, standing at different distances, shew what remains to have been only a part of the original fabric; indeed it appears that the passage in the ravine, together with the wall which crosses its upper end, were connected with these remains. There are some hollows underneath, in which several persons have lost their lives; so that no one will now venture into them, and their entrances have now become choked up with rubbish. Near this ruin is a heap of rubbish, the sides of which are curiously streaked by the alternation of its materials, the chief part of which, it is probable, was unburnt brick, of which I found a small quantity in the neighbourhood; but no reeds were discoverable in the interstices. There are two paths near this ruin, made by the workmen who carry down their bricks to the river side, whence they are transported by boats to Hillah."

In making my own observations on the entire mound of the Kasr, through all the mutations it had undergone during the lapse of seven years, (which was the space of time between my visit and that of Mr. Rich,) I still found, deep in the ravines, considerable pieces of wall standing; also detached masses of the same, composed of furnace-burnt bricks, of a beauty, admirable masonry, and freshness, that indeed struck me with similar amazement, when I reflected that thousands of years had passed

away since their insertion. It was only amongst the huge fragments lying thus low in the foundations, that I observed bitumen had been used as a cement between each course of brick: in all other parts of the structure, which appeared of sufficient height to be beyond the probable reach of water or damp, neither bitumen nor reeds could be traced; a layer of simple mortar being there the binding material. The farther I examined into the body of this immense hill of buildings, the more I was convinced of one essential difference between the manner of its construction and that of the Birs Nimrood and Mujelibé. The great stamina of their piles were vast internal courses of sun-dried brick, consolidated into huge sustaining masses, by the intervention of reeds and slime; but all that I observed throughout the heights and depths of the Kasr mound, within and without, was a magnificent material of furnace-burnt brick, with all its necessary attendant cements. On inspecting the fragments accessible to examination, I found that the face of every brick, (that is, the surface where the inscription is stamped,) was invariably placed downwards; and, where bitumen had been used, the backs of each course so disposed, were then covered with a layer of bitumen, on which reeds were spread, or laid in regular matting; and on this careful preparation, the face of the succeeding course of bricks was bedded; which preserving management, in some measure, accounts for the astonishingly fresh state in which the inscriptions on their surfaces are generally presented. I have an exception or two in my possession; having picked up several pieces of the brick, where the characters have been totally filled up by the bitumen; an accident likely to happen, from the almost fluid state of the petroleum when first applied. Specimens of the actual reed or

matting, have never yet been found here, even in breaking up any of its walls; though impressions of the (now mouldered) intersecting weavings of the straw remain perfectly legible on the pitchy covering of the bricks. How faithfully do these vestiges agree with the method of building in Babylon, as described by Herodotus! He observes, that the bricks intended for the walls were formed of the clay dug from the great ditch that backed them: they were baked in large furnaces; and in order to join them together in building, warm bitumen was used; and between each course of thirty bricks, beds of reeds were laid interwoven together. The bitumen (he continues to tell us) is drawn from certain pits in the neighbourhood of Is, a town on the Euphrates. These pits exist to this day; the town in their vicinity now bearing the name of Hit or Heet; it lies about four days journey north-west of Bagdad, and is on the western bank of the river.

The older such evidence is, the better; since it comes nearer to the time when these materials were collected, and the structures raised, which we now gaze at with a double astonishment; contemplating the skill of the erection, with the sublime durability of the fabric. One of the most ancient of these witnesses is the venerable historian I have quoted last; and to him I shall refer again, in comparing the present vestiges of the great fortified palace, with the representations of what it was. That Diodorus Siculus has placed the great palace on the western side of the river, does not bring any unanswerable argument against its being on the east. He never was on the spot; and Babylon, he owns, had been long abandoned to the wilds, when he wrote. He, therefore, could draw his information from written authorities only: his choice seems to have particularly

rested upon Ctesias, (who, like himself, had never seen Babylon in any of its states;) and Ctesias having confused his accounts of the Tigris with the Euphrates, gives sufficient grounds for estimating his knowledge of their banks, as very secondary evidence. Indeed we have no positive document in the page of history, for asserting that the great fortified palace stood west or east of the river; Herodotus, the only historian who visited Babylon, and that hardly thirty years after its visitation by Xerxes, not saying a word concerning which side of the Euphrates the "fortified palace" occupied. I do not, now, make any remark on the probable site of the alleged old, or lesser palace; but proceed to describe the more modern and greater, the remains of which I consider this to be.

We are told by all the writers who speak of two palaces, that the extreme dimensions of the new, built by Nebuchadnezzar, were twice as large as those attributed to the royal residence of the more ancient Babylonian monarchs. Its outer wall embraced 60 stadia, (six miles.) Within that circumference were two other embattled walls, besides a great tower. Three brazen gates led into the grand area. Indeed, it appears from all descriptions of Babylon in general, that every gate of consequence throughout the walls of the city, were of this massy fabric; and Isaiah, in the name of Jehovah, promises Cyrus that they shall fall before him: — "I will open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut. I will break in pieces the gates of brass." This prophecy was fulfilled to the letter, when Cyrus made himself master of the city in the dead of night; first having turned the river, by means of its canals, into the great dry lake west of Babylon; and then marching through the emptied channel, he made his way to the outer walls of the

fortified palace on its banks, where finding the *brazen gates*, not as they were wont to be, carefully closed at night, but incautiously *left open* by the royal guards then engaged in festival, he entered with all his train: — "the Lord of Hosts was his leader," and Babylon, as an empire, was no more.

For the palace itself, it was splendidly decorated with statues of men and animals; with vessels of gold and silver, and indeed luxuries from every quarter of the world, brought thither from the conquests of Egypt, Palestine, and Tyre; but its greatest boast were the magnificent hanging gardens, which acquired even from Grecian writers the appellation of one of the wonders of the world. They are attributed to the gallantry of Nebuchadnezzar, in compliance with a wish of his queen Amytis, to possess elevated groves in the manner she had enjoyed them on the hills around her native Ecbatana. Babylon was all a flat; and to accomplish so extravagant a desire, an artificial mountain must be constructed: accordingly, we find the plan of this most extraordinary exertion of human labour. The foundation of the mount presented a square of four plethra (400 feet) on each side, while the terraces, one above the other, rose to a height that over-topped the walls of the city; consequently must have stood more than 300 feet high, the altitude of the walls before Darius Hystaspes lowered them. The ascent from terrace to terrace was made by answering flights of steps; while the terraces themselves, it appears, were reared to their various stages, not by solid masses, but on ranges of regular piers; I cannot call them arches, that form never having been found in any Babylonian structure. These piers, forming a kind of vaulting, rose in succession one over the other, to the required height of each terrace; the whole being bound together by a wall of

22 feet in thickness. The level of each terrace, or garden, was then constructed in this way: the top of the piers was first laid over with flat stones, 16 feet in length, and four in width; (specimens of stones answering to this description have already been pointed out as still existing in the subterraneous passage at the southern end of the ravine in the Kasr Hill;) on these stones, (in the construction of the garden,) were spread reeds or matting; then a thick layer of bitumen; after which came two courses of bricks, strongly cemented together with mortar; and last of all they were covered with sheets of solid lead. This platform formed, the earths were heaped upon it, which were to constitute the beds for planting; and in order to admit the roots of immense trees intended for the groves of this artificial paradise, (many of which, according to Quintus Curtius, grew to the circumference of eight cubits:) prodigious hollow piers were built, and correspondingly filled with mould. From the Euphrates, which flowed close to their foundation, water was drawn up by means of an aqueduct, and a machine fixed on the top of the upper terrace, which thence dispersed its genial influence over the whole garden.

Such, then, was the completion of Nebuchadnezzar's work, when he "found himself at rest in his house, and flourished in his palace: and he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. The king spoke, and said, Is not this Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and the honour of my majesty!" Dan. chap. iv. How well do the descriptions of the heathen writers bear out this fine actual scene pourtrayed by the sacred penman! Where could the king of Babylon have taken so comprehensive a view of the city he had so magnificently built *for the house of his kingdom*, as

when *walking* on the highest terrace of the *gardens of his palace;* which he had raised to so mighty a pile, as to overlook even the walls of Babylon!

The whole structure, we are told by Herodotus, comprising this splendid palace, stood in the centre of one of the divisions of the city; and as the same account informs us that the situation was near the river, the meaning of this *centre* must be the middle of one of the faces of the city which fronted the river. Thus far the palace and the gardens, as to what they were: I shall now proceed to what they are; not doubting that their remains really exist in what we now call the hill of the Kasr, and its huge adjacent mound. A few pages back, I shewed the aspect of these ruins when Mr. Rich visited them seven years ago: my own account will convince my reader of the daily bewildering mutations of particular features; while the body remains still a stupendous outline, though mouldering to decay; and, indeed, by such slow degrees, that perhaps its last dust may not fall till it mingle with the wreck of the world.

I have already stated its present dimensions; and that its whole exterior is one mass of rugged surface, and deeply caverned hollows. The piles of wall, to which the natives have more peculiarly given the name of the Kasr, or Palace, still stand in striking remnants, from 16 to 18 feet above the general line of the broken summit. Parts of them are so connected as to give indications of their having originally formed several square piers, or supports, rather than distinct ranges of chamber or tower walls. Their thickness, in general, measures from eight to nine feet; and their materials are so strongly cemented, that, in spite of the bricks being the hardest of any I had hitherto met with, I found they would not bear detaching

from the mortar; in short, it was nearly impossible to separate them; and to this circumstance the present masses owe their preservation. The bricks of which they are composed are of a very pale yellow; having so fresh an appearance as to strike me at first, as they did Mr. Rich, with an idea of their having been a more modern erection than the mound; but on a minute examination, no doubt remained on my mind of their equal antiquity. After considerable labour, I succeeded in having several pieces of the brick chipped off from an immense fragment which had fallen from an adjacent mass; and on clearing my specimens from the lower course, I plainly traced sufficient of the cuneiform characters, to discover them to be parts of inscriptions in seven lines. Each brick was placed with its written face downwards, on a layer of cement so sparing, that it did not exceed the twentieth part of an inch in thickness; appearing, where it united the two bricks, like a fine white line, subdivided by another of a reddish brown, with a granulated sparkling effect. The hardness of this mass was inconceivable; and it seemed not less wonderful that so slender a line of cement should hold so tenaciously its respective courses of such massive bricks. I was also much struck with the singular appearance of several of these buttress-like walls, standing, or rather inclining from their centre, as if shaken by some convulsion of nature: part are half torn asunder; and others seem actually pushed beyond the smooth and regular line of their original front. On examining a projecting ledge thus formed, and looking up under its protruding bricks, I plainly discerned the cuneiform inscriptions on their downward faces, thus exposed; a sufficient proof of the very ancient antiquity of the structure, notwithstanding the fresh, untarnished aspect of the materials.

From the detached situations of the huge fragments of wall, still rising conspicuous along the western, and a part of the northern face of this great mound, it does not appear unlikely that they composed the piers or buttresses, to support some part of the terraces attached to the famous gardens; within which, we are told, were fine apartments, commanding views of the city. Indeed, all the portions of brick-work yet standing entire, that were still accessible amongst the numerous ravines of the Kasr, presented to me very traceable lines of long passages, or square chambers; but without ledge or ornament on their sides: not that any vestige of the latter could be expected, after the lapse of so many centuries, amongst ruins which had been ransacked in almost every age. The undeviating absence of the arch from these buildings of ancient Babylonia, as well as from the similar great remains of primeval Egypt, and Elam, cannot fail being a conclusive argument in support of a nearly contemporary date to them all. Besides, may we not draw another inference from these corroborating evidences; namely, that the arch, as a feature of architecture, was unknown before the deluge? That the antediluvians, in the course of more than 2000 years, (the usually ascribed time between the creation of the world and the deluge,) had arrived to great excellence in building, we have sufficient grounds for belief, from the nature of things, as well as ocular demonstration in these colossal relics of Babylon; one of which at least, we cannot doubt, was erected little more than a century after the flood, even in the lifetime of Noah. That he did not, on issuing from the ark, "the whole world before him, where to chuse," adopt a wandering life, living in tents; but established a city, we may gather from "his planting a vineyard," whose growth he not only watched, but drank of its

vintage. These accounts certainly show a settled place of residence for himself and immediate family; and must imply the building of habitations, which, most probably, would be erected on the old plan of his ancestors; of a proportionate extent and durability to a race of inhabitants, whose individual term of existence yet included several hundred years. The sons of this second father of mankind, very early sent out their posterity "to replenish the earth," towards Egypt, Elam, Assyria, and the Land of Shinar, where they planted cities; and in all which countries this most ancient style of architecture is traceable. The nomade, or as it is called, the patriarchal manner of life, (from its antiquity also,) appears to have commenced after these first establishments, at a time when minor colonies separated from the greater stocks: some founded towns of their own, in distant lands; and others continued roaming about with their flocks and herds, in the way the Arabs do to this day. But in every place of the Holy Scriptures, where we read of the patriarchs dwelling in tents, it is not necessary to conclude that they had no other habitation. Sometimes the expression may be considered merely figurative; as in the passage where Noah is described sleeping after having drank his wine; he is discovered in his *tent;* or *place of rest.* But when it is used literally, in a course of emigration; for instance, when "Abram removed his tent," &c., it is not to be understood that he, or any other of the patriarchs, after making any thing like a settlement, always dwelt under canvas. We therefore cannot suppose, from the time of his establishing himself "in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron," that he did not build more substantial walls than a camp, for his winter residence; but that (in the present style of the Courdish tribes,) only in the summer

months, and "in the heat of the day," would he be found "at his tent-door in the plain of Mamre." Standing, as I believed myself to be, over part of the foundations of one of these venerable specimens of building, of ages so near the first fathers of mankind, it was with inexpressible regret that I found the avenues of search closed in many places which had admitted Mr. Rich to the most interesting particulars of his examination. The lower distribution of the serdaubs, dark chambers, and numerous intricate passages, have long been broken up, or impenetrably buried; and the subterraneous way, near the ravine, which our British resident has described with so much valuable precision, is now completely lost. Some persons have considered it to have been a drain; but its dimensions appear too large for such a purpose, and its situation not low enough in the foundation to have been intended to carry off any superflux of waters from the entire building: hence, I regard it as no other than one of the many passages, which, in every direction, must have traversed so comprehensive an edifice.

In proceeding to the northern side of the Kasr, amongst the mouldering fragments, and elevated on a sort of ridge, stands the famous solitary tree, called by the Arabs Athelé. Its species is quite strange to this country; but two servants of mine, natives of Bender-Bushire, told me they had seen several like it in their own land, where it is known by the name of gaz, or guz, and that they live to a great age. The one in question bears every mark of antiquity in appearance, situation, and tradition. Its trunk has originally been enormous; but at last worn away by time, only part of its original circumference, hollow, and shattered, support the whole of its yet spreading and ever-green branches. They are particularly beautiful, being adorned with

long tress-like tendrils, resembling heron-feathers, growing from a central stem. These slender and delicate sprays, bending towards the ground, gave the whole the appearance of a weeping willow, while their gentle waving in the wind made a low and melancholy sound. This tree is revered as holy, by the Arabs, from a tradition amongst them that the Almighty preserved it here from the earliest time, to form a refuge in after-ages for the Caliph Ali; who, fainting with fatigue from the battle of Hillah, found a secure repose under its shade. The battle adverted to, was fought within so short a period after the death of Mahomed, that, if any credit is to be given to the rest of the tale, the age of the tree must already have extended beyond a thousand years; and from its race not being known at all in this part of the country, some excuse may be offered for supposing it a germ from the ancient royal gardens of Babylon, whose groves, we have reason to believe, once spread all around that now solitary tree. I brought away one of its beautiful sprays. Other relics also, myself and those with me gathered amongst these interesting ruins. The most valuable consisted of a large cylinder of baked clay, covered with a cuneiform inscription; an agate seal, finely cut, representing a priest surrounded by various symbols of the Sabian worship; and a small dog, in bronze, with a collar of pure gold round its neck; this relic is about three inches in height. It is scarcely credible to believe the endless succession of curious objects of antiquity that are picked up from time to time, in digging these extensive mounds; and which, by a strange fatality, almost always find their way into the hands of the remnant of Israel, yet aliens in the land of Shinar.

The Kasr mound is divided from the Amran Hill (M), by a

space, in extent about 800 yards (L); which space is subdivided by a long low mound of ridges, running east and west; at the latter extremity it unites with a transverse ridge of greater altitude, and nearly 100 yards in breadth, which extends from the south-west angle of the Kasr Hill to almost the extreme north-west point of the Amran Hill. This line of mound runs parallel with the piece of embankment deserted by the river at (b.) It is not improbable that the broad summit may have originally formed a grand terraced avenue between the two divisions of the palace which occupied these opposite mountains of structure. And here it may not be irrelevant to remind my reader, that, if we are to suppose there was any affinity in the plans of ancient Eastern palaces, we must not expect to find the ruins of the palace of Babylon confined to one mound; but that its various compartments, private and ceremonial, gardens, &c. (like the remains at Persepolis, on their different stages,) would be spread over several of these venerable hills. The attendant buildings, civil and military, would stand in every direction, within the embattled walls.

The surface of the flat ground which lies between the two leading hills, is covered with long rank grass, the soil being very soft and damp. The great mass of the Amran (M) spreads over a vaster expanse every way, than that of the Kasr; and, with the exception of the height gained by the surmounting standing wall of the latter, appears quite as high. The form of the Amran is triangular; the south-west face extending to a line of 1400 yards, the eastern to 1100, the northern to 850; the whole of which stupendous heap is broken like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines, and long winding furrows. I conclude it to be exhausted of all its extractable bricks, from

finding it totally abandoned by the people who dig in search of them: the whole surface now appearing to the eye nothing but a vast irregular hill of earth, mixed with fragments of brick, pottery, vitrifications, mortar, bitumen, &c.; while the foot, at every step, sinks into the loose dust and rubbish. On the most elevated spot towards its south-western brow, stands the tomb of Amran, now inhabited by a living, as well as a dead saint; a Sheah Saied (or holy disciple of the sect of Ali) having taken up his quarters there. The good man did not seem in the least alarmed by the evil demons, which he, in common with the Arabs about, believed to haunt all the ruins; the sacred bones of the kinsman of Ali were sufficient protection. Before the western face of the hill, extends a considerable line of flat ground, (N N N) bounded on its opposite side by the river's high embankment. This line of ground, Mr. Rich well describes, as "a winding valley, or ravine, 150 yards in breadth, the bottom of which is white with nitre." And then he adds the interesting account of the urns he found in that great bulwark (O), to which I referred some pages back. "The whole of the embankment (he observes,) on the river side, is abrupt, perpendicular, and shivered by the action of the water: at the foot of the most elevated and narrowest part of it, (directly opposite to the western front of the Amran hill, and on the western face of the embankment,) cemented into the burnt brick of the wall of which it is composed, are a number of urns, filled with human bones which had not undergone the action of the fire." Mr. Rich, in the MS. of his second memoir, (which he showed to me at Bagdad,) mentions that these urns contained ashes, the bones that were amongst them being only in small fragments. Comparing these remains with the skeletons discovered in the northern part of the Mujelibé, he judiciously

remarks that the two modes of sepulture decidedly prove what people they were who had been so interred. "There is, I believe," he adds, no reason to suppose that the Babylonians burned their dead; the old Persians we know never did:" it was the common usage with the Greeks. Hence, he infers that the skeletons in the Mujelibé were the remains of the ancient people of this country; and the urns in the embankment contained the ashes of some of Alexander's soldiers. At the opening, between the northern end of this bulwark-embankment (at c), and the southern extremity of the corresponding old dyke, which runs across the piece of river-ground (at b), stands a low circular mound, in diameter 50 yards. I have no doubt of its having originally formed part of the connecting link of these separated portions of the same ancient bulwark; but that the influx, reflux, and working of the waters, during the inundations of so many ages since the fall of the city, have wrought this piece of the embankment into so singular a shape. The nitrous space, or ravine (N N N), winding from behind it, in a south-easterly direction, finishes between the village and tomb of Jumjuma; places inscribed to the memory of a sultan so called.

The next object of attention is near to the preceding. A long ridge (P P) commencing amongst the date-gardens on the east bank of the river, to the south-west of the village of Jumjuma; thence running south-east towards the tomb of that name, it makes an angle behind the tomb, and takes a course due east, where its bank is soon crossed by the road from Bagdad to Hillah.

I have now described all the ruins extant on the east bank of the river, within the calculated line of Babylon on that side; and the result to my mind is, that the lofty corresponding ridges

of mound (B B B B) to which I have given the name of the great rampart, really composed the extreme boundary of the fortified palace, as described by ancient authors, and which is now very traceable to the recorded circumference; between six and seven miles. The two interior lines (E F) running parallel with each other north and south, seem sufficient vestiges of the second and third embattled walls, also mentioned by historians; and which more immediately inclosed the particular area where the palace, and its appending structures, ranged along that side of the river. The strong embankment lately described, presents the line of bulwark on that bank, which protected the royal domain from common ingress on that quarter. That these observations (though drawn from documents which, on the first glance seem in the most bewildering state of ruin,) agree with astonishing precision to the outline of what is given us by ancient writers, of the great palace and its fortified boundaries, I venture to say may be gathered, on comparing the accounts of those writers with the general plan I subjoin, and which I drew on the spot.* But what it presents, is no more than the gigantic skeleton of a once majestic body: the beautiful details of form, and those features of architectural ornament, which must have constituted the splendour of its magnificence, are all gone. Yet to the eye of a close examiner, enough still remains, to convince him that he is looking on the spot, within whose lines the hand of God wrote the denunciation against Babylon on the wall; in whose courts Daniel prophesied; and in whose palace-chambers Cyrus and Alexander entered as conquerors; and both, we have reason to believe, acknowledged the judgments of the Most

* See Plate LXXV.

High God: in fact, that the *fortune* of heroes is the *providence* of God.

We are told by Aristobulus, the physician of Alexander, in the journal he made of the illness of which that prince died at Babylon, that on the twenty-fifth day of his fever he removed from his residence on one side of the river, to another on the opposite shore, in which latter he breathed his last. This account certainly corroborates those which speak of two palaces, placing them one on either bank of the Euphrates; the largest being attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, and styled the New; the less to the earliest sovereigns of Babylon, and therefore called the Old. But in which of these it was that Alexander expired, it may not now be easy to conjecture; though, indeed, that a second palace ever existed, has lately been doubted, from the circumstance of no ruins having yet been traced on the western shore, of any dimensions answerable to that assigned to either palace: in short, excepting those of Birs Nimrood, it has generally been received, that there are scarcely any vestiges of ruins at all. These impressions did not, however, prevail on me to quit the near neighbourhood of that vast, and alleged trackless desert, without searching myself for every possible trace of objects connected with the evidences of this sacredly classic ground. Believing, from actual measurement, and the relative appearance and situation of all its parts, that without a doubt the position of the new and great palace built by Nebuchadnezzar was that I had examined on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, I now determined on recrossing to the western shore, and there, by perhaps a little adventurous exploring, see what it might produce.

November 12th. — This morning I visited the Kiahya Bey in

his new encampment, to request an escort adequate to my intended expedition on the same side of the river. The usual state ceremonies over, I set forth, attended by a troop of Turkish horsemen, supported by a pretty strong party of Arab cavaliers belonging to my old friend Sheik Mahmoud Bassam; and on my way I became acquainted with a transaction, at which my yet untutored experience in Ottoman faith and honour, made me stand in amazement. It seems, that nothing but a system of petty warfare had been going on between the pasha's troops and the insurgent Arabs, since the kiahya's arrival on the Euphrates; the wary commander, vigilantly watching within his tent some opportunity of seizing an advantage over his enemy, by surprise or stratagem; and an opening for the latter, in the form of negociation, presented itself. Terms of honourable arrangement "in the redress of grievances," were held out to the refractory tribes; and the venerable Mahmoud Bassam, always anxious to keep peace between his restless brethren and his friend the pasha, found means to obtain an interview with some of the desert chiefs; when, by persuasion, and pledging his own faith on that of the Turkish commander, he prevailed on the great leaders of the tribes to consent to a conference with the Kiahya in his tent. To assure them still more certainly of their perfect safety in this signal act of confidence, the kiahya dispatched to them his *sealed attested oath taken on the Koran*, that their persons should be held sacredly inviolable, and that all existing differences between them and the Porte should be speedily settled to their complete content.

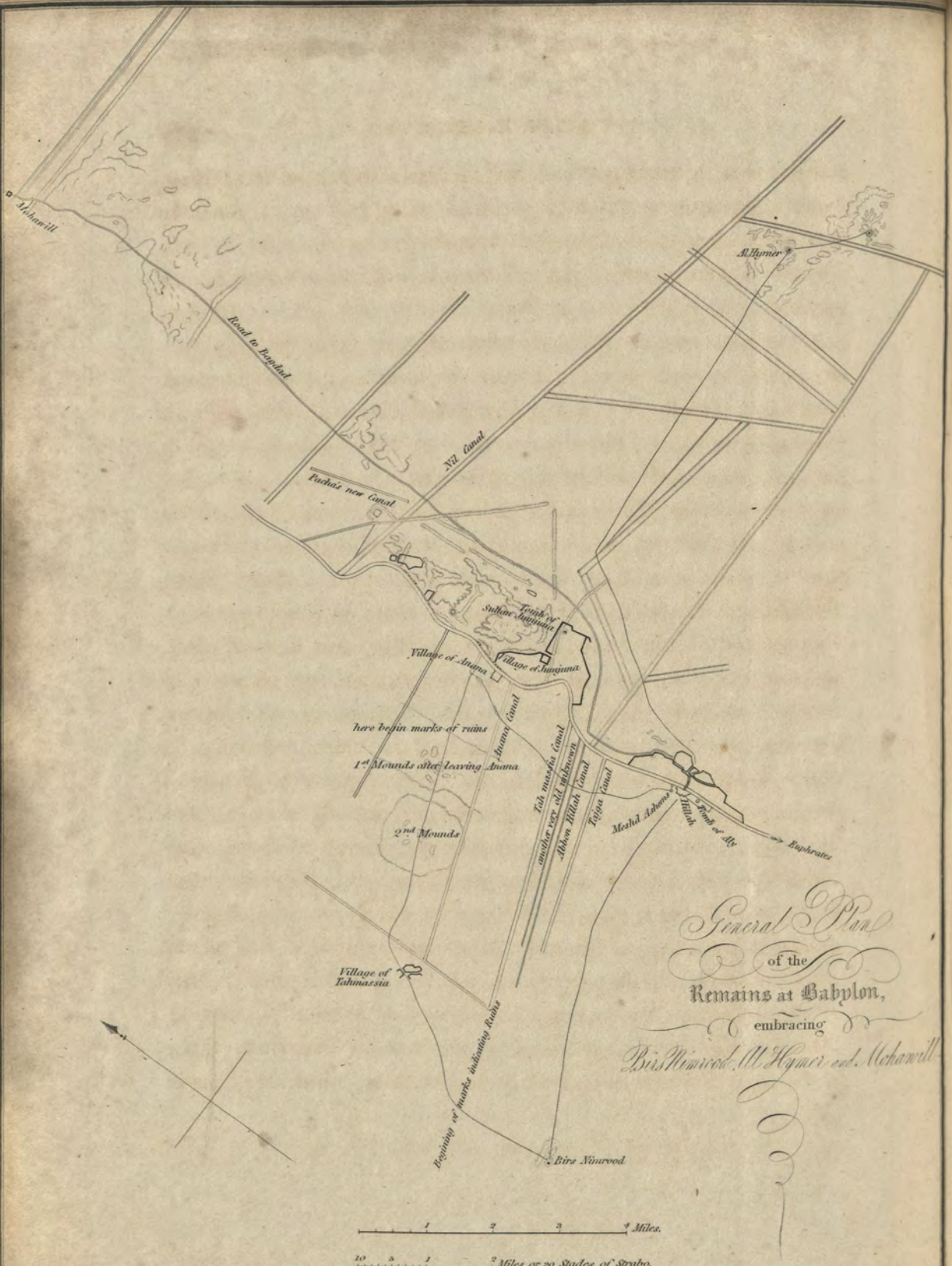
Thus pledged, twelve chiefs, attended by six or eight servants each, arrived at the Turkish camp, and were received with every mark of good-will and respect. The kiahya, unbending from his

usual cold solemnity, met them with smiles, and elaborate professions of welcome and esteem; and, when the time drew near to execute his abominable deed of treachery, that he might put his victims completely off their guard, and prevent any interposition from the man who had innocently betrayed them into the snare, till its purpose had been thoroughly effected; he proposed to the honest and simple-minded Mahmoud Bassam, that he should go to the quarters of a certain officer of rank, where he would see the kaalets (dresses of honour), that were prepared for his Arab guests; at the same time requesting his judgment on their adaption to the respective worthiness of the chiefs, before they were presented. No sooner had the good old sheik entered the tent of the officer, where he expected to be shewn the intended presents, than he found himself a temporary prisoner. No kaalets were there; and, the veil of deception instantly dropping from his eyes, he saw that some treachery was premeditated to the brave men he had left in the kiahya's hands; and frantic with vexation and rage, at his own faith in Ottoman honour, having been perverted into a snare for his confiding brethren, he conceived no fears for himself, but demanded in the most peremptory terms his liberty; that he might go and require the freedom of the chiefs, to the teeth of their betrayer. But the honest Arab spoke to men too like their commander, to do more than listen with indifference to his honourable indignation. Meanwhile, the anticipated scene was acting in the kiahya's tent. The moment he was aware that Mahmoud Bassam had passed beyond reach of hearing what was passing, or communicating with his own Arabs, the treacherous host made a signal, and in an instant the chiefs were surrounded, seized and disarmed. Some were silent, with unutterable rage;

others, when they could find words, expostulated against such breach of faith; but the only answers given were torrents of abusive language; while not merely their arms were taken from them, but their splendid military dresses, and rich ornaments; to be replaced by miserable garments, almost in rags; and their glittering collars for iron chains, with which their lofty necks and powerful hands were bound.

All this the kiahya viewed with the coolest apathy; excusing himself to the just reproaches of the chiefs, by replying, that his paramount duty was to act by the order of the pasha, who had commanded that "whenever the Arab leaders could be taken, they were to be conveyed prisoners to his capital." All further remonstrances were vain; and, accordingly, they were marched rapidly across the camp to an obscure bye-way, through which they entered the great Bagdad road, uttering the most violent imprecations against their enemies, but more particularly calling down curses on the unhappy sheik, who had been the innocent cause of their present desperate situation. All this was very shocking to a European ear; but the recital was not yet finished. The rapacious escort who guarded these brave and defenceless men, even robbed them of the few miserable rags with which the professing generosity of their betrayer had clothed them; and thus they were led, almost naked, into the gates of Bagdad; where they were cast into prison, to suffer all the privations and insults of common malefactors awaiting the final sentence of their fate. I have since heard that this *coup de main* of treachery has been distinguished with particular approbation by the higher powers in the pashalick. So much for Turkish faith!

The indignation excited in the tribes at large, when this vile captivity of their chiefs became known, was vehement and



General Plan of the Remains at Babylon, embracing Birs Nimrood, Al Hymer and Mohawill

Engraved by Sutt. Hall, Bury St. Edmunds

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active; and, in consequence, my excursion in the way of their flying squadrons, was likely to become rather more perilous than when I had first planned a second visit to the desert: but, I was on a track not wont to inspire retrograde movements, and we went on.

My object being to ascertain whether there were, or were not, any signs, however small, of former building on the western bank; and particularly in any line parallel to those I had been examining on the eastern shore, we did not, in passing through the larger suburb of Hillah, quit it by the Thamasia, or western gate, which pointed almost direct to Birs Nimrood; but left the town by the gate nearest to the river, and which gave our march a northerly direction. On this route we soon reached the Tajya canal, whose dry bed we crossed about a mile from the town.* Another mile led us to a second canal, called the Abou-Hillah, not much inferior in size to the preceding, and which we traversed in the same manner. Fifty yards farther, brought us on the bank of a third very old and dilapidated water-course; and beyond that, to the Thamasia canal, which far exceeded any of the preceding in dimensions and general consequence. It and the Abou-Hillah run in a parallel direction north 35° east. Our course was north-west; and for nearly two miles beyond these dry aqueducts we found the ground perfectly level; partially cultivated in parts, and in other places covered with wild plants and rank grass. Farther on we approached the village of Anana. It is situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, almost immediately opposite the ruins of the Amran and Kasr Hills; and is distant nearly three miles from Hillah. About fifty yards

* See Plate LXXIV.

to the north-west of the village of Anana, rises a rather considerable ridge of mounded earth, 14 feet high, running due north for 300 yards, then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it meets the river. * All around was very low and marshy; and the mounds in question were nearly all I could see for a good way up, along this bank of the stream. On the face of the ridge, terminating at the water-side, the courses of the sun-dried brick are distinctly visible; but the level of the land is now so equal with that of the river, that any more abundant traces of a corresponding embankment to that on the opposite shore, must be confessed to be no longer discernible; yet the discovery of one link is sufficient for concluding that others have been formerly there to complete the chain. But why this western dyke has been so much more nearly totally demolished than its eastern neighbour, we cannot conjecture: the fact only is certain; and the consequence, probably, has been that the want of any protection from the superflux of the river has rendered its "besom of destruction" more completely sweeping over this levelled tract. Some trifling mounded hillocks, however, are perceivable a little to the south of the village. †

Having traversed the plain north-west for some time, in search of farther mounds in that direction, I turned, disappointed, and bent my way south-west, keeping Birs Nimrood in my eye. After riding onward about a mile, I found the little vegetation which cheered the waste gradually disappear, and the ground become perfectly sterile. All over this surface evident marks are visible of its having been formerly covered with buildings; these indications increased at every step, till, after such

* See Plate LXXV. † Ibid. (Q).

growing proofs for more than a mile, we came to a numerous, and very conspicuous assemblage of mounds; the most considerable of which, was about 35 feet in height; and from its elevated summit * I observed that the face of the country, both to the north and the south, for upwards of a mile either way, bore the same hillocky appearance; besides being thickly scattered with those fragments of past habitations, which, in all Babylonian ruins, have so particularly marked their character. From the highest point, I took the following bearings: Mujelibé N. 40° E.; tree on the Kasr N. 55° E.; Amran Tomb N. 80° E.; Mesched Esshems S. 65° E.; Birs Nimrood S. 25° W. Here, doubtless, is the trace of a building of considerable consequence. The extent of its mounds and ruins-tracked ground, seemed more than two miles; and, having traversed that extent to the south-west, I found the hilly vestiges did not cease for a mile beyond. Here, I think it is possible, I may have found the site of the old or lesser palace; which, probably, was the temporary abode of Alexander, during his inspection of his workmen, while clearing away the ruins of its fallen superstructures from the base of the Temple of Belus. In the midst of the labour, and after having been engaged nearly two months in that attempt, we are told that he died; but previous to the event, he ordered himself to be "removed from his residence on one side of the river, to *his palace* on the other:" and the eastern having been the most stately of the two, we can hardly entertain a doubt of its having also been the conqueror's more stationary habitation. Hence, there seems good reason to conclude, that it was on some spot amongst the ruins of the Kasr that the Macedonian hero breathed his last.

* See Plate LXXIV.

On quitting this first extensive sweep of mounds, which, for perspicuity at least, I shall designate by the name of the Lesser Palace, and keeping on in the same direction (south-west), we crossed a space of high grass and rank weeds for nearly a mile; we then found the plain arid again, and undulated with multitudes of mounds, but of inferior elevation to those last described: these too were attended by the usual exterior fragments of ruin, spreading in a circular form rather better than half a mile in width. Having duly explored this second specimen of considerable remains, we came out upon a good deal of cultivated ground; over which we took our course for more than a mile, when we arrived at the banks of a canal, the bed of which we crossed; and half a mile more brought us to an extensive wood of date-trees, in the bosom of which stands the village of Thamasia. We did not halt there, but passed on over two miles of cultivation and high grass; at which extremity, a vast tract opened before us, covered with every minor vestige of former buildings; and which appearances continued the whole way to the eastern verge of the boundary around Birs Nimrood, a distance of nearly a mile and three quarters. These remains seem, to my apprehension, not only to establish the fact, that the western plain of the Euphrates sustained its portion of the city of Babylon, as well as the eastern bank, but that Birs Nimrood, otherwise the Temple of Belus, did actually stand *in one division of the city.* Indeed, if the recorded dimensions of Babylon are compared with the relative situation of that extraordinary pile, and the traceable buildings still extant, it will be found that the Birs must have stood even far within the computed limits of the city. I will not, in this comparison, take these limits to the very utmost boundary allowed them by some calculations,

namely, sixty miles in circumference; but according to the mean given by Major Rennel, in his Geography of Herodotus; who, assigning 10 stadia to one British mile, estimates that historian's record of 480 stadia being the compass of Babylon, to be equal to 48 English miles. These limits, according to the same calculation, were marked by lines forming a perfect square, 12 miles in length and breadth, and composed of walls 300 feet in height, 75 in thickness, and fenced by a ditch of similar amplitude. In a line of twelve miles, supposing the river to divide the city in two equal parts, we should have six miles of the twelve, on each bank; and *within* this extent on the western side, we are called upon to place the temple of Belus. This will be found to be done with ease, with regard to the Birs Nimrood. Draw a line due west, from the village of Anana* to the extremity of the sixth mile at that point, and the Birs will be seen to stand full half a mile within that extreme western limit; or take a line still from that village, (which I select from its apparent central position, being immediately opposite the chief ruins of the great palace,) and draw it direct south to the same distance, and the Birs will be found still much more within that compass of the city. Presuming, then, these measurements proved, we find the Birs Nimrood, or Temple of Belus, in all respects considerably within the south-west angle of that half of the city which occupied the western plain of the Euphrates.

I am aware of the commonly received opinion, that this celebrated temple stood on the eastern side of the river; arising rather unreasonably, it might seem, from the evidence of only one classic writer; and Diodorus Siculus, that writer, who had

* See Plate LXXIV.

never been near the remains of the city, and who, in other respects, has been shewn an inaccurate collector of facts; while neither Herodotus, who had been on the very spot, nor any other ancient author on the subject, say one word decisive on the matter. But modern commentators appear to have something more than a single testimony, to maintain the argument with them; they can support the temple of Belus on the eastern shore, by the ocular evidences of those travellers who, though visiting Babylon, had never seen Birs Nimrood; and taking it for granted, from the apparent long level of the opposite shore, that no considerable ruins could be there, they at once embrace the single assertion of Diodorus, and in harmony with it, pronounce the huge mass of Mujelibe to be that of Babel, and Jupiter Belus: the palace they cannot fail recognising; and thus, in fact, all the greatest objects of a city which covered nearly fifty miles of ground are crushed up into the comparatively narrow space which had only formed the acropolis of its palace. But since the judicious investigation of the Birs Nimrood by Mr. Rich, and the conclusions he thence draws in favour of its claim to the honours of the great temple, it appears to me that unprejudiced opinion must change to his view of the argument; and one inference in support of the temple having been in the western division of the town, and hence on this side of the Euphrates, I would deduce from a circumstance (which I am aware has been quoted to a different conclusion) that took place when Babylon was taken by Darius Hystaspes, through the treachery of Zopyrus, who opened the Belidian and Cissian (or Susa) gates, to admit the Persian soldiers. The gates were near to each other, that is, on the same side of the town; and the Cissian or Susa gate, pointing to the celebrated Persian

capital of that name, proves that the army entered from the east. In the tumult of this surprise, the Babylonians fled, and took refuge in the temple of Belus.

It is now generally acknowledged by all who study oriental subjects, that it was an ancient custom in the East (and the practice remains to this day) to name the gates of a city, not from objects within the walls, but from outward places to which they led. Had the alarmed Babylonians fled through the Belidian gate to the temple of Belus, (which some writers would infer,) the fugitives must have ran on the very pikes of the entering Persians. This being an impossibility to suppose, the Belidian gate could not have received its name from the temple; but, according to Mr. Rich's suggestion, most probably from some now forgotten town eastward of the city. Hence, the natural fact appears to have been this: that the people, finding the eastern gates possessed by the enemy, and the invaders pressing forward to make themselves masters of the castellated palace on that side, would instinctively seek shelter in the strongest and most distant place they could reach in any time to escape the enemy; and what so apparent as the temple of Belus, on the opposite shore of the river, (a safe-guard in itself!) and situated in the farthest western extremity of the city; and which was also doubly fortified by its brazen gates, and lofty walls? Besides, had this temple been any where in the eastern quarter, the people would rather have avoided than fled to it; it being one of the first places, in such a case, to which the Persian soldiers would have hurried, for the plunder of its treasury.

According to either computation, as represented by ancient authors, whether the circumference of this astonishing city comprised a square of 60 or of 48 miles, still, to modern conception,

it appears incredible; when supposed to be built in the style of European cities, in a close compact plan of houses, in streets and squares, pressing upon each other. But on recollecting that the countries of ancient and modern Asia from the earliest times we have note on the subject, have adopted quite a different manner; erecting their capitals, though with narrow streets in front of the houses, yet with wide spaces on their sides and behind, containing courts and gardens; it may be reasonably concluded, that a very large place in outward appearance, might contain a comparatively scanty population. But with regard to Babylon in particular; we learn from Herodotus and others, that Nebuchadnezzar extended its enormous boundaries, professedly to exceed in that respect the past grandeur of Nineveh, whose proud bulwarks he had assisted in levelling to the ground. To fill so immense an area with inhabitants, he brought captives from all quarters of the world; who, doubtless, would also be made the chief instruments in rearing its walls, digging its trenches, and raising most of those stupendous objects which now stand as beacons of the land of Shinar. But Herodotus himself informs us, that notwithstanding all these expedients, it never was either fully built upon, nor half inhabited. In short, from the period of its aggrandizement by Nebuchadnezzar, to its conquest by Cyrus, time was not sufficient to compass these great objects; and he, in little more than 25 years after the death of the haughty destroyer of Jerusalem, removed the royal seat of government from Babylon to Susa. Hence, from the first of its enlargement by Nebuchadnezzar, until its final abandonment to waste and wilderness, immense gardens, parks, and spaces for husbandry and pasturage, were to be found within the walls of this vast city; or rather, as it might have been

truly called, murally embattled district, to which the proud monarch had given the title of "this great Babylon, the house of my kingdom!"

In this my second visit to Birs Nimrood, while passing rapidly over the last tracks of the ruin-spread ground, at some little distance from the outer bank of its quadrangular boundary, my party suddenly halted; having descried several dark objects moving along the summit of its hill, which they construed into dismounted Arabs on the look-out, while their armed brethren must be lying concealed under the southern brow of the mound. Thinking this very probable, I took out my glass to examine, and soon distinguished that the causes of our alarm were two or three majestic lions, taking the air upon the heights of the pyramid. Perhaps I never had beheld so sublime a picture to the mind, as well as to the eye. These were a species of enemy which my party were accustomed to dread without any panic fear; and while we continued to advance, though slowly, the hallooing of the people made the noble beasts gradually change their position, till, in the course of twenty minutes, they totally disappeared. We then rode close up to the ruins; and I had once more the gratification of ascending the awful sides of the tower of Babel. In my progress I stopped several times to look at the broad prints of the feet of the lions, left plain in the clayey soil; and, by the track, I saw that if we had chosen to rouse such royal game, we need not go far to find their lair. But, while thus actually contemplating these savage tenants, wandering amidst the towers of Babylon, and bedding themselves within the deep cavities of her once magnificent temple, I could not help reflecting on how faithfully the various prophecies had been fulfilled, which relate, in the Scriptures, to

the utter fall of Babylon, and abandonment of the place; verifying, in fact, the very words of Isaiah, — "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and the houses shall be full of doleful creatures: owls shall dwell there; and dragons shall cry in the pleasant places."

The over-careful presence of the Kiahya Bey had so impeded my plan of examination, measurements, &c., during my first visit to the Birs Nimrood, I gladly seized this opportunity of making up for all deficiencies in that respect; and my attendants still retaining the same idea with their chief, that my several compassings of the pile, with my pencil, tablets, and bible in my hand, (which latter was often the case, comparing the words of the prophets with the scene before me,) were all acts and instruments of pilgrim devotion, this second visit certainly raised me to something like the devout dignity of one of their own Hadjes, in their mind; though it is not probable that under the then increased hostilities awakened in the desert, they would have accompanied me thither, had I not drawn them on by stratagem. I had become sufficiently acquainted with the characters of these men, to know that they would stand their ground well in a case of extremity, for their own sakes as much as mine; and that they so shrewdly knew the "advantages of a start," I need not be apprehensive of a superior force coming within shot of us, in so open a plain. The kiahya, however, would not now have hearkened to any project of the kind; and, therefore, when I asked for a second escort into the desert, his own consciousness of the dangers his treachery to its brave sons had exasperated there, led him to suppose that I could not mean to go farther than the village of Anana; and I did not undeceive him. For the men themselves, when I got them out, I led them gradually on from place to place, encouraging their gal-

loping play, shaking their spears, and charging each other with all the seeming spirit and fury of actual combat; and whenever I saw any thing like a demur in their proceeding, I had only to set off full speed, when they were obliged to follow me; their heads being to answer for my safety. They were all well armed; but I observed that several amongst them, besides their usual spears, and pistols, carried a couple of darts or javelins, made of iron and steel, richly inlaid: they were attached to the saddle, under the right thigh of the rider, and were a most deadly weapon in pursuit.

The morning was tolerably clear, and from the summit of the Birs I could observe several objects scattered over the plain, which the sudden haze on my first visit had completely obscured. Amongst the most conspicuous was the Nebbi Kaffeel, or tomb of Ezekiel; an object of great veneration to the Jews dwelling in Hillah, who acknowledge it to be the real sepulchre of the prophet. A little more to the westward, the lofty walls of a khaun were visible, which my people told me was that called Khaun Dubbeh, on the road to Mesched Ali. The country all in that direction seemed very low and swampy, and, towards the horizon, spotted with the appearance of even large lakes; but whether those lucid surfaces were indeed water, or the effect of vapour only, (an illusion often met with in flat and hot countries,) I cannot positively say; neither could my companions inform me to any certainty, though they assured me there was no want of the actual presence of water, either in the shape of lakes, or swamps and marshes, all over that neglected waste. Such impediments before the western boundary of Babylon, we are told, prevented Alexander from entering the city on that side; I now saw them before my eyes: and on turning to the north, similar morasses and ponds tracked

the land in various parts Indeed, for a long time after the general subsiding of the annual overflowing of the Euphrates, not only great part of this plain is little better than a swamp, but large deposits of the waters are left stagnant in the hollows between the ruins; again verifying the threat denounced against it, — "I will make thee a possession for the bittern, and pools of water." Isaiah, chap. xiv.

While thus, from the sublime eminence on which we stood, I leisurely surveyed the boundless desert around us, we all descried a dark mass coming up like a cloud from the horizon on the south; but as it rapidly moved forward, and in a direction to the Birs, we had no difficulty in discerning that it was no *mirage* of any kind, rather demonstrating itself to be a body there was no longer safety in stopping to investigate; so making all haste to our saddles, we left the towering pinnacle of Nimrood to its approaching guests. As we trotted briskly on, with an occasional glance behind us, I perceived that our own troop had been also observed; and the Arab horsemen, in a deep and spreading squadron wheeling around, charged after us with all the speed and demonstrations of my old friends the Cossacks. We had now, what in all such adventures I had anticipated with an Asiatic escort, "the advantage of ground" in the chase; and made, with all the speed in our horses heels, towards the walls of Hillah. Once under their shade, the game was up; our pursuers retreated, and we passed into the gates, not the less pleased with our brief share in the sport.

November 22d. — Another gigantic object worthy of note, lay pretty far on the eastern side of the Euphrates; and, again attended by my escort, I set forth this morning to resume my researches in that quarter. The pile in view is called Al Hymer. Its distance from the western suburb of Hillah cannot be less

than eight miles and a half; and from the eastern bank of the Euphrates opposite Anana, in a direct line it may be about seven miles and a half. On clearing the gardens in the vicinity of Hillah, we bent our course north 30° east, for full an hour. The country as usual was perfectly flat, except where interrupted by the endless traversings of old canal beds; some of which are of prodigious width, and of an answering depth and steepness, often so abrupt as to be exceedingly troublesome to pass. Those of largest dimensions generally run south-east, and the lesser north and south. As a specimen of their enormous expanse, I shall particularise that of the first we crossed on leaving Hillah, it being also the great canal I mentioned passing in my first approach to that place. Were I to speak correctly, I should rather call it the present irregular *valley*; than the mere water-channel, it being in fact, the beds of three parallel canals broken down into one: the course of the largest may be traced to a width of 96 yards, that of the second to 30 yards, that of the third to 20. When in full repair, and in full stream, such connecting water-roads were perfectly adequate to transport very large vessels filled with merchandize; and sometimes less happily, to sustain the fleets of many a proud conqueror. Now, there was not a drop of water in any of them. Every spot of ground in sight, was totally barren; and on several tracks appeared the common marks of former building. It is an old adage, that "where a curse has fallen, grass will never grow." In like manner the decomposing materials of a Babylonian structure, doom the earth on which they perish to a lasting sterility. "In the intervals of the ruins, (Mr. Rich observes,) there are some patches of cultivation; but ruins composed like those of Babylon, of heaps of rubbish impregnated with nitre, cannot be cultivated." On this part of the plain, both where traces of

buildings were left, and where none had stood, all seemed equally naked of vegetation; the whole ground appearing as if it had been washed over and over again, by the coming and receding waters, till every bit of genial soil was swept away; its half-clay, half-sandy surface being left in ridgy streaks, like what is often seen on the flat shores of the sea, after the retreating of the tide. Having ridden an hour, we took a direction due east, crossing, at different distances, three other canals in a course from north to south; the last of the three was very wide, and not more than a mile from Al Hymer, the whole of which intervening space is covered with broken bricks, pottery, glass, and all the other usual relics of Babylonian ruins. When we reached the great mound itself, which had long been a conspicuous object above the horizon, I found it to be pyramidal, with numerous dependant smaller mounds. Its base was nearly circular, in circumference 276 yards, and in height about 60. One-third of its elevation is composed of unburnt brick, the rest of the pile of that which has passed through the fire. A large and solid mass of the latter surmounts the whole, standing clear from any of the loose rubbish which so abundantly encumbers its base. The fire-baked bricks on the outside, by some cause have become extremely soft; and I should ascribe that effect to their complete exposure to the external air, they there break with ease on the slightest force; but on penetrating into the solid building, I found them as hard as any others of Babylonia. In broad square surface, they exceeded those of the Birs and the Kasr, nearly three quarters of an inch; but the thickness was not more than in those of the Birs. The whole of this mass, as it stands on its rounded ruin-encumbered foundation, presents four straight faces, but unequal and mutilated, looking towards the cardinal points. That to the south measures 39 feet, the north

37, the east 48, and the west 51. Through them all, the usual air-channels traverse each other. The courses of the bricks differ in this building from any I had hitherto remarked, a layer of clay only, seeming to be their cement; though at the unequal distances of four, five, six, or seven bricks, a bright white substance appears in some places an inch thick, as if spread between them. At first I took it for lime, or something resembling the purest plaster-of-Paris; but on touching it, it becomes an almost impalpable powder. Whether it may originally have been the common bed of reeds, transformed thus by some peculiar operation of the air or of the earth that composed the bricks, I am not natural philosopher enough to decide, though the softened state of the exterior bricks may authorise the latter supposition; from an idea that the same action of the air which wrought on the particular clay of the brick, might, from the partial decomposition of the one, thus strangely affect the substance of the other. But I have brought a specimen of the powder away with me, which may hereafter enable some European chemist to investigate the fact. * No cement whatever was mixed with it. Lime was no where traceable. I closely examined the broken fragments of brick-work below, and found only quantities of bitumen. The burnt bricks I have already described as forming the solid summit of the mound, are very coarsely finished; but the masses found at its foot in different places, are of fine clay, of the best kiln-baked fabric. They differ in size from any others I had seen, being fourteen inches long, twelve and three quarters broad, and about two and a half thick; those I had examined in the great piles of the Birs, the Kasr, &c., usually

* Subsequent chemical examination of the white powder found at Al Hymer proves it to be no calcareous cement, but principally composed of common earthy matter; and therefore probably produced by the causes above suggested.

measuring thirteen inches square, and three in thickness. During my examination of Al Hymer, I was so fortunate as to obtain an entire brick of this beautiful construction; and found its inscription also varying from those of the preceding piles; hence, I may call it an unique specimen. It contains ten lines * of cuneiform letters, in an upright column.

For my own gratification, as well as for the satisfaction of the antiquarian world, I have made correct copies of all the varieties of inscriptions found on the different styles of bricks, which have hitherto been discovered throughout the extensive mounds of Babylon; and that my drawings are so scrupulously accurate in this respect, I am indebted to the indefatigable assistance of my learned and persevering friend Mr. Belino, who was my companion through all these researches.

The inscription (a) has been carefully ascertained, from collation with fifteen entire bricks. That of six lines (b) has had a similar advantage, having also been compared with several. That of four lines (c) was copied from one entire brick, collated with many fragments, two of which had a figure resembling a spade, impressed at the beginning of their inscriptions; one of those pieces was found at Birs Nimrood, and the other at the Kasr. The peculiar fragments of four lines I had picked up at the red conical mound to the east of the Kasr hill, and which were so singularly stampt on the side, seem to have the same inscription as to the import of the letters, as well as to the number of the lines; the only difference being in the application of the stamp; every where else, than at that cone, the inscription having been on the broad face of the brick. The inscription of three lines (d) was copied from the joint evidence of three entire bricks and some fragments, and presents a variety, of which this is the first

* See Plate LXXVII. (a).

Found at Babylon on a Clay Cylinder.

London, Published by Longman &c. 1846.

example that has yet been published. The characters are very peculiar. I found some resembling them, with the accompanying impression of a dog or lion, on a brick almost entire, amongst the ruins at the Kasr. The Abbé Beauchamp mentions having seen some with this sort of impresse, but they are extremely rare. I must here remark, that I have only given one specimen of the inscription on each style of brick; but there are endless varieties, as the millions of scattered fragments show, and which might be an interesting pursuit for any future traveller who had leisure for the object, to examine, and duly copy the result. The most general colour of the Babylonian brick resembles those of a pale yellow from the English kilns; but in almost all instances it is infinitely harder than any I ever tried in Europe. Independent of the specimen of ten lines, which produced this digression, we picked up other relics of the ruin; and amongst them several broken pieces of jasper, red and green, of various forms, all nicely polished, as having belonged to former objects of ornament. Mr. Belino found a fragment of black marble, containing an inscription.*

While standing on the mount of Al Hymer, we perceived, at some little distance to the eastward, a considerable group of mounds, appearing nearly equal in height to the one we then occupied. To these we directed our horses' heads; and found the distance between the one we left and those to which we were going, about 1656 yards; the intermediate track being divided by a deep and highly embanked old canal, which ran south 25° east. On its first appearance it gave me so much the idea of a ruined wall, that I conceived it possible to have here

* See Plate LXXVII. (h).

found some trace of the long-sought boundary of Babylon; but on close examination, like searching for the philosopher's stone, the pursuit still ended in disappointment. Nitrous tracks, and other incontestible vestiges of former ancient buildings, spread all the way from the mount of Al Hymer, to the bank of this old water-channel, and beyond it, even to the base of the vaster mounds we approached. Minor elevations covered the plain on every side; and we quickly ascended the highest of the prominent group. It was not inferior in height to Al Hymer, and of the same conical form. From its base three branches projected, of less elevation; two running southward and south-west; and the third, the longest, to the north; from which struck out eastern and western ramifications. This central mound, and its adjuncts, stood perfectly detached from all others, in an open area; nearly surrounded towards the north and north-east, by a deep chain of minor mounds, covered with the usual fragments of scattered ruin.

In a direction, north 20° east, we observed another high mound, standing quite alone; in altitude nearly equal to the last described, but of an oblong shape, or rather like a compressed horse-shoe, open to the eastward. Its length was 161 yards; and its breadth, equal in every part, 46 yards. It stood east and west. Looking from its summit to the eastward, the whole plain seemed an undeviating flat; not an object of any kind disturbing the smooth surface, excepting a tomb or two, six miles distant. From the top of this most eastern mound, I took the following bearings: Hillah minaret, S. 80° W.; Mujelibé, N. 65° W.; Al Hymer, N. 40° W.

On returning by the base of the great ramified mound, I observed a low continued ridge, like what might once have

formed a wall. It was distant from the mound 460 yards, in a direction S. 30° W. There were no remains of a ditch. This was the extent of our Babylonian observations to the East: and on proceeding back to Hillah, I took a course more to the south. In this direction we passed through the beds of the same canals we had traversed in our approach, though in different places; and halted for a short time at a tomb prettily situated amongst some date-trees, called that of Ali Eben Hassan. In our way we often saw spots where traces of former habitations were visible; though not so much from unevenness in the ground, as by the strewn fragments of ruin, and its nitrous effects. The tomb is rather more than five miles from Hillah, which we reached by sun-set; that is, about six minutes past five o'clock.

The distance from Al Hymer to the shores of the Euphrates, being close upon eight miles, puts it out of the question to suppose it could have ever stood within the limits of Babylon, or even formed any part of its great bulwarked exterior wall; yet, from every internal proof, it is a structure of the Babylonian age. From its present name nothing can be gathered; it having no derivative to be traced in the Arabic; but whatever it may have been, whether a distinct town, or only some magnificent exterior appendage to the emporium Babylon, its two large mounds, as well as the conical pile itself, are highly interesting objects of research for the antiquary. I do not doubt that Al Hymer, with its minor mounds, and all the others, great and small, east of the canal (long before the intrusion of that canal and its neighbours,) formed one place; but of what sort, we are left to conjecture; and I venture to think not improbably one of the colleges or towns, dedicated to the astronomers and soothsayers of Babylon. In Al Hymer, we may find the pyramidal pile

whence the heavens were explored; and in the larger and lesser mounds, and other vestiges of building, the remains of former temples, mansions, &c. belonging to the Sabian philosophers, prophets, and other sages, with their disciples attendant on the knowledge of the stars. We read of such establishments for "the sons of the prophets" in Judea, in places distinct from the capital; and that there were similar colleges in Babylonia, under especial rulers, and apparently beyond the walls of the great city, seems also deducible from the Scriptures. Daniel writes, "*And the king commanded, to call the magicians, and astrologers, &c. to shew the king his dream;*" and when they could not explain it, "*he was furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. And Arioch, the captain of the king's guard,* WENT FORTH *to slay the wise men.*" And Daniel said to him, "*Destroy not the wise men:* BRING ME IN *before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.*" After the interpretation, "*then the king made Daniel a great man: and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and* CHIEF OF THE GOVERNORS OVER ALL THE WISE MEN OF BABYLON!" Indeed it does not appear unreasonable to suppose that the pursuits of such orders of men, would require abstraction from the noise of a great city.

But let Al Hymer and its dependencies have been what they may, by no calculation in our possession can we bring them within the estimated walls of Babylon. For allowing the city to have been equally divided by the Euphrates, and to have occupied the largest granted extent on each side of the river, namely seven miles and a half, we should still have these structures half a mile beyond the bounding wall. But, if we receive the more moderate dimensions of the city, according to

Major Rennel's calculation of Herodotus, we get only six miles on this side; and hence Al Hymer would have lain nearly two miles distant from the utmost limits. I, however, am one of those who think that Babylon was so far from being exactly divided by the river, that its greatest extent lay to the west. From the situation of Birs Nimrood on the western plain, and the chain of building-remains, intersected by patches of verdure, which connect the bank of the river from beyond Anana with that extraordinary pile, the stretch of the city that way seems fully equal to the prescribed bounds; and wherever the old Tower of Babel could be traced, there we should doubtless look for the most ancient portion of the city: that which had comprised the capital, until Nebuchadnezzar, despising the palace of his ancestors, and "the boundaries of their habitations," erected a vaster and more magnificent structure on the opposite bank of the river, and spread the walls of the city yet farther towards the rising sun. The eastern bank certainly has preserved more remains than the west; but if the Kasr, Mujelibé, &c., are the ruins of the new palace and its citadel, then we have the natural solution; wherever the court was, there would the population draw, till the opposite side be comparatively deserted. The aggrandisement of the Temple of Belus in that quarter, by the same monarch who had given a rival to its ancient palace, would in some measure act as a counterpoise. But when Cyrus for his own immediate object so effectively stopped the course of the river, the consequences of the haste in which it was done, are said to have broken down certain defensive dykes to the west of the city, and hence those parts ever afterwards became a marsh. No person can doubt that all who could, would withdraw from such unwholesome quarters; and

when the temple was sacked, and its ministration in a manner destroyed by Xerxes, then we may suppose that the distressed inhabitants, finding their occupation gone, would emigrate to the more busy shore.

With regard to Babylon in its greatest dimensions, I have already described it rather as an embattled district than a merely fortified town. I have given the height of the walls as recorded by Herodotus; the number of which, according to a fragment of Ctesias quoted by Diodorus Siculus, were in three lines, including the high exterior rampart of the castellated palace. But this original magnitude did not continue many years; Cyrus, it is said, demolished the whole of the outer wall soon after he had possessed himself of the empire; probably, when he removed the seat of government to Susa. A necessary precaution in case of revolt; so vast an embattled area, by its own agricultural produce, having afforded the last Babylonian monarch the means of withstanding him two years, and might have done so for twenty more, had not Cyrus surprised the city by stratagem. Such long sieges, Troy, for instance, prove the utility of arable ground within the walls; and seem to give a sufficient reason for the otherwise incredible dimensions of all the capital cities of ancient Asia. Consequently, when these ranges of wall were circumscribed, something more was done to the captured town than narrowing its limits; the resources of the people were lessened in exact proportion to every acre of ground they lost between their habitations and the old boundary. Darius Hystaspes, not satisfied with his predecessor's compression of Babylon to its second line of defence, in less than fifty years afterwards, took away its gates, and lowered the wall to fifty cubits. In that state, most probably, Alexander found it, when

(according to Diodorus,) he battered down ten stadia at once, to raise a funeral pile for his favourite Hephestion.

Here are accounts of three successive signal depredations committed on these famous bulwarks; and yet we find the masses which remained, affording exhaustless quarries for the successors of Alexander, to erect and embattle cities after cities in the neighbourhood of the fallen capital. The great third wall, and which in fact formed the especial rampart of the palace, appears to owe its long preservation to that circumstance; the very spoilers of the city; whether in the persons of princes, or their delegates, during their sojourn there naturally saving to themselves a well-defended residence. And that subsequent conquerors used its secure area for a hunting-lodge, and a preserve for the chase, may be gathered from St. Jerome, who mentions that "the Parthian monarchs kept wild animals within the boundaries of the castellated palace, for the pleasure of hunting them."

The first decisive sluice (if I may use the term) that was opened in the stupendous ruin of Babylon, and whence its population flowed "as the letting out of waters," was the establishment of a new city on the banks of the Tigris, by Seleucus Nicanor, (B. C. 312.); which he erected out of the fragments of the old, and named after himself. It became the seat of government; and in consequence the people of the ancient capital transplanted themselves thither in crowds for the sake of employment and subsistence. Strabo gives a lively picture of the natural effect of these causes; describing the increase of Seleucia under its successive Greek princes, and the corresponding mouldering away of Babylon, and its inhabitants, "till (he remarks) for the most part it became a desert." And,

to which state he applies the words of a poet who, speaking of a fallen Arcadian city, exclaims, "Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis". The last great sweep of its materials was on the building of Ctesiphon, by the Arsacidæ or Parthian kings; and then, of the few desolate natives who had remained amongst the ruins of their homes, most followed their razed foundations to augment the population of another new city. But still a remnant of the once proud Babylon clung to her naked bosom; yet the words of Scripture must be fulfilled.

"Thou that madest the world as a wilderness, and destroyed all the cities thereof! I will rise up against thee, saith the Lord of Hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew, saith the Lord. I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water, and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of Hosts." Isaiah.

I have mentioned that a *remnant* was left there: but the plague blasted them in their wretchedness; and then, indeed, all became a silent mass of ruin.

My excursion to Al Hymer, was the last I found in my power to make under the then existing circumstances in that part of the pashalick; and, on returning to Hillah, with much regret I prepared to quit my researches. Every thing, from the time of my first arrival, (excepting the misapplied policy of the kiahya, which in fact had cut them short,) had combined in their favour. The weather had been particularly fine, with only one or two interruptions of heavy but brief showers; which, when they fell, only deepened the awful character of the scene; pouring their torrents down the furrowed cheeks of the ruined piles of Babylon, and sweeping like a black curtain over the Euphrates, between its eastern and western shores. The mornings, in general, were clear and bracing; and even at noon, the power of

the sun did not exceed the heat of one of the most delightful summer days in England. The evenings were particularly soft and balmy. Such is the winter of Babylonia; and we cannot be surprised that it once rivalled Susa in the eyes of the Persian monarchs, as an occasional winter residence. It was then the most productive region in the world; it is now, perhaps, one of the most sterile. Situated between two of the finest rivers in Asia, it commanded all the advantages of irrigation, to produce the most abundant fruits and harvests; and the dispositions of the numerous canals (now broken up and useless) evince the judicious care with which all these facilities were managed by the Chaldæan peasant and his overseer.

The Tigris I have already amply described, when writing of Bagdad. The Euphrates, (on whose banks I had passed so many interesting hours,) though not so rapid as its sister stream, is infinitely more majestic, and claims a longer course, rising from three sources amongst the mountains of Armenia. The most distant, springs a few miles to the north of Arzeroom, where it bears the name of the Kara-Sou, a title common to streams in Persia. The second source rises about thirty miles south of Arzeroom, and is called the West Frat; and the third springs many miles to the east, not far from Bayazid. After flowing thus in three currents to the south-west, through many a wild glen and rich valley, all unite in one channel at the foot of the mountains, (nearly opposite the source of the Tigris;) and thence winding on in full stream, south and south-west, in a corresponding course to that of the Tigris, the two rivers form a junction at Korna; and under the appellation of the Shat-el-Arab, "the river of Arabia," roll on in one noble flood to the Persian Gulf, 70 miles south of Bussora.

The name of Phrat, or Euphrates, Josephus describes as derived from words denoting fruitfulness, or dispersion, and either apply to the history of this river. Its course comprehends an extent of fourteen hundred miles, but its width varies considerably during so long a journey. At the city of Beer, it is from 600 to 214 yards across; at El Dur, it is 80; and at Hillah not more than 430 feet. Between the ruins of the Kasr, and the village of Anana, it measures 450. It is curious to remark, that Strabo describes its width about this spot to be a stadium, (500 feet;) not much difference, in so considerable a lapse of time. Wherever else I had an opportunity of estimating the distances across, I never found them to exceed 700. The rising of these waters commences sooner than those of the Tigris, the change being first perceptible early in March, and by the close of April they are seen at their extreme height, twelve feet perpendicular above their accustomed surface. They remain thus *until* the end of June, when they rapidly fall to their common level and usually tranquil course. During the depth of winter, about January, a partial increase is observed, but it almost immediately disappears. The progress of the spring-flood must be very terrific and impetuous; and not having witnessed it myself, I feel that my picture of this mighty stream would be incomplete, if I omitted the description which our resident has given. "The Euphrates, (he observes,) when at its height, overflows the surrounding country, fills the canals dug for its reception, without the slightest exertion of the people's labour, and facilitates agriculture in a surprising degree. The ruins of Babylon are then inundated so as to render many parts of them inaccessible, by converting the valleys among them into morasses. But the most remarkable inundation of the Euphrates is at Felugiah, twelve leagues to the westward of

Bagdad, where, on breaking down the dyke which confines its waters within their proper channel, they flow the country, and extend nearly to the banks of the Tigris with a depth sufficient to render them navigable for rafts and flat-bottomed boats. At the moment I am now writing, (May 24, 1812,) rafts laden with lime, are brought on this inundation almost every day from Felugiah, to within a few yards of the northern gate of Bagdad, called that of the Imaun Moussa."

Felugia lies in a direct line across from Bagdad. The classic field of Cunaxa is in its neighbourhood. Indeed, both shores of the great river from thence to Kufa, and still farther beyond southward and westward, had been objects with me to explore, till the kiahya laid his interdict on their possibility; and in truth his conduct with regard to the heads of the Arab hives, had aroused every swarm in revenge; and to move any where but in the beaten track, I found would indeed be a quixotic enterprise. Mesched Ali had been one of my points, not in honour of its saint, but to inspect some remains of sculpture, probably very ancient, which I had read of in the narrative of Abdoul Kerim's Journey from Delhi to Mecca. The writer was an officer in Nadir Shah's army, and he gives some very interesting notes on the mosque or mesched of Ali, which he had visited in his way to the shrine of the Prophet. He mentions, that the natives of the place have a tradition, that the building now converted into the mosque of the beatified caliph, was so old as to have been founded by Noah. But the writer remarks, for his part he thinks it bears every appearance of having been only a temple of the ancient unbelievers; and that good Mussulmen had covered its vestiges of idolatry with a thick coat of mortar all along its western wall. Accidents, in the course of time, had broken away some of this

casing, and through the apertures, figures sculptured in stone were clearly traceable. He examined it closer, and could plainly discover the outlines of many more, under the cement. This western wall, he adds, was the whole that was left of the very old original building. It is possible that these unbelievers may have been the Chaldæans; and here may be preserved, by the very means intended to destroy, the only specimen of their bas-relief which has been found in the whole country. We are told by some authors, that historical bas-reliefs were the ornaments of their ancient palace-walls; and hence we may suppose the like ornament would be used for their temples also. The oldest references amongst the Greeks to the rites of their religion, (which was in fact the same as the Chaldæan,) give intimations of this style of speaking to the eye, in their temples; and we find Euripides making Ion, in describing the temple at Delphi, particularly observe the battle of the giants, sculptured on the wall in stone. The Egyptian temples are not wanting in statuary of every kind. But it is not necessary to confine the wall of the Mesched Ali to a temple; it may have belonged to the residence of some great personage; yet, at any rate, it was an object of great interest to an antiquarian to examine; and whether the work were of ancient, or more modern *unbelievers*, my mortification was extreme, when, so near the spot, I was forced to abandon it.

Small figures, both in bronze and clay, are frequently picked up all over the ruins of Babylon; but the only large vestiges of sculpture that I have been able to trace, are the colossal figure of the lion which Mr. Rich discovered in the depths of the Kasr, standing on a pedestal of coarse grey granite, of very rude workmanship; and a large fragment of a figure, which the same

Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark sc.

View of Babylon.

gentleman saw lying in the desert about midway between Hillah and the site of Seleucia. It consisted of the lower half of the statue of a man in a sitting posture; the legs were naked, and closed together in the Egyptian style; the hands rested on the thighs. It was cut in a bluish basalt. That so few of these specimens have at all become visible in our days, is not surprising, since we may be assured that in like manner as Babylon had plundered Egypt, Assyria, and Judea, of their statues, their gold and their silver, and even the very architectural ornaments of their palaces and temples; so, we can have no doubt, that this rich treasury of the antiquities of all nations would become the spoil of her successive conquerors, till nothing remained for the falling ruins to bury.

Having taken my last farewell of her silent scene, her sublime solitude,—and yet with how many tongues had her awful apparition spoken to me!—I repaired to the camp of the Kiahya Bey, to return my thanks for all his civilities; and after having made every necessary present of acknowledgement for the services received, we turned our horses' heads towards the north; and once more retraced our way to Bagdad. We arrived there on the evening of the 24th, and were most cordially welcomed by our British friends. *

* Mr. Rich was good enough to calculate the result of the daily observations I had kept in my field-book on my way to Hillah; his little note on the subject was as follows: "Latitude of Bagdad 33° 19′ 40″; lat. of Iskanderia 32° 56′ 18″; longitude 4 minutes west of Bagdad; latitude of Hillah 32° 31′ 18″; longitude 12′ 36″ west of Bagdad. General bearing of Hillah from Bagdad, S. 13 W., distant 50 geographical miles, or 57.66, (i. e. a trifle more than 57½ British miles.) I have calculated your rate of going at 3 geographical, or about 3½ British miles the hour, which I have no doubt is about the truth, and indeed, is confirmed by your observations on the road. Niebuhr, from observation, makes latitude of Hillah 32° 28′; Beauchamp 32° 35′; so that your latitude is between the two. Beauchamp twice made the journey, and he was each time 16 hours 30 minutes performing it,

Next day, discussing my future movements, I found the insurgent Arabs along the shores of the Tigris, in an equal state of exasperation with their wilder brethren on the western plain of Shinar; and in consequence was obliged to relinquish much of my plan in these districts also, abandoning altogether my intention of visiting the remains of the three celebrated capitals at the mouth of the Nahar Malca, or royal canal. Seleucia, the first in time, as in fame, was built out of the plunder of Babylon; and stood about eighteen miles south of Bagdad, on the eastern shore of the Tigris. Ctesiphon, the second in order, and its rival, was erected by the Arsacidæ or Parthian monarchs, from the same quarries, and occupied a station directly opposite the Greek city. The Sassanian princes of Persia, when they recovered the empire to the old line, and the religion of Zoraster, created the third capital, by a union of the two preceding; and hence it derived the name of Al-Maidan, or *the cities.* Both Seleucia and Ctesiphon had been magnificent, and very populous places; the Greek city in particular, Pliny mentions as having contained 600,000 inhabitants. But in all their states, whether singly or united, they felt "the brand of war, and the foot of the spoiler," in like manner with their parent Babylon. The imperial legions of Rome and Constantinople, with many a barbarian phalanx besides, made successive dilapidations on their walls and towers; but it was reserved for Omar, and his military fanatics, to complete the final overthrow. That victorious ca-

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only ten minutes differing from your time, which would make the difference of half a geographical mile in the distance. Major Rennel rejects Beauchamp's latitude, and adopts Niebuhr's, but I know not from what reason, since it would make the distance much too great; your latitude, to me, seems to come nearest the truth, and I have great reliance on it; your longitude is near that of Major Rennel's." C. J. R.

liph founded the city of Kufa on the western shore of the Euphrates; whilst the defeat which the Persians sustained from one of his best generals in the battle of Cadesia, led to the storming of Al-Maidan, and an indiscriminate massacre of all its Guebre inhabitants. In after-times the Caliph Al-Mansoor taking a distaste to Kufa, removed the seat of his government to Bagdad; the materials for the erection of which he brought from the battered walls of the Greek and Parthian city; so, as Babylon was ravaged and carried away for the building of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, in the same manner did they moulder into ruin before the rising foundations of Bagdad, Bussora, and other cities of the caliphs. All that now remains of the ancient Greek capital, is the ground on which it stood; shewing, by its uneven surface, the low moundy traces of its former habitations; these, and a piece of its wall still standing, being the only relics of a city to which the name of Babylon itself has often been transferred by the western writers. Small, however, as these vestiges may seem, they are daily wearing away; and soon nothing would be left to mark the site of Seleucia, were it not for the apparently imperishable canal of Nebuchadnezzar, the Nahar Malcha; whose capacious bosom, noble in ruins, opens to the Tigris north of where the city stood.

Ctesiphon having been the chief of the two cities, which, under the uniting new name of Al-Maidan, were renovated by the Sassanian kings, has preserved more memorials of its existence. The large extent of ground which formed its area is not only furrowed by mouldered ruins in the same way as that of Seleucia, but retains a considerable portion of its wall, not less than thirty feet thick; and the remains of an immense building, called Tact-i-Kesra, meaning the throne or palace

of one of the Khosroes of Persia, most likely Noushirvan, the Great Chosroes of the Roman writers, who flourished in the sixth century of our era, and generally held his courts, celebrated for magnificence, in this part of his empire. I lamented not having been able to examine these remains myself, but from the notes and sketches whence I drew my present information, I should be inclined to think the architecture in a very bad taste. The edifice stands about half a mile from the river, and is built of fine bricks, each equal in size to those of Babylon, but no inscription has yet been discovered on any of them. Indeed it is supposed from their general appearance, that they have been manufactured expressly for the object in which they are found; and all that is now left of the apparently more extensive structure, is a façade of 284 feet, divided in the centre by a lofty semicircular arch, rather flatter in the bow than that of our Anglo-Saxon. Similar formed arches, of niche-like proportions, surmount each other in innumerable ranges all over the face of the building. The span of the centre arch is 82 feet 5 inches, its height 100; and the depth of the great porch or hall it forms is 153 feet. The construction of its walls corresponds with these vast dimensions, being 19 feet thick, with additional piers or buttresses of 25 feet in solid fabric. "The History of Persia," from the Rozut-ul-Suffa, gives an interesting anecdote of this palace and its founder. A Roman ambassador, who had been sent to Noushirvan with rich presents, was admiring the noble prospect from a window of the royal palace, when he remarked a rough piece of ground; and making enquiry why it was not rendered uniform with the rest, the person to whom he spoke replied, "It is the property of an old woman, who, though often requested to sell it to the king, has constantly refused; and our

monarch is more willing to have his prospect spoiled, than to perfect it by an act of violence." "That rough spot," cried the Roman, "consecrated by justice, now appears to me more beautiful than all the surrounding scene." A similar forbearance now exists at Tabreez, on the part of the heir apparent Abbas Mirza.

My next object of research was Susa. Major Monteith had visited that spot a few years before, in company with Mr. Macdonald Kinnier; and his account, communicated to me at Tabreez, when laying down my route for the south of Persia, redoubled my curiosity to inspect the same remains. But having been obliged to relinquish all in that tract of the exasperated Arabs, as well as in their ranges on the banks of the Euphrates, I must connect the chain of my narrative by retrospections from the information of my friend.

Susa, or Shushan, was the capital of that part of ancient Elam which formed the kingdom or principality of Susiana under the government of Abradates, who was afterwards the friend and ally of Cyrus. On the death of that prince, the Persian monarch became sole sovereign of Susiana; and we find that he shortly after preferred its capital for his winter residence before the old imperial towers of Babylon. The modern name of this province is Khuzistan, while that of the ruins is the same as before, being Shus, or Shushan. Mr. Macdonald Kinnier observes, that Shus is a Pehlivi word, signifying pleasant; and that when Shapoor, the conqueror of Valerian, erected his royal city on the banks of the Karoon, (not fifty miles from this ancient capital,) he called it Shus-ter, which means more pleasant.

The remarks of that accurate observer, in his Geography of Persia are particularly interesting on this very head of Susa,

and satisfactorily prove the conclusions he draws from the position of the ruins, &c., that on the long-mounded track of Shus we indeed find the remains of the once favourite capital of Cyrus; that we see the classic Choaspes of Herodotus, in the Kerrah, the waters of which were sacred to the lip of majesty alone; and in its neighbouring river the Abzal, we find the still more hallowed Euleus, or Ulai, which the Scriptures describe as the scene of Daniel's prophetic visions. "And it came to pass, I was at Shushan, in the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai." Daniel.

The ruins of Susa, in themselves, present an appearance not at all unlike those of Babylon, being a succession of similar mounds, covered with fragments of bricks, tiles, &c., and stretching over a space of country to the extent of ten or twelve miles. Of these mounds, two stand pre-eminent and of enormous expanse; one being in circumference a mile, and the other nearly two; their height measures about 150 feet. They are composed of huge masses of sun-dried bricks, and courses of burnt brick and mortar; and stand not very far from the banks of the Kerrah, or Kara-Sou; from whose eastern shore the vestiges of this famous capital are yet traceable nearly to the banks of the Abzal, approaching the town of Despholil. The people of the country distinguish these two great mounds, by the names of the Castle and the Palace; and at the foot of the largest appears a little dome-like building, under which travellers are shewn the tomb of the prophet Daniel. A dervise resides there, impressed with a belief of its peculiar sanctity, and who points to the grave of the inspired son of Judah, with as much homage as if it belonged to one of his own most respected imauns. Though covered by this

modern structure, no doubt is held by Jew, Arab, or Mussulman, of the great antiquity of the tomb beneath; all bearing the same tradition, that it indeed contains the remains of the prophet. Prideaux calculates that he died at Susa, some time in the third or fourth year of Cyrus's empire over the Babylonians, of a great age; having been placed in government there by that king: and the same author remarks, that Josephus mentions a famous edifice built by Daniel at Susa, in the manner of a castle, which, the Jewish historian adds, was remaining in his time, and had been finished with such wonderful art, that even then it seemed as fresh and beautiful as if only newly built. Within this edifice, he continues, was the place where the Persian and Parthian kings used to be buried; and, for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even at that day. It must be observed that the copies of Josephus now extant do indeed place this building in Ecbatana in Media; but St. Jerome, who also gives an account of it, and professes to do so word for word out of Josephus, places it in Susa in Persia; which makes it plain that the copy of Josephus he quoted, had it so. And that most likely is the true reading; for Susa having been within the Babylonian empire, (before it came into the possession of Cyrus,) the Scriptures tell us that Daniel sometimes resided there; and a common tradition has existed in those parts for ages, that Daniel died in that city, and there they shew his monument unto this day. Besides, it is to be observed that Josephus calls this building Baris, the same name by which Daniel himself distinguishes the castle or palace of Shushan. For what we translate *at Shushan in the palace*, (Dan. viii. 2.) is in the original *Besh Shushan Ha Birah:* here, no doubt, the Birah of Daniel

is the same with the Baris of Josephus, and both signify the palace or castle built at Shushan by Daniel while governor of its province. The site of this once noble metropolis of the ancient princes of Elamis is now a mere wilderness, given up to beasts of prey; no human being disputing their reign, excepting the poor dervise who keeps watch over the tomb of the prophet. The friend to whom I am indebted for the outlines I subjoin, passed the night under the same protection, listening to the screams of hyænas, and the roaring of lions, wandering around its solitary walls. The venerable recluse shewed him several blocks of stone, curiously sculptured, and of evident antiquity; two of which he sketched hastily; and, allowing me to copy, also described them to me. The amount of his description is nearly as follows:

The first was a green granite, so dark as to be almost black, finely polished, and in height 22 inches, in width 12. One of its sides was completely covered with hieroglyphical figures, roughly carved in relief, and occupying five rows. The first row contained forms, supposed to denote the sun, moon, and one of the stars; the second row, animals resembling a hare, a dog, and a bird; the third, a figure with the head and lower extremities of a tiger, the arms of a man, and the tail of a goat. Three symbolical instruments divide this monster from a second, who is also half brute, half man, with a staff in its hand, and crowned with a flat cap; the fourth row contains an animal like an antelope, a serpent, a scorpion, and something resembling the ornamented top of a staff or sceptre; the fifth exhibits a trident, two spears, a hawk, and another bird, finishing the group with a regularly formed Greek cross.

Besides this face of hieroglyphics, two sides of the stone are occupied by inscriptions in the cuneiform character. At the head of one of them was a double row of natural objects, which my friend omitted to draw; but he told me he thought they were birds.

On comparing the present object with the cylinders of Babylon, we find the same hieroglyphical figures occur in both; the sun, the crescent, the star; also the dog, and those singularly formed shapes which I have denominated symbolical instruments; deeming them signs invented by the framers of this mysterious language, to designate the attributes, or peculiar laws of the gods, or ruling powers, prefigured in the more apparent symbols. The cross, indeed, (in wonderful coincidence,) is generally understood to be symbolical of the divinity, or eternal life; and the Egyptian priests urged its being found engraved on the walls of their temple of Serapis, as an argument with the vic-

torious army of Theodosius to save it from destruction. But to attempt deciphering any one of these occult treasures of ancient learning, I own to be far beyond my skill; yet it is an object of no small interest, to compare the signs thus spread over the relics of Egypt, Persia, Chaldea, &c., with each other, and then to parallel their appearances with the corresponding religious perversions of those nations, their wild astrological superstitions, their deification of the planets; then their typifying the gods they placed there, by supposed resemblances in the elements, in metals, in birds, beasts, trees, and molten or carved images; and, at last, worshipping all these various symbols as separate intelligences, ruling the universe by fatal influences, and yet subject themselves to certain spells imprinted on a piece of brass or stone! All these observations combine to give me one impression, that the great apostates of the land of Shinar, "when the whole earth was of one language," were the fathers of this idolatrous, complex, and mysterious worship, with its various signs; and that on their dispersion as a people, they carried it into all the lands where we now find it. The cylinders of Babylon, I consider to have been some of these enchanted protections from the stars, which the combinations of figures on their sides probably pourtray in the form of a prayer, or a blessing; and which sacred amulet was worn suspended round the neck of the favoured person.

The second relic of Susa, which drew the particular attention of Major Monteith, was a white marble stone, found, the dervise told him, in the great mound of the palace, near to the tomb of the prophet. It does not exceed ten inches in width and depth, measures twenty in length, and is hollow within, as if to receive some deposit. Three of its sides are cut in bas-relief; two of them with similar representations of a man,

apparently naked, excepting a sash round his waist, and a sort of cap on his head. His hands are bound behind him. The corner of the stone holds the neck of the figure, so that his head forms part of one of its ends. Two lions, in sitting postures, appear on either side at the top, each having a paw on the head of the man. The execution resembles the style of the dark stone, but there are no traces of letters on this. While copying both, I could not but regret that my military friend had not transcribed, if not all, some few lines of the cuneiform characters on the hieroglyphic stone.

This character is known by the several names of cuneiform, nail-headed, arrow-headed, as descriptive of its shape; and Persepolitan, or Babylonian, according to the places where it has been principally found. For a long time it was considered an absolute dead letter by all who looked on the rare specimens our earlier travellers presented to the eye; but it is daily becoming an object of even lively hope to those who are interested in antiquarian disclosures, from the indefatigable zeal, and encouraging success, with which certain learned professors in Germany and France have devoted their talents and their time to discover its explication. From absence of proof to the contrary,

till within these fifty years, this singular style of writing was supposed to be confined entirely to the ancient Persians, and only now to be found at Persepolis. But the researches of recent travellers have discovered it much more widely diffused; and that Assyria, rather than Persia, might be deemed its parent land. Inscriptions in this character have been traced in or near most of the great cities of that oldest empire of the East; sometimes on the sides of mountains and monuments, as at Ecbatana, Nakshi-Roustam, and Persepolis; at others buried in the earth, as on the bricks of Babylon and Nineveh. Persia and Media were long subject to the ancient Assyrian empire, planted at Babylon and Nineveh by the builder of the tower of Babel; and as this peculiar style of writing is found in all these countries, we cannot but suppose it the primeval character of the oldest nations in the world. Nay, since we have discovered it on the very bricks which construct the tower of Babel itself, which the most authentic evidence testifies to have been erected when "the whole earth was of one speech," we might not be extravagant in believing these characters to have been used before the flood. The ruins of Babylon produce numerous specimens, on bricks, cylinders, and marbles. Mr. Rich has discovered some particularly curious; and one is a large cylindrical mass of baked clay, written thickly all over, similar in every way to a fragment I found at the same place, and of which I present a copy, in the accompanying print. *

The learned Grotefund, in his Appendix to Heeren, in speaking of this character, observes, that the elementary forms of the cuneiform writing are only two, the wedge and the angle, being totally devoid of curves. The general directions of the wedges,

* See Plate LXXVIII.

are with their points downwards, or towards the right, either in perpendicular, horizontal, or sloping positions. The rectangles have always one direction, their opening being constantly turned towards the right. These simple characteristics mark how an inscription ought to be held, showing that it follows a horizontal, and not a perpendicular line. Indeed, the strokes so frequently drawn between the rows of characters sufficiently show this rule: though there are exceptions, in compliance with any peculiar form in the tablet of the inscription; for instance, round the windows at Persepolis, and on small cylinders, where the letters appear in an upright column. According to Dr. Grotefund, there exist three kinds of these letters or characters; all of which are to be seen at Persepolis, and Mourg-aub (Pasargadæ), on every distinct piece of sculpture where an inscription is found, and then it is always repeated thrice, each repetition being in one of the three different species of character, though all of the same genus. The positions of the inscriptions are usually one under the other, or side by side, and commonly corresponding word for word. This style of inscribing the same words or matter, in three different characters or languages, appears to have been very general over the East: we find it on the antiquities of Egypt, and we have it adopted by the Romans on the scroll which Pontius Pilate placed over the cross of our Saviour.

The three species of cuneiform character are distinguished by the greater or less multiplying of the two fundamental forms, and also their positions. The first species, or alphabet, contains the greatest mingling of the fundamental forms and positions; the second shows more horizontal wedges, and fewer angles than the first, and is distinguished from the third by possessing

fewer sloping wedges, and none that cross each other. The third shows more sloping wedges than the second, and also admits their crossing. The tablet over the winged figure at Mourg-aub* contains specimens of these three modes of inscription: the two parallel lines at the top show the first species; the center line the second species; and the bottom line the third. All that I have seen of the cuneiform inscriptions of Persia appear less complicated than those on the bricks of Babylon. Plate LXXVII. gives specimens from different bricks, which are all of a full and varied character of the third species. The result of these observations furnishes the following general principles; that the characters are alphabetical, and to be read from left to right. This fact will be found established by an attentive examination of the brick inscriptions on Plate LXXVII., and most particularly by a comparison with that of four lines with that of seven. The specimen (*g*) is singularly curious and valuable, having the impressions of many seals upon it; they are now very faint, but enough remains to show the forms of animals and talismanic symbols. It is on baked clay, and was found at Babylon. The application of the first general principle to the first species has been decidedly established in the discovery that the wedge so frequently repeated sloping to the left, was here only used as a mark at the separation of each word; and, from the progress Professor Grotefund has made in deciphering this species in the Persian relics, its language is found to be the Zend. With respect to the second and third species, he has succeeded in dividing several lines of them into words; (Mines de l'Orient, vol. iv.) by which he proves, that in these, as well as in the first, the characters must be combined to form words.

* In Plate XIII. Vol. I.

From specimens of the cuneiform writing being so generally found, whether in Assyria or Persia, attached to the remains of great buildings, or on the mountain-rock, it seems reasonable to ascribe its use to public and solemn inscriptions alone; and to suppose that a different character would be adopted in the common purposes of life. This idea is supported by certain more easy marks observable on many of the clay cylinders, and other fragments of the same material, engraved in short lines, and evidently by some sharp-pointed instrument; a part of one of these lines is shewn in Plate LXXVII. *e.* I have also in my possession two fragments of large bricks, found at Babylon, containing similar apparently more familiar writing. The deep antiquity of the cuneiform character appears evident in the singular simplicity of its component parts, which correspond so decidedly with the oldest style of building, without arch or curve. But if Sir William Jones's opinion be admitted, that the most ancient discoverable languages in Persia are the Chaldaic and the Sanscrit; and that on their ceasing to be vernacular, the Pehlivi and Zend succeeded, in such a case it is to be feared that the inscriptions of Assyria cannot be deciphered by the alphabet which explains those of Persia. It is probable that the comparative complicated appearance of the Babylonian inscriptions may arise from this very difference between the languages they are called upon to represent.

The curious relics in plates LXXIX. and LXXX. were all found at different times at Babylon. Nos. 1. and 2., in Plate LXXIX., are a couple of silver coins, the copies being exactly the size of the originals. They were discovered, with several of Alexander and his successors, in an earthen vessel, fished up from the Euphrates close to the ruins of the palace. No. 1. shews a figure combating with a lion, very similar to the bas-

reliefs of the pontiff-king at Persepolis. On the reverse is a range of towers and walls, supported, or faced by lions. No. 2. is a larger coin. Its obverse, a chariot drawn by two horses, resembling the same vehicle sculptured on the staircase of Chehel Minar. Two persons are in the chariot. Its reverse represents embattled towers, something similar to No. 1.; but a row of globular forms appears at the top of the wall, probably intended for the heads of trees. Lions support this wall also. It may be considered a curious portrait of an ancient city, and perhaps of Babylon itself!

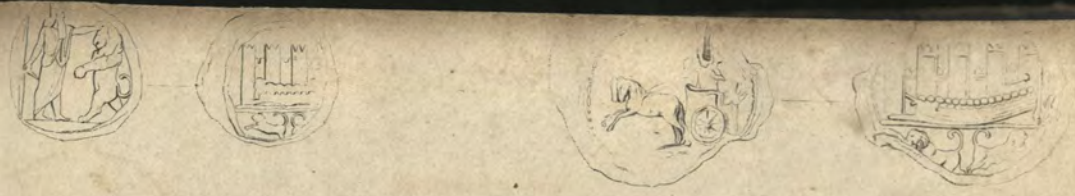
Nos. 3., 4., and 5. are cylinders, with their hieroglyphics drawn the size of the originals. The subjects engraved round them are exemplified in different groups of men and beasts. No. 3. shews merely an outline. Nos. 4. and 5. are in deep *intaglio*; but all exhibit symbolical combats between the lion and bull, sometimes as half-beast half-man, and otherwise against the perfect form of man. In No. 4. we have something of a centaur, with a lion in bonds. No. 6. represents a cylinder, containing a very remarkable group of personages, and an inscription of cuneiform characters, in combinations, and therefore producing forms, I had never seen before. The figures it accompanies are evidently connected with the rites of the lunar deity, who was worshipped by the Persians and the Chaldæans under the names of Mylitta and Alytta, or Anaites and Ananus; but who, in one attribute at least, seems to be rather a different goddess from the Cynthia of the Greeks. This Babylonian deity, according to Moses ben Maimonides, had numerous bands of young women devoted to her service; and here we find a priestess introducing a virgin to her temple, to receive the benediction of the priest. These dedicated females, we are told by

Herodotus, once in their lives sat at the shrine of Venus, their heads bound with garlands, and their bodies with cords. Thus exposed, if any stranger threw gold into her lap, she was obliged to retire with him into the temple, where her charms became the victim of its impure rites. The money was then laid on the altar, to be consecrated to the goddess. These insults to Divinity, seem to be referred to in the law of Moses, where he pronounces, "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot into the house of the Lord thy God." And the Epistle of Baruch to Jeremiah, 43d verse, certainly notices the same custom.

Nos. 7. and 8. are fragments of brick I found at Babylon. No. 7. is a very rare specimen, having a dog, and some Chaldaic figures impressed on its side. No. 8. shews other characters, something similar to the line of, apparently, common style of writing, at *e* in Plate LXXVII.

Plate LXXX. No. 1.* This is from a cylinder of white agate, and, as may be seen, of a larger size than most of the preceding. The engraving is of better workmanship; it has also possessed an inscription in cuneiform letters, which, I am sorry to say, are much defaced. The hieroglyphics are, the sun, moon, five planets, and the anchaspand or seven balls, indicative of the seven celestial powers, or intelligences, always attendant on the Chaldæan and Persian great Deity. The two figures immediately under the sun and moon are habited nearly alike. That beneath the sun holds a wreath, formed of globular shapes, in his left hand. Behind him, appendant to his back, appear to be a bow and quiver: balls also surmount these weapons. Before him springs an object sprayed like a flower; and he is preceded, in advancing towards a superior kind of being, by a bare-headed figure, whose hands are held up as if in the act of addressing that being, which fronts him, standing upon the

unicorn bull. The bare-headed figure wears no ornaments; probably a mark of religious respect to the presence of the deity he approaches; but the etherial personage, so often noticed hovering over represented majesty at Nakshi Roustam, Persepolis, and Besitoon, is here seen over the head of this unadorned person. The august bearded figure he seems to address, possesses the often-mentioned symbol of divinity. "The statues of the gods of these people (the Chaldæans) held sceptres, axes, and other weapons, with candles burning before them." Baruch, chap. vi. The floating figure in the rays clearly points out a close affinity between the religious systems of the Chaldæans and ancient Persians; shewing, in fact, that they used the same symbolical representations, also prefigured the same gods and their attributes, in the sun and moon: and hence it appears probable, that the alleged difference between the two religions chiefly lay in the one worshipping the imaged symbols as gods; while the other restricted itself to adoring the heavenly host in themselves alone. The Chaldæans' idolatry is usually styled Sabianism; and they pretended to derive it from Sabius, a son of Seth; well implying, by such a tradition, in what manner the first patriarchs of the world had corrupted themselves. The group under description is the best cylindrical specimen of the kind I ever met with. Bochart, in speaking of *sacred stones*, says, "They were highly venerated in the heathen world; were of a round form, and supposed to be animated by a portion of the divinity to whom they were dedicated." This extraordinary inspiration into dead matter was effected by means of magical ceremonies, after which the stone might be consulted as an oracle. This sort of bosom-god was usually suspended from the neck of the person who was so happy as to possess it. The



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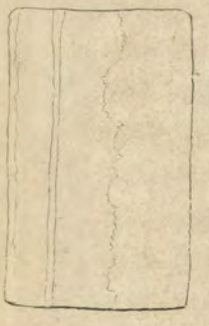

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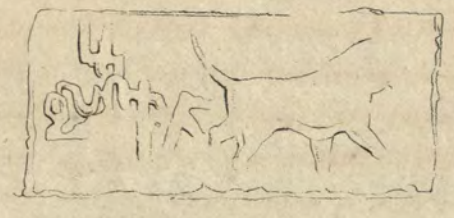

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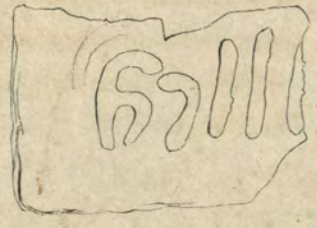
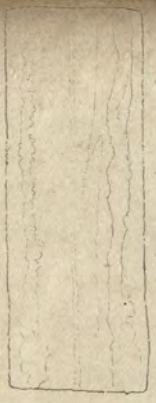


ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

Found at Babylon. Coins, &c.

C. Heath, Sc.

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1822.



2

4

3

Found at Babylon. Cylinders, &c.

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1822.

whole of the bætyli I have seen are all pierced for wearing in this way. It is not unlikely that the deity represented on this cylinder, No. 1. may be a figure of the god Baal or Belus, set up by Nebuchadnezzar; and it may also shew the regal habit of the sovereigns of Nineveh and Babylon.

No. 2. is a seal, cut on a piece of red pebble. It is drilled through the top. Running up one of its sides, appear several cuneiform characters; and on the face of another, a dog is beautifully cut. The form and position of this animal are quite the same as the little bronze dog I found also in Babylon. The impression of the seal contains the figure of a man grasping a bird, of a goose shape, by the neck. Many similar seals are dug up amongst the ruins: I have another, in agate, of a man, and some symbolical forms. The specimens of baked clay, already described as having been stamped with numerous seals, are sufficient evidence how common were their use; their import can only be guessed, but it is likely all were connected with mystic incantation.

No. 3. is a small baked clay figure of a woman, with a child; both are in a very simple and natural taste. It measures about three inches and a half high, and has the marks of having once been covered with a glazing in colours. It is in the possession of Mr. Rich. No. 4. represents a couple of curious figures, of the same size with the originals, which are bronze, and would seem to have formed the top of a small staff; one of them is a monster, with a head like a tiger.

Having visited all that circumstances would allow, on both sides of the two great rivers, I prepared for a journey into the indeed primeval wilds of nature; the mountainous regions of Courdistan, which have been the allodial property of the same

untameable race, from the first memorials of their country to the present times. The simple arrangements of an Asiatic traveller are soon made. His horse, arms and accoutrements, with the like for his people, (safety commanding movement in tribes!) being his chief necessaries; and for the incumbrances belonging to apparel, taste, and science, they are all packed in a portmanteau or two, and swung on the backs of mules.

The day fixed for my departure was December 2d; and having taken my leave of the pasha, who had ordered me a mehmandar, and every military protection to the limits of his jurisdiction; and said farewell to my kind host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Rich, in whose society I had passed so many enlightened and delightful hours, I once more found myself in marching order. I had regained my old companion and secretary, Sedak Beg, now perfectly restored to health; and accompanied, for a few miles, by Mr. Hyne and my friend Belino, set forth in a bright morning, with the thermometer at 46 Fahrenheit. We bade adieu to Bagdad at the northern gate;

Its glittering minarets, and palm-tree groves!

and soon after re-entered the arid tracks of the plain on a course due north. In about an hour we came to the old lines of Nadir Shah, thrown up A.D. 1735, when he invested the city against its heroic pasha. Here I shook hands with my British friends; and when they turned their horses' heads, but for the familiar face of my faithful Persian, I should have felt myself rather alone amongst my band of Turkish guards. For several miles no object of interest broke the dead level, all continuing dark and sterile, till, after riding about three hours, we came again upon a sweep of the Tigris. Its width at this point, was

not more than 50 yards; but it increased as we advanced, and often shewed low sand-banks breaking the surface of the water. The left shore of the river has always appeared to me much higher than the right; but here, and for a considerable way up, I found it from 50 to 60 feet above the stream. The Euphrates is more elevated than the Tigris, from far beyond. Felugia upwards, and downwards to nearly its junction with the Tigris; hence the inundation pours in such floods from the former river. At this stage of our march we found numerous plantations of date-trees, and the ground much cut up with ditch-like canals, for the purpose of irrigation. The horizon, to the west, presented the top of a high dark object opposed to the pale golden hue of the descending sun. From its shape and situation, I supposed it to be the Tepessé of Akarkouff, and thence took my last look of the plains of Shinar. At sun-set we reached the village of Howish, our halting-place, having been on horseback exactly six hours, by which I compute the distance from Bagdad to be nearly 24 miles. The village is situated in the heart of a wood; from which circumstance I could not take the declension of the sun with the accuracy I wished, but as near as I could ascertain, just as it touched the branches of the trees, it bore S. 75° W. By my watch, at that time, it wanted three minutes of five o'clock.

This place, and its neighbouring village, Dokala, the more common menzil, are inhabited by a kind of mongrel race, neither Turk nor Arab, but abundantly skilled in turning every object around them to profit. Here, for the first time, I tasted a strong liquor distilled from the palm. This, they told me, they extracted in quantities from the rich groves by which they are surrounded; vinegar also, and a sort of pithy cake, of

which they are remarkably fond, all are produced by this bounteous tree. The fruit these people presented us, was nearly equal to the particularly fine fresh dates I was treated with on my arrival at Bagdad; and bunches of the same were hanging in enormous clusters on the trees when I left that town. The material they set before us to give light, was an oil pressed from a plant called Serzan, that grows wild in the desert, and which also serves for various other household uses.

December 3d.—We left Howish this morning at eight o'clock; the country before us appearing thickly shaded to the north and north-west with date-woods, in the midst of every one of which may be found a village. Our course was now N. 50° E. on an average, passing in our way many of these bowery hamlets; amongst the most considerable, are those of Galbea, Lukmanea, Hoppop, &c., all plentifully supplied with water, brought by irrigating canals from the river Diala, which flows on the eastward. Towards the end of this day's journey, some very lofty snow-topped mountains appeared against the sky, in the direction we were going, every step drawing us nearer to the wintry north! Our halting-place was Deltawa, which we reached at noon, having travelled 16 miles.

December 4th.—Quitted our quarters at sun-rise, that is, a few minutes before seven o'clock. The country, as usual, level, in good cultivation, and the road excellent. In a couple of hours we reached the abrupt shores of the variously winding Diala. Its width here, is double what I had found it at Bacoubi; but we soon left its verdant banks, crossing a naked tract, or peninsula, formed by its widely sinuous wanderings. Our course was N. 60° E., on a ground most terribly rent with water-furrows, as well as broken by the remains of ancient canals, or,

more probably, the ruined embankments of former defences against inundation. Another hour's march released us from this disagreeable road, bringing us to a richly cultivated extent of land, where industry and animal life gave a delightful change from the former monotonous scene. Corn, cotton, and rice were sown abundantly; and the first was even then showing itself. The natives were occupied in all directions with the plough, preparing for a later crop. Sheep and goats were feeding on the pasture tracts; and woods of considerable extent, stretched along a hollow marshy chasm near to our road. In fact, the whole had an air of freshness and prosperity, so totally unlike all I had lately been looking at to the south of Bagdad, that I felt it a cordial to both eyes and spirit. At the expiration of another mile we crossed a small stream by a neat brick bridge, which brought us close to the village of Chubook. We thence came again on the shores of the Diala, and had a clear view of the far-stretching line of the Hamrean hills, while beyond, the towering summits of the Courdistan mountains became gradually more distinguishable. The country from hence, was treeless, but cultivated; and we passed, on our right, a group of high mounds. I was now conversant in their aspects, and should judge these to be the remains of some ancient fortress. The surfaces of them all were covered with the usual fragments so often described; they are called by the natives Tullivays. In about two hours and a half, we reached the khaun and bridge of Delli Abbas; the latter crosses a branch of the Diala. Our road then lay due east for more than an hour, after which we came again upon the river's banks, close to the village of Adna Koyi, where we were to halt for the night. It is a miserable place, more than half in ruins, but beautifully embosomed in a

wood of orange and date-trees, with the variegated lines of the Hamrean hills immediately in front of its dilapidated walls. The Ketkhoda is a Georgian, and therefore a countryman of the lord of the pashalick; but neither feeling respect for his superior, nor pride in their affinity, he treated his firman with the most decided contempt; and notwithstanding that the old Turkish mehmandar, whom his highness had set over my travelling accommodation, put himself into a solemn passion, neither quarters for ourselves, nor a grain of rice or corn for man or beast could we obtain, till a due number of piastres were placed in hostage. We had been nine hours and a half on our march, and I should suppose it to be about 34 miles from the last menzil.

December 5th. — Soon after quitting our inhospitable quarters this morning, we began to ascend the Hamrean hills, the great natural wall of the Chaldæan plains. For the first hour of our ascent, our passage was over a succession of rocky ledges, divided by long tracks of cultivated soil, or similar intervals of sand or gravel, all bearing marks of the force of waters which rush over them in the seasons of thaw. On gaining the highest point, an extensive view broke upon us; showing the serpentine windings of the Diala to the southward, and the distant level of the Chaldæan plain, alternately tracked with waste or date-groves, as far as the eye could reach. Northward lay the devious branches of the hills we were upon; and beyond, the snow-clad mountains of Courdistan mingled with the clouds. We then gradually descended into lower ground, and in about an hour came to the small river Narine, along whose steep bank the road continues for a considerable way, when it takes a curve to the north-west; but in less than half an hour, we again met the

stream close to a fine brick bridge of six arches, built by Ali Pasha about twelve years ago. Our road lay due north across this low ground, which, for the most part was arid, but at intervals swampy, and often saline to so great a degree as to appear surfaced with snow. A couple of hours more brought us to a very respectable village called Kara-Tuppa, where we were received with every mark of civility. We had travelled about 25 miles in seven hours.

December 6th. — Our quarters of the night lay at the foot of a range of gravelly hills, and on setting forth next morning at eight o'clock, we began to ascend them. Having traversed their irregular brows for more than an hour, we descended into another extensive flat, which proved a melancholy waste till we reached a deep swampy chasm, crossed by a bridge called that of the Chummin. Having passed over it, all beyond, to the foot of the next chain of hills, appeared in cultivation; numbers of ploughs and husbandmen animating this part of the vale. At a little distance from the road to the westward, rose an enormous mass of mounded earth, of a semicircular form, in length about 400 yards, and in height 80 feet: broken tiles, pottery, &c., covered its sides. Other minor elevations of the same import, appeared in its neighbourhood, starting up amidst these fertile tracks, and connecting themselves with another mound of more than double the dimensions of the first. These are named by the natives Tulli Shahan, and Ashtoukan, who add, "they were the palace and Kala (citadel) of a great town, built ages back by the Guebres."

It must have been near this plain that Heraclius marched after the battle of Nineveh, "where, (we are told) the cities and palaces of Assyria were the first time laid open to the Romans;"

and these ruins doubtless form a part of some one of those cities. It is impossible to pass over such scenes without stopping to pause under the most awful impression; here lay the remains of a great city; with memorials of her past existence standing in such stupendous heights and breadths, and yet all that had concerned it was now buried in such deep oblivion, that not even a conjecture could be formed of what had been its name. These reflections brought similar places to my mind; and the present mounds being nearly in a line with those of Kangavar (or Concóbar), lying between Hamadan and Kermanshah, and which I had visited in my way thither, recalled those more perfect and beautiful remains to my memory; and, while meditating on them during my ride, a possibility occurred to me of their having been the ruins of Elymais. Though, perhaps, a little out of place here, so far from their site, I cannot refrain from proposing my reasons for the supposition. All the mountainous regions which lie south of the luxuriant vales of Saliadabad, stretching thence to the northern boundary of Khuzistan, were in ancient times inhabited by the Elymaitæ, and other similar aborigines; hence it does not seem improbable that their capital might be found in this most luxuriant quarter of the country. The ruins of Kangavar certainly exhibit the remains of some eminently splendid structure, and to all appearance, of a temple. We read, that Antiochus the Great, hearing that the Temple of Diana at Elymais was possessed of vast treasures, on his return to Persia attempted to make himself master of the place, but was repulsed with shame by the brave inhabitants, and obliged to retire upon Ecbatana. (Polybius. Josephus.) But Antiochus Epiphanius (not quite two centuries before the Christian era,) succeeded better, and plundered

it of most of its riches. Strabo also mentions, "that the Temple of Diana at Elymais, was afterwards sacked by one of the Parthian kings, who found therein the great prize of ten thousand talents."

Having crossed the plain of the Tulli Shahan mounds we passed over another line of low hills, and a succeeding fertile valley, which brought us to the little town of Kifri, after a journey of twenty miles completed in five hours. The town stands at the foot of some considerable heights, full of sulphurous and saline appearances. Naphtha springs are in its neighbourhood; some at a distance of three hours' ride, and others at twice as far: near the latter, quantities of fine salt is dug. Travellers may reach Sulimania, the capital of the southern part of Courdistan, by a more eastern road from this place; but it is exceedingly dangerous, and the only menzil on the way is a village called Ibram Kaushi, seven hours distant from Kifri, and sixteen from Sulimania. A little way from the road we were on, and towards the east, stands a very remarkable conical height called the Hill of the Twelve Imauns, from a tomb that surmounts it, covering the remains of that number of holy personages. The climate, thus far on my winter journey, was even delightful. The mornings fresh and invigorating, without frost; the days warm, without oppressive heat; and the balmy evening, gradually brightening to a clear, cool night: in fact, I never recollect enjoying a more genial atmosphere.

The people of this tract are a mixture of Arabs and Courds; the former, of the Al Biad and Jerbai tribes; the latter, of Kayatt, who furnish their chief, in times of foreign or civil broils, with upwards of 2000 horsemen. Their villages extend in every direction over this extensive plain. The costume of

the people, Arab and Courd, is much the same; hardly differing in the least from the dress of their brethren between Pool-zohaub and Bagdad. The villages are large; the houses in proportion, with long and lofty rooms, spread on each side with narrow carpets manufactured by the natives, as are also the soft cushions which add to their comfort. We had here no occasion to make use of our nummuds, all my people being furnished with excellent bedding and coverlids. The court-yards of the houses were very spacious, and possessing an air of cleanliness, alas! not very common in these eastern climates.

Dec. 7th.—Left Kifri this morning at seven o'clock; taking a path rather more to the southward than the direct road to Tooz-koormati, our halting-place. We rode on S. 70° W. keeping the sulphurous mountains about two miles distant on our right; they ran west and east: at fourteen miles distance on our left, the Hamrean hills stretched from north to south as far as the eye could follow them. After passing over a few gravelly, undulating tracts on the plain, it opened at once upon us with every cultivated and busy appearance; the property of the ever-active Kayatt people. In about two hours we crossed a very wide ravine, the natives call the dry river, and soon after reached the ruins of Kizzilabad, or Kharaba. It was to see them I made this little circuit. The place, of which they form a remnant, appears to have been of considerable consequence; though the only marked objects now left are the foundations of the various towers and curtain-walls that formed its fortress. Near one of them, a fine double-arched gate, of Saracenic character, might imply a date to the rest. The whole of the visible ruins are of stone and brick; and for nearly two miles from the standing remains, we found mounds and fragments of

masonry marking the site of the city. The peasant who guided us to the spot, mentioned that vaulted rooms of different dimensions, are frequently discovered under ground by the falling in of the earth under the action of the plough. But none of these *soutterains* being at that time accessible to us, and nothing on the surface, besides the arch, appearing worthy a particular observation, we rode on quickly, and over a most excellent road, to fall in with that which brought us direct to our quarters. In our way I had opportunities of observing the manner in which these industrious *sons of the mountain and the vale* use their plough; and for the first time in my life I saw that sort of machine drawn by asses. In general two were yoked to it; sometimes a single bullock supplied their place; which certainly proves the lightness of the soil, and the ease with which their plough could be managed. These rural occupations amused our eyes for nearly a three hours' ride from the ruins to our menzil, Tooz-koormati; which we found delightfully embowered in woods of orange, date, and olive trees, close to the foot of the sulphur hills. The latter trees grow here in such abundance, as to render their produce a most profitable branch of trade. The fruit of some are salted, and of an exceeding large size, with a flavour like the fresh olive. Others are pressed, for their peculiarly fine oil. A spring from the adjoining hills supplies the place plentifully with pure water; and also serves to irrigate the land. We had been six hours and a half in coming from Kifri. The distance between that town and Tooz-koormati is estimated by the natives at ten miles, our detour made it twenty-four.

Dec. 8th. — Left our last night's quarters at eight o'clock this morning, considering it one of the most opulent little towns we had yet seen; the houses were on a spacious scale; and a large

division of the place, set apart for shops, exhibited well-furnished stores of various kinds; those appropriated to the fruit were beautiful with the ripe abundance presented for sale. This menzil, like all others (excepting Adna Koyi) we had halted at under sanction of the pasha's firman; had honoured its commands most plenteously and cordially; and in justice to the old Turkish mehmandar Ibram Aga, to whom his highness gave it in charge, I must say, that though something taciturn in speech, and heavy in person, I found him a much more active and efficient purveyor than any of the same office with whom I had been provided from Teheran to Hamadan.

Our route now lay N. 20° W. The country, in this direction was a complete level to the farthest point of the horizon. On our right, at not more than half a mile distant, we had the long line of yellow sulphur hills, which had taken a curve to the north. On our left, the Hamrean hills were still visible, though far distant: all between was now stony desert; no vegetation appearing any where, excepting patches of a certain herb of which camels are particularly fond, and which seems to be thus providentially provided in the deserts for their use. We saw several herds of them grazing as we advanced. Nothing else varied the scene for four hours, till we came in sight of the high towers of some imaun sepulchres, and an hour more brought us to the brink of the Toak river. Its channel is about fifty yards wide, and receives the conflux of three rapid streams. But the usual accompaniments of such a supply of water were not there; in vain we looked for luxuriant date-woods, and delicious gardens. We soon reached the village of Toak, standing bleak and miserable, with scarcely a tree to shade its wretched mud-built houses. But all this desolation was in the midst of ruins which

gave a show of consequence to the place. Numerous domed structures, fallen to decay; minarets, mosques, and pine-apple-spired tombs, with other remains, all of the finest brick masonry, gave sufficient evidence that Toak had once been a town of importance. We arrived there after a march of five hours over a distance of eighteen miles.

Dec. 9th. — Set forth this morning at seven o'clock, in a course N. 30° E. the country still level. As we bent more to the eastward, the lofty mountains of Courdistan grew upon our view, and seemed to spread wider along the horizon; those to the north appearing white with snow to a considerable way down their sides, while the more sun-ward range hardly shewed a touch of their approaching winter covering. In three hours we reached the village of Tazik-koormati, situated on the banks of a shallow river, but shewing along the sides of its deep channel marks of the rush of waters which pour through it from the mountains in the spring. This stream unites with those of Toak and Tooz-koormati, and from the point of junction take the name of the Torna, or Odornah. After flowing southward a considerable way, and winding amongst the Hamrean Hills near to their south-western base, it receives the little river of Kufri. Thence, augmented to a fine body of waters, it takes a more tranquil course towards the Tigris, and falls into that river about fifty miles north of Bagdad. Near to the point of junction stood Opis, once a magnificent city, where one end of the famous Median wall terminated. A noble canal also, in former times, reached from Opis to Hit, or Iss, the great fountain of bitumen.

Close to the steep bank of the Tazik-koormati stream, rises a lofty artificial hill, called the Kala, or citadel; it is above 100 feet high and of an immense circumference. Many remains of

Mahomedan religious edifices, and other ruins, are in its neighbourhood; indeed, the country is every where tracked with these melancholy footsteps of successive conquests, and successive devastations; arising, no doubt, from a custom prevalent in these countries from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Nadir Shah, of removing a whole people from one city to another, at the will of any tyrant who acquired the power to execute his will; thus often turning the busy, prosperous district of to-day, into the silent, depopulated waste of to-morrow. Barbarous as Asiatic warfare has in general been, it was not always made a system of extirpation; therefore, in this way of transplanting, we may account for most of the utterly deserted and ruinous towns and villages, whether ancient or modern, which in such dismal multitudes deform the kingdoms of the East. About a couple of miles from Tazik-koormati, we passed the extreme northern point of the second range of sulphurous hills we had seen the preceding day to our right. The Hamrean Hills were now only a faint, wavy grey line on the horizon, depressed or raised according to the delusive state of the atmosphere from the effects of the sun. The plain over which we marched was sometimes a dead level, at others undulating, and even hilly; but wherever we met water, and the soil capable in the least, there we found cultivation. The produce was chiefly corn and millet.

Our next halting-place was to be Kirkook; and for a great distance on the way we saw it standing before us, like a giant in the desert, the citadel, or rather upper town, surmounting its lofty insulated height. The scene was wild, and would have appeared totally waste, had not a few stunted trees scattered over the gardens in the suburbs of the city, in some degree

broken the complete nakedness of the land. We reached the base of the hill after a ride of six hours and a half, over about twenty-four miles of ground. This city is that understood to be the Demetrias of Strabo, and the Corcuro of Ptolemy. It stands in lat. 35° 28′ 56″, long. 44° 33′ 3″, and lies on the high road to Mosul. The greatest part of it occupies the hill, the summit and sides of which are defended by strong walls and towers of well-compacted clay; within, every species of Asiatic dirt, closeness, and impure air, seems concentrated. The houses are packed together, and the bazars narrow and gloomy, though exhibiting every sort of merchandise and provision necessary for the comfort of the inhabitants. They are chiefly composed of Turks, Armenians, Courds, Arabs, and a few Jews; and their number may amount to ten or twelve thousand. Much of the most modern part of the town lies at the foot of the hill, and beyond the walls, stretching along the western banks of its river. It is well furnished with minarets and domes, rising from several mosques; and also boasts the palace of the governor or hakem, who resides there in times of public tranquillity. I brought a letter to him from the pasha of Bagdad, and was received with every answering hospitality. Kirkook is regarded as one of the most considerable places in Lower Courdistan; which, extending from the north-western frontiers of Khuzistan, to the high mountainous passes of Courdistan (the ancient Carduchia,) comprehends almost the whole of Assyria Proper. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of Kirkook is in very careful cultivation; the gardens producing olives, pears, and grapes; and though a Mahomedan town, both wine and arrack are made, and consumed in great quantities. Here I bade adieu to the last date-trees I was to see on this side of the Tigris, a few only

skirting these old Assyrian boundaries; and those were stunted and meagre, in comparison with the ample and luxuriant groves which overshadow the waters of Mesopotamia.

Dec. 10th. — An early hour was fixed this morning for visiting the Naphtha Springs and burning hill, a little way out of the direct road to Sulimania. The escort provided me by the governor of Kirkook consisted of twenty persons, with almost as many kinds of weapons, ancient and modern, from the Parthian light javelin, to the present heavy blunderbuss. These were appointed to attend me to the object of my curiosity; while an additional Courdish mehmandar, and another detachment of fighting-men, with my mules and baggage, were to await my return at the suburb of the town, and there falling in with the rest of the escort, complete my guard to the city of Sulimania.

These arrangements having been made, we crossed the cultivated country in a direction N. 20° W.; and after a gallop of little more than a quarter of an hour, reached a range of low hills, crowned with a regular line of rock rising from their clayey and sulphurous brows. On the side of one of these hills, and which faces the north-west, Strabo describes the situation of the Naphtha Springs. They are ten in number. For a considerable distance from them we felt the air sulphurous; but in drawing near, it became worse, and we were all instantly struck with excruciating head-aches. The springs consist of several pits or wells, seven or eight feet in diameter, and ten or twelve deep. The whole number are within the compass of four or five hundred yards. A flight of steps has been cut into each pit for the purpose of approaching the fluid, which rises and falls according to the dryness or moisture of the weather. The

natives lave it out with ladles into bags made of skins, which are carried on the backs of asses to Kirkook, or to any other mart for its sale. The profits are estimated at thirty or forty thousand piastres annually. The Kirkook naphtha is principally consumed by the markets in the south-west of Courdistan, while the pits not far from Kufri supply Bagdad and its environs. The Kirkook naphtha is black; and close to its wells lies a great pool of stagnant water, very muddy, and covered with a thick scum deeply tinged with sulphur. On going a few hundred yards to the eastward on the summit of the same hill, we were conducted to a flat circular spot, measuring fifty feet in diameter, full of small holes, to the number of a hundred at least; whence we saw issue as many clear flames without an atom of smoke, but smelling most sulphureously. In fact, the whole surface of this perforated plot of ground appeared a crust of sulphur over a body of fire within; and experiment seemed to prove it, for one of my escort dug a hole into it with his dagger, to a depth of ten or twelve inches, when, on this fresh aperture being made, a new flame instantly burst forth, rising for some time to a greater height than any of the others. From this spot the government derives another source of revenue from the sale of its sulphur. The natives call the place Baba Gurgur, *Gur* is an Arabic name for naphtha or bitumen. Mr. Rich describes the principal bitumen-pit at Hit (which place must have furnished the builders of Babylon) as having two sources, and being divided by a wall; on one side of which the bitumen bubbles up, and on the other the oil of naphtha. The manner of qualifying the bitumen for use as a cement, he observes, is very troublesome, for to render it capable of adhering to the brick it must be boiled with a certain proportion of oil. Its chief purpose, when

applied to building, appears to have been in the lower parts as a preservative against damp; and at present it holds the same character, being used for coating cisterns, baths, caulking boats, &c.; in short, to every thing put in the way of injury from water. The black naphtha springs at Bakou, on the Caspian, are of similar benefit to the inhabitants of that part of the country; and Jonas Hanway describes their appearances and applications, nearly the same as they exist at the present day. He mentions, that when the weather is thick and hazy, the springs boil up higher; and that the naphtha, sometimes taking fire on the surface of the earth, runs like burning lava into the sea. In boiling over, the oily substance makes so strong a consistency as to gradually become a thick pitchy substance all round the mouth of the pit. The poorer sort of people use it as we would do oil in lamps, to boil their food. They find it burn best with a small mixture of ashes; but for fear of accidents they preserve it in earthen vessels, under ground, and at some distance from their dwellings. There is also a white naphtha, of a thinner fluid than the black and not found in such great quantities. It is sometimes recommended medicinally, inwardly for chest complaints, and outwardly for cramps and rheumatisms. Both it and the black are used for varnish. When it takes fire by accident, the consequences have often been fatal; and Strabo, who calls it liquid bitumen, asserts that its flame cannot be extinguished by water. The experiment tried by Alexander was horrible in its effects; and, with a very little addition made by a poetical fancy, might induce us to believe that the celebrated consuming garments which Medea bestowed, were robes dipped in the naphtha that flowed so near her native land. The flaming soil, or *everlasting fire*, as it is called, of Bakou, is not less famous

than its naphtha springs. It is now part of the eastern territory of Russia.

On our return from Baba Gurgur to Kirkook, in passing along the rugged summits of several close lines of this range of hills, we observed innumerable spots of native sulphur, and a great many pools sharing its properties, which might be converted into excellent medicinal baths. At half-past eleven in the forenoon, I joined my baggage not far from the town. The river which washes its walls, first bears the name of the Sircossar, then takes that of Kirkook, under which title it meanders westward for nearly fifty miles, till it joins the Little Zab; and so united, soon after falls into the Tigris at Senn. Hitherto, from those shores to the banks of the Kirkook, we had only been travelling the comparatively tameable hills and vales of Old Assyria; the eagle fastnesses of the equally ancient Carduchians were yet to be explored; and we now seriously commenced our mountain-journey. Immediately on leaving the suburbs of the town, we began to ascend the rocky country, which brought us gradually to the summit of its highest point, called Khy Beer Dagh. This range of hills divides the government of Kirkook from the plain of Altonkupri, an irregular tract, watered towards its northern part by the same stream which has previously flowed past Arbille, the ancient Arbela of Alexander's victory. We marched in a direction S. 70° E. over the undulating ground of the plain for nearly an hour, when we recommenced a second chain of heights, and more lofty than those of the Khy Beer Dagh. These were indeed the *Land of Edom* I had descried some months before from the top of Mount Orontes, red and craggy, and seemingly spread to the farthest horizon. Their substance was huge masses of sand-stone mingled with reddish

earth, and perfectly barren of any sort of verdure. We were nearly half an hour in gaining the highest in our path; from which elevation the road continued along the summits of the range, whose rugged tops might have appeared to stretch in endless succession before us, had not the stupendous mountains of Shar-i-zool, in the immediate vicinity of Sulimania, rose due east in black and towering majesty. Others, more to the north, were white with snow. The whole of the latter part of this day's travel lay over a succession of these intermediate ascents and descents; breathing our horses and ourselves, for climbing those cloud-capped summits. The only habitations we saw in this arid course were a miserable collection of huts, called Hibba, lying in a hollow to our right, about two hours' journey from our halting place. Having travelled altogether about five hours, we turned suddenly off the road into a winding valley, which brought us in a few minutes to the outskirts of the village of Ismael Kara Sassan, our allotted quarters for the night. No description can give an idea of the rude state of our accommodation: the most spacious hovel in the place, for it merited no better name, only affording me one apartment, the door-way of which I was obliged to barricade with a matting of reeds, to prevent the constant inroads of dogs, asses, and goats. The people were not very well pleased at our appearance, though from the ancient custom of their land, they affected to welcome us, and really would not take the smallest remuneration for their hospitality. A little cultivation extended from Hibba to this place. The way having been so rugged and hilly from the time of our leaving Kirkook, we could not ride at our usual pace, namely, from four to three miles and a half in the hour;

night, after having received all the quadrupeds of the community. Horses are not a very common possession amongst them; asses and oxen performing all the purposes of agriculture, and transporting loads besides. The latter, like mules, or baggage-horses, never have their pack-saddles taken from their backs either day or night.

Dec. 14. — The village of Kunamassi stands in a small dell of the great valley of the two rivers, and commands a little mountain-stream that falls into the Kara-Choran. We left it at eight o'clock this morning, keeping along the river's bank to the north-east for rather more than an hour; then changing our course to the north-west, we soon lost sight of our beautiful open vale, having got into one that was excessively narrow and sinuous, though fertile like the other, and cultivated high up its hilly slopes with vineyards, and little copses of the dwarf oak. But this pretty scenery was soon displaced by something more wild and savage, for our road suddenly wound up the side of an almost perpendicular mountain, presenting a tremendous uninterrupted cliff above, and a black and frightful chasm below, from the bottom of which, as we proceeded in our ascent, we heard the hollow echoes of the roaring Kara-Choran. The dangers of the precipice on our left were increased by the extreme narrowness of the path, along which the wall of the mountain pressed us on our right. Only a single animal could pass on at a time, and the apprehension which had seized me under similar circumstances on the Caucasus, here assailed me again, of being met by other travellers before we could gain a broader, and therefore securer road. Our cavalcade had accomplished about a mile and a half of this perilous way, when the view of a valley below suddenly burst upon us, so perfectly

a scene of enchantment, that for a moment I forgot my customary horror of the dizzy height from whence I saw it. Indeed, without exception, it was the finest specimen of romantic rural beauty I had seen since entering the East. The whole appeared field and garden, thickly planted with shaded villages, and watered by the noble river Kara-Choran, and its many little tributary streams. This luxuriant spot forms the small district of Mahott, and takes its name from its principal village, so called. Our descent into this mountain-paradise, was by a zig-zag road, steep, rocky and difficult; but the view beneath seemed to invite our animals as well as ourselves, and we went eagerly, though cautiously forward. In about a quarter of an hour we reached the left bank of the river, and halted to repose our cattle.

This short breathing gave me an opportunity of examining a very singular kind of bridge which here crossed the stream. It consisted of six piers; the two centre ones were distant about thirty feet; the two corresponding, fifteen feet; and the two succeeding piers rose on the sloping banks. The whole were united above, by a sort of platform made of wicker-work, additionally supported for a few feet from the top of the inner face of each pier, by the thick arms of trees, whose natural crooks and projections were so ingeniously disposed, as to unite with the rude masonry below; thus, by their bracket-like support, giving strength to the elastic path-way above them. The height of this curious bridge was thirty feet from the water; presenting an interesting specimen of perhaps the first principles of pontific architecture, amongst a primitive, and still world-uncultured people. It stands on a particularly romantic spot, just where the river takes its course through the rocky hollow I mentioned

before, and where we now saw it dashing and pouring along with a violence and impetuosity covering the sides of the dark abyss with foam. The slender materials of which the superstructure of the bridge is formed, are only calculated for foot-passengers, or asses very lightly laden; and when the stream is fordable, it is never used. I dismounted and crossed it from curiosity; but found so bending and fragile a surface not at all a pleasant path. My people then forded the river; and proceeding over the beautifully undulating hill and dale we had contemplated from the towering height on our rear, every step presented us with some new and lovely feature in the landscape. Cultivation spread on all sides, mingled with a rich sylvan scenery of fine oaks; some of which had attained a very considerable size. The road was good; and an hour's riding brought us to the principal village called Mahott; a few yards beyond, placed us at the termination of the valley on that side, with a new range of heights to be surmounted. These we began to ascend to the north-east; and after winding along their sides and summits for an hour, our path descended again. The first part of the way was pleasant, from the abundant vegetation that appeared; and we passed the little village of Jagera, prettily situated in the bosom of a wood of oaks; but lower down, our road sunk into a vast hollow, nearly encaverned by the rocks, which brought us out into a close valley, taking an oval shape from the meeting sides of several gigantic and almost perpendicular mountains. That which fronted us when we emerged from our gloomy passage, is called the Tahite; and immediately over its tremendous brows, though at some distance, we saw the pale head of a second mountain amidst the darkening clouds. Its name was the Daroo. The shadowy ranges of the Bilbos

heights stretched far to the north-west. A river which rises in the mountains to the eastward, near Merida, flows through this oval valley; and having received the waters of the Kara-Choran, not far from the base of the Tahite, takes the name of that mountain; and pouring on in a rather zig-zag course, though in a general direction of nearly west, through a great line of hilly country, marks the southern boundary of the Persian influence over Courdistan. Where that terminates, like a sentinel no more required at his post, this fine stream throws itself into the bed of the little Zab, and we see no more of the Tahite.

During our still descending march through the oval valley, which continued very rocky, and with a bad road, I frequently caught picturesque views of the dark and rugged abysses, through which the rivers had worn a passage to their junction; and on completing our descent we forded the Tahite, then so low that the water only reached the bellies of our horses, but the rapidity of the current almost forced them down the stream: here it measured thirty yards across. We were now to climb the Tahite mountain itself. Our course lay N. 40° W. up its steep face, growing every yard more precipitous and difficult. Midway we passed a village taking the name of the mountain, and which, as we approached it, appeared looking down upon us from the clouds; those sublime accompaniments to such scenery partially shrouding the heights in all directions. In about an hour and a half's hard toiling, we at length attained, not the highest point of the mountain, but that stage of it along which our road was to lie. This elevated region seemed a world of itself, with a new order of hills and dales; carrying us on a path of easy slopes, over the brows of numerous receding hills; and sometimes, descending into their valleys, shewed immense rocks,

in massy and spiral forms, like churches, standing perfectly insulated in the hollow of the dells. Two miles further on this serpentine and gently upland road, brought us to the village of Moznavi. The still towering extreme summit of the Tahite was left behind us rather to the south-east, but we now saw before us a new point of escalade; the smooth and marble side of the Daroo. I had thought the steeps of the Tahite sufficiently arduous; but here they seemed almost impracticable; yet our guide led us on without a shew of apprehension, and we followed. Words, however, cannot paint the difficulties of the pass. The road up which we clambered, was actually over naked and slippery marble rocks; then delved suddenly into deep clefts, and intricate and apparently untrodden paths between rough fissured slopes, bottomed with such beds of loose stones that the feet of our poor fatigued beasts sunk into them at every step, at the imminent risk of breaking their legs. But height after height of this terrible mountain rose before us, precipice on precipice; and it is scarcely possible to describe what I felt, on looking at the people about me, and considering the dreadful task I had undertaken. Every mountain I had hitherto crossed, through the whole range of Caucasus, was security and easy travelling, compared with the actual dangers of this; but our new Courdish guide, whom I had hired from Moznavi, made light of them, and went before us as if he were treading air. The great objects of difficulty, and therefore of peril, were enormous masses of the finest marble, projecting in every direction from the body of the mountain on the tracks we were ascending. Nothing could exceed their beauty; some purple, exquisitely veined, others blue and white, and many spotted with red and green jasper. Sometimes these rocks were hang-

ing over our heads, at other places we had to scramble over detached fragments; fathomless abysses beneath preventing any path round. One slip of man or beast was destruction; no hand could have time to catch him, and not a twig was there, to stop his fate a moment; yet, to my unceasing astonishment, notwithstanding the nature of these obstacles, even our laden mules made their way with an ease and sure-footedness that seemed miraculous. We were an hour and a half thus arduously climbing, ere we got sight of the village of Baytoush, our purposed halting-place; and when we did descry it, it looked like a little Gibraltar; being built on a high range of crags, and overshadowed by another, of stupendous Daroo, whose white summits, even then, appeared interminable. The possible greater difficulties of the next day's march, I must confess, appalled me, when our guide pointed it out, as lying directly over the highest peak.

I had dispatched my Courdish mehmandar, as soon as we espied the place, to announce my approach to the governor of this part of the district, a native chief, who resided there; and the news of a Frangy coming! a being totally strange to such remote and elevated regions, soon called the whole population to gaze at the wonder. The inhabitants of 500 houses, men, women and children, were all in lines on the roofs and walls of the ridgy streets, to catch a sight of him as I passed. The general uniformity in the dresses of both sexes, at some little distance, rather gave them the appearance of a military garrison turned out, than an assemblage of peaceable families; and the dark monotony of their garb, with the wild ferocious countenances of the men, completely finished the terrible sublime which surrounded me on all sides. After passing the first range

of habitations, I had yet to mount a more steep and zig-zag ascent, divided and overhung by huge masses of rock, all equally well manned, and so continuing to the very top of this animated division of the mountain; on which stood the mansion of their chief, like a citadel. It was built on the brink of a perpendicular cliff, commanding the whole of the country below.

Mahmoud Beg (that was the name of the chief) came out to receive me, and conducting me into his airy castle, welcomed me with a courtesy which retained nothing of the barbarian. He placed every thing within it at my command, adding ten or twelve gloomy-looking Courds, armed at all points, to attend my nod; and I had no reason to complain of their want of diligence in watching the turn of my eye, and flying to obey it. Apartments were assigned totally to myself and followers; and my host, so far from encumbering me with the ceremonies of his presence, the day after my arrival, visited me only in the evening; but insisted on accompanying me personally the next morning, to guard me to the summit of the Daroo: "his son, (he said,) should go thence with me, to be my pledge of safe-conduct to the chief of the neighbouring district."

It was impossible to feel myself thus entertained by a Carduchian chief, or to have passed through the scene that led me to his hospitality, without having recalled at every step the different picture which Xenophon draws of his passage through these dreadful mountains; when the ancestors of the very men whom I had just seen peopling the rocks to gaze quietly on a coming stranger, had manned them in like manner; but then, in the fierceness of independent spirits, to "roll down stones, some of a ton weight, and others of various bulks, upon the heads

of the approaching Greeks; and these huge masses being dashed against the cliffs in their fall, the splinters, hurling every where, rendered it almost impossible to dare the road." Yet Xenophon did dare it; he trod those exposed valleys; he scaled those overwhelming heights; and intimidating even the bold spirits from whom he sought only to fly, made a retreat more glorious than the most fortunate victory. But no one can sufficiently appreciate the invincible courage of Xenophon, nor the heroic following of his soldiers, who has not witnessed the terrific passes of Courdistan: and when armed with hostile men on every rock, what must have been the virtue that then led steadily forward! In giving that old, comprehensive name to the Greek leader's courage, I believe it was never more appropriately applied.

From the nature of the road in our approach to Baytoush, we could not travel more than two miles an hour on an average; and having been nine hours in reaching our menzil, the distance must be about 18 miles from our last quarters. Although the face of these high altitudes of Courdistan bears so very savage and sterile an aspect, every mountain side has its villages; and there are little hidden valleys close to each, which produce corn barley, and tobacco in abundance; the latter of a kind in general request over the north of Persia. But these are not all the vegetable treasures which these cloud-capped heights conceal; fruits of various sorts, and particularly grapes, pears, apples, and pomegranates, grow in plenty; the vine indeed, furnishes them with wine and spirits, which, notwithstanding the Mahomedan law against it, are drank without reserve. Their cucumbers are excellent; and perhaps no vegetable is more sedulously cultivated in the East, none being more universally eaten for re-

freshment and flavour: here, as in Judea, it is esteemed a pleasant thing to be "as a lodge, in a garden of cucumbers."

The curiosity I excited amongst the inhabitants insured me the sight of women of all ranks; who, sharing the liberty of their hardy sires and husbands, walk about at will; and, so far from being the mere idols of a harem, like the wives and daughters of the tribes of Caucasus, they perform not only all domestic duties attached to their families, but also take on themselves the laborious offices of bringing water and fuel, and tending the cattle. These primitive occupations are pursued with cheerfulness and activity; such mountain-exercise giving elasticity to their step, and an extraordinary freedom to their carriage, though without the least taint of immodesty. Their persons are in general fine, with handsome frank countenances; and their native habit rather becoming. The materials and ornaments may vary according to the wealth of the wearer, but the fashion is much the same in all.

The dress consists of a sort of shift, buttoned at the neck, and opening thence pretty low down in front, though not so far as that of the Persian ladies. Its sleeves are long and tight to the wrists, while the garment itself reaches rather below the knees. Trowsers are worn, fastened round the ankles; slippers, or naked feet, finish those extremities. The shift is usually of a dark brownish colour, though sometimes the younger females have it of lighter tints. Over it they wear an open robe or caftan, with short sleeves, of a similar form to that of the Turkish women of the higher orders. It also is of a sombre hue, the natural colour, I believe, of the hair or wool of which it is manufactured. The only gayer tint I observed on any person, after passing the Courdistan frontier, was a pale green; and it seemed general in

and about Sulimania. A large red turban, bulging out at the sides, over the ears, is the usual coiffure. It terminates at the top in a point, and is fastened under the chin by a strap covered with silver plates. From its swelling sides diverge two red ribbons, tasselled with silver, gilt, or brass balls, and nearly touching the shoulders. The point of the turban has its appendage also, in the form of a long piece of drapery flowing behind, or occasionally brought forward to act as a veil or chadre. Necklaces of glass, or coloured beads, surrounded the neck in endless rows. I saw some women at Baytoush with nothing more on their heads than the flowing veil, bound round their foreheads with a simple red band; but all wore the plaited chin strap. The females thus dressed seemed of the inferior order, being habited in coarse linen vestures and trowsers of a dingy white, and fastened round the waist with a fold of red linen. I have described the costume of the men in a former page, the same fashion prevailing to a certain resemblance amongst all the Courdish tribes. Their manners too, have a similar stamp of original brotherhood, though the high mountain tracks certainly shew the most wildness in their independence. The men, (something in the style of the poor in Ireland, of the old Milesian stock,) individually cultivate just as much ground as each thinks will suffice the wants of his family, and not an inch more. There are a few exceptions to this rule; but the majority having ploughed and sown, live the rest of the time in proud carelessness, ranging the mountains in pursuit of game, and, not seldom, of plunder. In times of war, or inroad, they are bound to attend their chief; and if called upon by the neighbouring state to which their tribes are attached by treaty or custom, they must be ready to follow him to that field also.

The people of Baytoush are of the Mickri tribe, and of a sufficiently daring reputation; but those of most notorious fame in the arts and achievements of rapine, are the Bilbossi and Rewandoozi tribes. The country of the Bilbossi is not more than eight hours' journey to the north-west of Baytoush; and its people have so effectually raised "their arm against every man," that every man's arm is now raised against them: amongst others, my present host, assisted by the chiefs of Serdasht and Soak Boulak, two Courdish towns to the north, have lately considerably curbed the inroads of these their more savage brethren. In short, plunder is the glory of the untameable tribes; whether it be the carrying off of cattle, or of women, the sacking of a village, or the robbery of a caravan, all are equally acts of necessity with them; their wants are to be provided; the sword is their reap-hook; and woe to the poor wretches who come in view of such husbandmen! Knowledge of the mountain-passes, which bulwark these tribes, can only be obtained from the Courds themselves. Hence, any neighbouring province, wishing to stem these violences when exercised on its people, immediately confederates with some other tribes; who, jealous of their more successful brethren, and generally sufferers also by their predatory incursions, gladly join their own talents at stratagem and surprise to the more open warfare of their auxiliary, for the sake of revenge and sharing the spoil. Scarcely six months ago, a coalition of this kind against the Bilbossi took place between Abbas Mirza and the Courdish triumvirate I have just mentioned. His quota was two thousand of his European organized troops, under their own officers; who, led on by their three allies, suddenly pushed into the mountain-fastnesses of the plunderers; burnt their villages; took 6000 families prisoners,

with all their cattle, and brought them down into the lower country near the lake of Ouroomia; where his royal highness has planted them in villages; and, placing them under vigilance, attempts to bring them round to more civilised habits. But these are a small number, when compared with the strength of the whole tribe; who, panting for retaliation, only await an opportunity, for some signal reprisal on the frontiers of the prince, and a more mighty vengeance on his Courdish allies. The Bilbossi live in independent clans, though all belong to one tribe, the head of which they nominally acknowledge as the superior of the whole. But he has no authority whatever beyond his own especial clan; and the consequence is, that when the numerous clans have nothing to do without the pale of their own boundaries, they amuse themselves by robbing each other, stealing each other's women; and not unfrequently committing reciprocal murders, in these home exploits. They profess themselves to be Mahomedans, of the orthodox faith; but are, in fact, as ignorant of the laws of their prophet, as of what really constitutes the difference between the Sunni and the Sheah sects: all they follow with regard to religion, are a few forms and fasts; but as to principle, they have none.

On the more northerly and western mountainous tracks, towards the Lake Van, and also to the east of that body of water, dwell the Rewandoozi tribe, a most formidable people, who have never yet submitted, even nominally, to the Ottoman or Persian name. They amount to upwards of a hundred thousand families. In the winter, they live amongst their embattled rocks; but in the milder months, roam about, pitching their tents from valley to valley. The Amadi and Bitlisi tribes are their near neighbours; and though reckoned amongst the fiercest, have yet suffered

themselves to be numbered in the list of Courds attached to the Porte, but the name is all; not the Grand Seignor himself could compel one of their independent sons into the field: if they chuse to be persuaded, it is well, but authority has no power.* Savage as they are, their country, in parts, is far otherwise, being extremely fertile along the immediate shores of the Van, and on the banks of several streams flowing into the Tigris. Some of them even pursue a kind of commerce, in the culture and sale of tobacco, which they have particularly fine; also sun-dried raisins, and other fruits, and a very delicious honey *, and manna. The latter is collected at break of day from the leaves of the oak; it forms there during the night, and is found in white sugary morsels on the trees. The season of its produce is usually in May and June, and never exceeds forty or fifty days. The oaks of the Van, as well as those of the Daroo, yield abundance of gall-nuts, which the inhabitants turn to considerable profit. The wild Amadi, and Bitlisi, and the entirely lawless Rewandoozi, may be regarded as the most

* During my halt at Sultania, when accompanying Abbas Mirza to Teheran, I observed an exemplary custom of the inhabitants in the manner of taking the honey, and at the same time saving the bees. It happened that my quarters were in a house where a number of hives were kept, and the monotonous hum of the bees was so constant and loud from their multitude, I could not sleep. On making inquiry in the morning, I found that the hives were constructed like long thin barrels thrust through the mud walls of the house; one end opens to the air for the ingress of the bees, and the other projecting more than a foot into the inhabited rooms. That extremity was closed with a cake of clay. The proprietor then explained to me, that when he wanted to take the honey, he had only to make a continued noise for some little time on this shut up end, to set all the bees to flight out at the other. He then removed the cake, and during their absence, cleared the hive of the honey; though, indeed, always leaving them sufficient for their winter store. The seal was then re-fixed, and the little labourers soon after returned to their homes to commence anew. Thus was simply shown a system of humanity, which, in fact, redoubled the profits of the possessor.

legitimate representatives of the ancient Carduchians; and, probably, neither in manners nor language are much changed, since Xenophon traversed their country in his way to Armenia. The formidable bow is still in use amongst them, as well as the spear, dagger, sword, and shield; and also many possess ancient shirts of mail, which, they assert, have been handed down in their families from time immemorial. During my passage through Courdistan, several of these suits were shewn to me, bearing every appearance of great antiquity. With the people themselves, the estimation of their value rises in proportion to the thickness of the small rings of which the shirt is composed, and the great projection of the rivets. Mahmoud Beg exhibited one with much pride; which, he told me, he had taken from a Bilbossi, who had plundered it from a Rewandoozi, who had sworn it was made in the time of Dowd (David), king of Israel!

December 15th. — About nine o'clock this morning, we were to leave our mountain citadel, for a journey yet higher into the clouds. The hospitable chief brought me his son, at the head of a dozen well-armed Courds, my promised guards and pledges of safety all the way to Serdasht, my next quarters; while Mahmoud himself, with ten more horsemen, prepared to be our additional escort over the summit of the mountain. The lofty Daroo forms one link of the vast alpine chain issuing from the stupendous Ararat; being, in fact, part of the great range of mountains called by the ancients Mount Taurus. The line on which the Daroo rises, continues in a winding and nearly uninterrupted course from Ararat, southward and south-east, to the shores of the Persian Gulf; where, after having borne many names, it terminates near the Isle of Hormuz. During this

course it gives rise to two of the most celebrated rivers in the world, besides other fine streams of less note, and is also marked by some of the most famous mountains towards the south of Irak-Ajem.

As soon as our troop left the rocky street of Baytoush, we commenced our ascent. The road was a mere foot-path, and, from its extreme abruptness, one of the most perilous that could have been called a road. Indeed, as we slowly gained upon the highest region of the mountain, its dangers so augmented from fearful to terrific, that I doubt the possibility of any person, unaccustomed to such stupendously dizzy heights, being able to look down the endless depth these presented, without falling headlong. In winding up the almost perpendicular summit, I sometimes could not help glancing my eye below, and the scene it unfolded was indeed tremendous. Had I been aloft in a balloon, I could hardly have felt more abandoned to the great gulf of air above the clouds; all around was so steep, and fathomless. But it would not have been enough for these bold mountaineers to have clambered their precipitous pile, by any tolerably sure footing; the narrow path, like that in our approach to Baytoush, was interrupted by huge projecting masses of white marble, whose beauty indeed mocked our terrors, and enhanced them too, by their dazzling surfaces affecting our sight; consequently, we cautiously followed each other over these points of particular danger; but most of the Courds undauntedly kept their saddles, passing over our fearful impediments with a firmness and lightness that could not fail re-assuring our resolution. The peak before us glittered with snow, and our feelings at every step sufficiently graduated our advance to that extreme point of elevation: for some time we had observed quantities of the

same lying thick in the furrows and clefts on our way; but this being the southern face of the mountain, the sun was yet too powerful there, to permit any lately fallen on the outer surface lower down than the extreme peak, to remain long. We were then gaining fast on that white summit, broad, craggy, and precipitous; but which at a distance, had appeared a mere point amidst the clouds, only distinguishable, at times, from their fleecy forms by its stationary situation. After a hard toil of two hours, we reached the top, and halting to take breath amongst the snow, met a thorough salutation from the north, in the shape of one of its most cutting winds. Here I took leave of my generous host, who had not only put himself to the trouble of this hazardous ascent, but committed his son to all the chances of surprise from the neighbouring hostile regions, in order to shew hospitality to a stranger. Having duly expressed my sense of this kindness, we parted, more like old friends than the acquaintance of a day, and turned our faces to our respective descents.

The chilling hand of winter was on every object before me; and ice and snow spreading over the whole mountain-side, covered the path we were to go to a depth of several feet; but we had those with us accustomed to explore untrodden ways, and they led us on without hesitation, or one false step. This brow of the Daroo was by no means so steep as the opposite side, and the road gradually wound down into a serpentine glen, amongst the thousand rocky projections which embattle the upper regions of this stupendous mountain. In proportion to our descent, these craggy buttresses expanded into rocky hills, throwing out countless ramifications, and mingling their sloping bases with those of the answering chains. After a long ride amongst these bold and savage valleys, we gained something of a more level path,

and took a direction N. 60° E. over the tops and along the sides of the branching hills I have just mentioned. Thus travelling downward, we gradually left the snow behind, and in an hour and a half reached a small and rapid stream flowing north-west, which we crossed. This brought us on a lower stretch of mountains running to the south-west, and the character of our way varied at almost every turn. Sometimes we passed over cultivated tracts, their brown furrowed sides shewing traces of the plough; at others, through thick ragged woods, nearly leafless, or amidst wild ravines washed by roaring torrents. For full two hours, on a tolerably easy descent, we traversed this changing scenery; but at the expiration of that time, arrived at a very steep declivity, leading through a chasm deeply cleft into the mountain. Its bottom was clay, and rendered slippery by the unceasing moisture of hundreds of little rills for ever trickling down its sides. This road was often treacherous to our horses' feet, while the gloom of the passage, with the chilling and mournful monotony of the constant trickling of the water over the rocks, made it rather a melancholy ride of nearly three miles, the extent of this almost subterraneous glen; which, however, brought us out upon the edge of a small plain, bordered on the opposite side by the town of Serdasht. It was to be our menzil for the remainder of the day; and taking rather a quicker pace towards it, we gladly arrived there after a severe march of six hours, and over a distance of between ten and eleven miles.

The place is walled and towered with burnt brick; while a few wretched-looking houses, with gardens of no better promise, make up a straggling kind of suburb. In our approach to the gate of the town, (for it possessed only one,) and while at some

little distance, we saw a great concourse of people issuing forth, and planting themselves on the side of the road. My young Courdish friend having previously ridden forward to announce my coming to the chief, I naturally imagined these people were getting together to satisfy their curiosity. But the spectacle soon received another, and not an agreeable explanation; for, on reaching the spot, I beheld not only a crowd, but a man suspended by the neck from the arm of a tree, and writhing in the agonies of death. I learnt, from inquiries, that the miserable wretch was a noted Bilbossi thief; who, together with his brother, had been prowling about for several weeks past, and committing the most horrible acts of robbery and murder, even in the vicinity of the town. His last exploit was to carry off a married woman. The husband caught him in the fact, and after a running fight, the ruffian was so severely wounded as to be taken prisoner and brought to the town. The circumstance had occurred only that very morning, and death was immediately pronounced on him by the governor. I was also informed, that my sudden approach had hastened the wretched man's fate, he being instantly ordered to execution, to prevent the possibility of my intercession in his behalf. From this I learnt, that it is a custom of the country to grant to the demands of any stranger whom the chief receives as his guest, a pardon to even the worst criminal, should the visitor think fit to desire it.

This prologue to my first interview with his Courdish excellency, was certainly not couched in the most civilized terms; but when he came himself on the stage, I met a reception in every way similar to the warrior welcome of my frank-hearted host of Baytoush, though with something more of the rough mountain-chief in his courtesies. He lodged me in his house,

and when I was to leave him next day, gave me a near kinsman of his own to be the leader of my new escort.

December 16th. — This morning at nine o'clock, I bade farewell to my young guide of the Daroo; and with repeated assurances of the only return he wished for his services, my lasting friendship for his brave father, we parted at the city gate. On repassing it, I found the body of the Bilbossi still swinging in the air, and with a horrible whirling motion, the wind blowing fiercely from the east. Our journey continued on the descent, the plain of Serdasht being only one of the many small level tracts which happily intersect these alpine fastnesses. We had entered it by an almost covert-way amongst the rocks, and we left it by a steep and jagged path; which conducted us, at about half-way down the mountain, to the bottom of an immense yawning chasm. We crossed it, almost deafened by the noise of a prodigious torrent pouring through it in a succession of waterfalls, and thence rolling on with the same roaring violence to the valley beneath. Our route did not follow its course, but rather began to ascend again, in a direction N. 60° E. On looking round, I observed the whole horizon, from north-east to south-west, bounded by vast ranges of mountains, over-topped by others totally shrouded in snow. The most elevated before us was the Kourtak. The chain to the south-east is called the Banna; at the foot of which, and two long marches from where we were, stands a town of the same name. The city of Senna, the capital of Ardelan, lies yet farther in the same direction, five long marches distant. After attaining the highest point of the hill we were then mounting, and traversing its summit, an extensive and fertile vale presented itself from that opposite brow. A fine river called the Kaloo-Zug, meanders through

it, exhibiting rich wooded banks, mingled with cultivation. My new conductor, who could speak a little Persian, told me, that after winding along several similar valleys, it joins a large river in the Bilbossi country, which, from the description he gave of its situation, can be no other than one of the upper branches of the Lesser Zab. The Kaloo-Zug rises amongst the hills east of the Kourtak mountain. On completing our descent into this pleasant vale, we reached the river, and forded it near a wicker bridge, at a breadth of about fifty feet; and from thence the highest point of the Daroo bore S. 10° E. That immense mountain is covered with groves of oak in many places, and hence it takes its name; Deroo or Daroo meaning oak, in the language of the country. There appears a curious coincidence between this derivation, and that of Druid in the Welsh. Our course now lay through fertile grounds, and low wooded lands. In half an hour we passed by an artificial conical hill about eighty feet in height; at the foot of which stands the village of Kala Robat, so called from the kala, or castle, that formerly covered its summit. On an average, our road lay N. 45° E., first along this richly cultivated vale, and next through one of narrower dimensions terminated by the village of Urmoozan. At that point we commenced our ascent of the Kourtak mountain; it was gradual, and the path highly picturesque, as well as excellent, running between forests of oak, some trees of which, for the dwarf sort, were of a prodigious size. In about an hour and a half we had gained a considerable elevation, and the mountain began to shew a more rugged aspect; our road became broken by ravines and jutting rocks, but still the noble overshadowing scenery continued amongst the cliffs; and we climbed on without much suffering from the increased cold, till arriving

at the pale regions that approached the summit, we found snow in all the hollows, and lying thickly amidst the trees. Another hour and a half brought us to the highest point of our march, whence we wound along the steep and woody brow of the mountain, where every tree was sear, and the roots of them all bedded deep in snow for a length of two miles, at which extreme northern side we began another path, descending into the very lap of winter. Our way lay down the water-coursed declivity of a precipitous and icy ravine, where the horses and mules, from the latter circumstance, could with difficulty keep their feet. Necessary caution created delay, and the evening rapidly closing upon us, alarmed some of our Courds. We were yet many hours from the village marked out by our guide for lodging the night, and the tracts around were notoriously subject to the Bilbóssi marauder. But earlier in the day, I had been obliged to choose between two possible evils; risking an encounter with those freebooters, or a worse danger to me, a sudden fall of snow before I could clear the mountains. The wasting of one twenty-four hours by a panic halt for that time, might probably incur that accident, and shut me up amongst these then hardly passable heights of Courdistan for the whole winter. While we were yet on the south-eastern side of the Kourtak, my Serdasht mehmandar had tried to persuade me to stop the remainder of the day and night at Istan, a small village a little out of the road; but I determined to proceed, for the reason just mentioned; and my own people had not been backward in shewing the Courd, that no apprehension of threatened surprises, &c. could intimidate them from pressing forward. Indeed, our party was of tolerable strength with regard to numbers and arms, and most of the escort appeared as ready to face

circumstances as ourselves. Hence we had sped very fairly on, till our horses began to lose time in the icy ravine; however, though night caught us in our difficulties, the sky continued clear, and at nine o'clock the moon rose. By that hour we had got over no inconsiderable compass of ground, which consisted of one of the wildest countries imagination can conceive. Sometimes we rode along the tops of rocky hills, then wound by dark intricate mazes through the intersecting valleys, at other times were crashing the ice under our feet in crossing mountain-streams, and then would suddenly become immured between the meeting crags of deep hollows, worn by the annual spring-torrents from these *everlasting hills.* In all this, the moon had been a great assistance, illuminating with her full light the broad bosoms of the rocks, or in closer paths lending us a friendly ray; so that while we had her lamp above us, we passed over the most treacherous ground with tolerable security; and in proportion to our descent, both snow and ice gradually disappearing from our immediate road, promised still surer footing. But all at once the clouds beat up from behind the mountains, and gathered so thickly over the sky, that in a short time the moon became totally obscured, and I began to fear, from the complete blackness around, that we should not only lose our way, but end our fatiguing march for the remainder of the night under a heavy fall of snow. At all events, however, I could now only proceed; and about ten o'clock we found ourselves in a long narrow valley running to the north-east, with a bitter wind from that point blowing direct in our faces. A small river called the Yeltomar wound through it, and along its bank we guided our course for a considerable time, till the road struck across the rocky projections of a mountain; where,

indeed, " feeling our darkling way," we managed at last to get safely through them; and soon after, our Serdasht Courd told us we should reach the village of Yeltomar, a most miserable and savage place. Cold and hungry as we were, any shelter promised us comfort, even were it no better than sharing the stable with our mules and horses; and at midnight precisely, we drew near the place, but the mehmandar had so ill an opinion of the inhabitants, he would not go forward alone. He therefore took whom he pleased with him, while the rest of us remained full half an hour shivering in the now hard freezing air, vainly hoping to be admitted under some roof. His reception had been as brutal as he expected, neither money nor words prevailing on them to give lodging or food for man or beast; and, constrained to seek a shelter for ourselves, we at last found a place, half cave half hut, already nearly filled with travelling mountaineers. Rude as their aspects were, they were charitable enough to crowd closer together, to make room for myself and followers; but our poor animals were obliged to be picketed, unfed, for the rest of the bleak night at the entrance of our quarters. Hungry and fatigued, we made ourselves as comfortable as might be, near a fire of heaped-up wood, which blazed on a sort of square projecting hearth at the upper end of the caverned apartment, the smoke escaping from a hole just above. The scene, when my thawed faculties could observe it, reminded me of the dark yet splendid pictures of Rembrandt, where the partial effect from a strong light flashes upon some near group of persons, and occasionally plays on others more distant and indistinct. The resemblance was rendered yet more striking by the wild Asiatic and turbaned figures on which the flame unsteadily gleamed, lighting their dark and fierce visages, and

strongly relieved by the blackness all around. This, with the varied deep colours of their garments, and the transient glittering of their dagger hilts, and huge embossed waist-clasps, and also of their heavier mountain arms hung against the dark walls, completed the most perfect subject for such a picture I ever beheld, or may ever see again.

I soon got very good friends with these wildest sons of the East; who declared themselves fellow-wanderers like ourselves, and in as little favour with the inhospitable occupiers of Yeltomar. The fuel we saw burning so cheeringly on our entrance, they had gathered from the dismembered trees about; and, with stomachs nearly as empty as our own, were taking the night as merrily as might be, when we made our shivering appearance. One of them, finding us all partners under the same wants, drew forth his wallet, and producing a store of bread and goat's-milk cheese, most hospitably invited the whole party to partake it. None of mine had tasted any thing since seven o'clock of the preceding morning at Serdasht, and most happy we were to stretch out our hands to this Courdish feast; which, certainly, became rather a light one when divided amongst so many. During our repast, and after it was over, two or three of the younger men did their best to entertain us yet farther, with their songs, or rather shouts; accompanied by some of their companions, with music blown from a reed, not unlike that of a hautboy. One of them afterwards produced a small pipe, similar in shape and tone to a flageolet, from which he drew the most beautiful notes I ever heard. The airs resembled our Irish melodies, in slowness of movement and tender melancholy expression, with the certain peculiarity of strain usually attached to the ancient harp of Green Erin; while the execution of this wild

Courd, in precision and taste, might have honoured the best professor in Europe. I listened to him with delight and astonishment. And the rudest mountaineer present, listened to him too, with an expression of deep interest relaxing his hard and harsh features into something like that sympathy with certain pathetic sounds, which we are apt to assign to only the graces of the heart. Thus we beguiled the night, until day dawned, when every soul was a-stir for departure.

December 17th. — Again we made an essay on the villagers, to buy forage for our mules and horses; but the merciless wretches refused us at any price. We had already taken leave of our dispersing friends of the cavern; and, with no traveller's blessing bequeathed to the churls of Yeltomar, set forth soon after day-light, under the most pitiless weather that ever blew. A sharp wet sleet was falling, accompanied by a terrible north-east wind. Our road lay for about two miles along the inhospitable valley, and then ascended some steep hills; after surmounting which, a no easy task in the unrefreshed condition of our cattle, they dragged on for an hour and a half along their summits, in a direction N. 30° E.; when, almost stiff from the freezing wet and cold, we gladly descended into a narrow and sheltering valley, to the village of Tokta, where I proposed halting, to obtain, if possible, some nourishment for ourselves and animals. We arrived; deeming it fortunate that our mehmandar being acquainted with the moollah of the place, would ensure a civil reception at least; but the good Mussulman was also a good man, and with real humanity hastened, not only to lodge the Frangy and his people, but to put our horses and mules under comfortable cover, with plenty of provisions before them. For ourselves, we had his mesched for

our quarters, with carpets and nummuds spread on the floor, and an excellent fire to thaw our frozen garments. A plentiful breakfast was then brought, of the best the village afforded; and I doubt that either ourselves or animals ever relished repasts with more grateful appetites. As the morning advanced, the weather increased in severity, and I thought it well for the whole party to continue in our present good quarters till the following day. This village is distant from Yeltomar about five miles. Our journey of the day and night before, was not less than fifteen hours, in which we completed thirty-four miles; a terrible stretch for horses without refreshment, and over so arduous a road: hence I was not sorry to rest them at Tokta. The storm, which tore along the hills for the whole day after our halting, filled the air with a continued sweep of sleet and snow. Had we been out in it, during the late foundered state of our cattle, the probabilities are we should all have been buried alive in some of the trackless ravines. The sight of its fury, and aware how every succeeding fall of the sort would tend to shut up the mountains, made me, however, congratulate myself on not having complied with our mehmandar, and awaited such a commencement, on the other side of the Kourtak. To have passed that immense mountain after so decided an earnest of winter, might have been hardly practicable.

December 18th. — This morning proved more favourable; and being all recruited in strength and spirits, I prepared to depart. My good Samaritan host would not receive any remuneration for his abundant hospitality, but a little ointment for his eyes, which I presented him from my travelling medicine chest. We then took our leave with repeated acknowledgments of gratitude, and at ten o'clock re-commenced our march. Our

route lay over a succession of hills to the west, in which undulating path we were obliged to cross several valleys, all deep in snow. We then ascended a mountain, a difficult task, from its white shroud having no track; but neither its acclivities nor ruggedness were any thing to compare with the gigantic irregularities of the Kourtak and Daroo. This being achieved, our road twisted along the tortuous bases of a still superior chain, whose high and craggy peaks stood out in black masses from amongst the snows on their declivities. Here the general surface of these mountainous regions became more uneven; and the towering piles of other ranges seemed to increase in numbers to the north. This bleak, and now monotonous way from the almost universal whiteness of the whole scene, lasted for full four hours; during which it appeared as if we were travelling in a world of clouds, the endless fleecy mountain-tops on every side being hardly distinguishable from the white billowy heavens, hanging low, and big with incumbent snows. At the end of the four hours we descended a deep defile; which, after an hour and half's farther march, brought us to the town of Soak Boulak, a considerable Courdish capital, situated at the southern extremity of a fine vale. We were to halt there; by which our journey of the day did not much exceed five hours, and over a distance of about eleven miles.

Bonda Khan, the chief of the district, received us with particular tokens of respect, even meeting our approach; and while I abided with him, treated me with all imaginable civilities. He is an old warrior, and singularly revered on account of several circumstances in his history, which have proved his attachment to the Kadjar dynasty, and his own disinterestedness. Amongst other calamities his adherence incurred, the late governor of Ma-

raga, when aspiring to the throne of Persia after the death of Aga Mahomed Khan, seized upon this loyal chief, and put out his eyes. But "the visual ray extinguished, the light shone inward;" few Asiatics I ever conversed with, displaying more acuteness of observation.

Soak Boulak, the capital of the district over which he presides, stands on the banks of a river bearing the same name; but which stream, in flowing further north, takes that of Tatawa, and, after receiving the Gigatti about two farsangs south of the Lake of Ouroomia, thence winds on till it discharges itself into that body of waters. The town is perfectly open, well built, and consists of about 700 houses; 300 of which are inhabited by Nestorian Christians. This is not the only place in Courdistan where I have found that sect; and towards the south-western districts, near Mosul and the Van, they abound in such considerable numbers, as to have bishops appointed over them. But I regret to say, that neither their knowledge nor practice of the Christian religion, bears any higher character for virtue, than that of the Courdish Mahomedan; the followers of both faiths, living, in many respects, entirely after the lawless dictates of nature. Indeed, excesses in human liberty are almost always to be expected amongst a high-spirited impassioned people, whose freedom is not that of a well-regulated social compact, but a proud barbarous independence, proclaiming might to be right, and will, law. Yet rank as such a soil may be, it possesses the seeds of great virtues: the wild irregularity of an ignorant, free-born savage, who never knew the mutual bonds of civilization, being very different from the cold and selfish licence of men who know the blessings of social government, and yet throw off its restraints. Nothing, to be sure,

ought to be more dear to a man than his independence to a just degree; since without it, he is not master of himself: and the khan and his sons, in the midst of their loyal conversations, and hospitable welcomes, were so anxious to maintain the distinction between the devotedness of attachment and that of necessity, they were continually reminding me *they were Courds*, therefore all *they professed to prince, or guest, was from the heart!* They are of the Mickri tribe; but having been much at the Persian court, are greatly softened down from the naturally fierce aspect of their race. This gentler demeanour, with the black sheep-skin cap of Persia, made their outward appearance perfectly that of "the great kingdom." I found the young men full of good nature and frank gaiety, impatient to amuse me to the utmost of their power; for a continuance of the tempestuous weather had obliged me to comply with the pressing entreaties of the old chief, that I "would tarry with him yet another day!" and the second son particularly, descanted on military subjects. He expatiated with great satisfaction on the ancient arms of his nation, telling me, that still many in the tribes wear the chain-mail and helmet; and, as an instance, he mentioned that when General Yarmolloff's embassy was in Persia, upwards of 600 Courds thus armed, and under the command of Bonda Khan, attended the Shah at the imperial camp of Sultania. My young orator ended his account by ordering one of his father's men to equip himself in the dress; and so shew me an old Courdish soldier in complete fighting harness.

His shirt of mail was bright, and closely riveted, and ornamented in various parts with small roses embossed in silver. The helmet consisted of a skull-cap of damasked steel. It had a gilt nasal-defence, capable of being lowered or elevated, by

means of a screw. A spike projected from the crown; and two small tubes started just over the forehead, for carrying herons' or peacocks' feathers. This plumage is not mere ornament; it distinguishes the martial character of the wearer, a new feather being added to the crest for every fresh enemy who has fallen by his sword. Hence comes a saying in Courdistan, "Ah! your courage has not yet given your helmet wherewithal to keep your head from the burning sun!" We have something like the idea, when we talk of any enterprising action being "a feather in a man's cap!" The back of the neck and the ears, in this old Courdish helmet, were protected by mail attached to it, which fell as low as the shoulders and breast; a narrow shawl, or bandeau, was wrapped round the cap, at the brows. The person that appeared before me was equipped with the full complement of sword, dagger, shield, spear and bow. But the latter, that once formidable weapon in the Courdish hand against Greek and Roman, has now entirely given place to the use of fire-arms; and these chiefly consist of a short carbine, slung across the left shoulder by a rich belt of velvet or leather embossed with silver or gold, and hanging pretty low down upon the right hip. A small silver powder-horn is attached to the same side, usually ornamented with pendent pieces of money; also an iron ramrod, suspended by a silk cord from the same shoulder, together with an embroidered cartouch-case for charges. On the opposite side appears a similar little appendage, to contain a page of the Koran; charms, &c. A couple of long pistols are stuck in a crimson velvet belt, fastened before by a pair of large clasps of embossed metal. Part of the left arm is covered with a length of steel, which, united with the gauntlet, defends that member as high as the elbow. The right arm has no defence, its clothing being nothing more than the

sleeve of the under-vest. The shield, round and very small, is slung across the right shoulder, and when the warrior is mounted, hangs low behind the left leg. A wide pair of trowsers reaches the ankles; and the red leather boots common to both Persia and Courdistan, terminate the figure. The sword is disposed in a similar manner to that of the Turks and Arabs. All this accumulation of arms, and iron defences, certainly gives the warrior so accoutred a most formidable appearance; but I should much doubt the service of such a load in actual fight.

Before we left our animated entertainers, I made some enquiries respecting certain most extraordinary remains in their neighbourhood, which an old Bilbossi sheik, whom I met at Bagdad turned dervise, had mentioned. He described them as not far from a village called Karinj; that they were the ruins of a vast city, amongst which were seen numberless figures in stone, the former inhabitants; and so transformed in consequence of the wrath of Heaven against their obstinacy in refusing to embrace the true faith as revealed by Mahomed. This wild account had given me hopes of finding some interesting ruins at least; and my present quarters being not more than three farsangs east of Karinj, I expected to learn something of the real facts on which this fabulous tale had been built. The youngest of the khan's sons had passed several months hunting in the vicinity of the village the dervise had named; and he told me, no ruins of any kind were either to be seen or heard of, near the place; nor was there any tradition of former stone statues. But, he said, he had seen a spot, likely to have been that meant by the Bilbossi traveller; a low hill, not far from Karinj, covered thickly with upright stones from four to five feet in height, and of irregular shapes: though, he affirmed,

not one of them had the slightest resemblance to man or woman, or bore even a mark of having been hewn. They covered a square of half a mile; and no one knew when, nor why they were so placed. The description of my young Courd led me to suppose them the graves of some of the early inhabitants of this part of the country; and, from the way of erecting the stones, not unlikely of Armenian Christians; who may have been massacred by the first propagators of Mahomedanism, and their town afterwards destroyed. The probability, therefore, falls so far in with the legend of the dervise; and an eastern imagination might very easily turn the head-stones of the martyrs into their marbled remains. I lamented that the great depth of the snow, and the hourly augmenting inclemency of the season, prevented myself exploring so singular a spot.

December 20th. — Winter now appeared set in with such thorough determination, that to await a milder day seemed waiting for the spring; and therefore resisting all farther persuasions from the khan and his intelligent sons, this morning, at about eleven o'clock, we recommenced our march in the face of a few flying flakes of snow, and a most piercing wind. Our course lay about N. 10° E., but the light shower soon augmenting to a thick fall of driving sleet and snow, I could not see five yards before me. However, now and then there was a short cessation, when I could just discern we were travelling through a serpentine valley, or rather a succession of valleys, for six hours, during which we crossed two hills by very steep and rocky passes. The country then partook more of a plain, for a distance of two succeeding hours, when we forded the Tattawa river at a width of thirty yards, the depth then trifling. It was now about eight o'clock; and soon after, the evening became so

dark we lost our way. In such a night as this, and in such a country, few accidents could be more distressing. When we crossed the river, our guide told us we were then only four miles from the village of old Meando, a place not far from our purposed menzil, and yet, by some unlucky turn, in a minute or two afterwards he as much lost the point as if he had never known it. The consequence was, we wandered over hill and dale, over trackless, and therefore often dangerous paths, for several hours, till at last we fortunately stumbled on the old village; but our quarters were to be at a more recently established place of the same name, which lay about a mile from it. Our conductor now thought himself sure of marking out so short a distance with ease, and therefore would not seek a guide at the first village; but fate was perverse as before; and again roaming about for two additional hours, our unlucky selves were almost frozen to death by the time we *felt* the gates of the town. To see them was impossible, in the black darkness of that night. Wrapped in our white iced garments, as if in our winding-sheets, we eagerly followed them who first touched the portal; but to add to our disasters, they found the gates shut; and another two hours of perishing we were obliged to stand there, knocking and bawling, exposed to the cold and snow, before we could make any body hear. In fact, it was long past midnight, ere we got into even the shelter of a stable: but after what I had known of the calamitous effects of such winter-night exposures at the gates of Tabreez, any roof was a heaven to me, that offered refuge to my people; and to share it with our horses and mules, the patient companions of all our sufferings, could not be a subject of complaint to any of us. This place is reckoned five hours' march, in good weather, from

Soak Boulak; but our mishaps, and the season, augmented it to eleven.

New Meando, or Mean-aub, is so called from being situated between the rivers Tattawa and Gigatti, the courses of which I have described. This village, or rather town, is of recent erection, and possesses walls of considerable height and strength. Within, are the usual narrow streets; but a good bazar presents itself, also a large caravansary, and two mescheds. The houses in the town may amount to 500, and some others are without, forming a sort of suburb. It is governed by a magistrate holding the proud title of Beglerbeg, usually reserved for the governors of provinces; but his authority extends to merely the small district round Meando. Here I found the names and dresses so completely Persian, that I considered myself as quite returned into that country, being, indeed, close upon the confines of Azerbijan.

December 21st. — At nine o'clock this morning, we passed the northern gate of the town; a vast white untrodden plain before us; and having ridden about a mile, crossed the Gigatti; its stream dashing along with the rapidity of a mountain-torrent. As we advanced, the day gradually cleared, something like Sir Lucius O'Trigger's courage, "bright, and pointed as a sword;" the wind cutting in every direction, but its effects on the atmosphere were so far friendly as to shew us the way we should go; and I could now see around me, that we were on an immense far-stretching plain, perfectly flat, till at a vast distance south-east, the ranges of the Sehand mountains bounded it on that side; and to the north-west, rose the chain towards Marande and Koiy. The level country between, seemed well inhabited; the russet walls, and fruit-tree gardens of many vil-

lages, breaking its pale and glittering surface. About a couple of farsangs from Meando, we passed through one of these villages called Azenkandu, bearing every mark of rural prosperity; and after crossing numberless frozen irrigating channels, we arrived at Gallyak, a very small but flourishing winter establishment of a few Eelaut families. It stands close under shelter of one of the mountains which bound the plain to the east, the highest point of which is called Mandeelsir. Our general course this day, ran N. 20° E., reaching our menzil in five hours, over a distance of from fifteen to sixteen miles, or four farsangs.

December 22d. — We had found the simple people of Gallyak most cordially active in giving us every accommodation; and we left them this morning at nine o'clock, to meet a most inhospitable blast. Indeed, it proved a most terrible one; bringing the lately fallen snow from the hills in tremendous sweeping eddies, adding new heaps to the already deeply obliterated tracks in the valleys; for so vast a quantity had been showered down in the night by the yet heavy clouds, that the road would have been perfectly untraceable, had we not been preceded by one of the villagers, by whose assistance we tracked it with some difficulty over a range of rocky hills for two hours. These steep descents at last conducted us into a more open country; and thence gradually expanded before us the fine vale of Maraga, at the northern extremity of which stands the once celebrated city of that name. In our way towards it, over some gentle slopes in our path, we crossed several small mountain-streams; which, uniting in the plain, form the river Subzee. It takes a meandering course through fine cultivated tracks, and washing the walls of the city, glides on to the lake of Ouroomia. Our ride this day

did not occupy more than four hours and a half; at the expiration of which we entered the gate of Maraga, distant twelve miles from the kindly village of the Eelauts.

Maraga is considered the second city of the province of Azerbijan, and about the middle of the thirteenth century was a favourite residence with the Mogul monarchs of Persia; Halukoo, the conqueror of Mesopotamia and Syria, having made it his capital, and founded a school of astronomy on one of its hills for the celebrated philosopher and astrologer, Nasir-a-deen, his prime-minister. At present, the exterior of the city presents nothing particularly imposing, the walls and gates being in a woeful state of dilapidation, and some adjoining heights shewing the traces only of wider defences. At the western extremity of one of these commanding situations, stand the remains of a circular building, pointed out to the traveller as part of the observatory erected by the philosophic minister, and where he constructed the famous astronomical tables called Eel-Khannee, useful even to this day in travelling the interior of Persia. The latitude of this place lies in 37° 20′. The town itself is supposed to be of great antiquity. Its present walls embrace a large extent of ground, containing about 4500 houses, many with gardens or planted courts; and a population, Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians, estimated at 20,000. They are well supplied with water by the river Subzee, which washes the western side of the city, and is crossed by two substantial bridges. Maraga has long been noted for excellent sun-dried fruits, particularly raisins, which are accounted the best in the empire. It has also a glass manufactory of various colours, a favourite fashion in the windows of the opulent Persians; the poorer orders are content with oiled paper for their medium of light. I saw founderies

for the same material at Shiraz; and though that at Maraga is good, I must give the preference, both for solidity and clearness, to the manufacture of the former place. No ostensible governor appears at Maraga, this little district being held in reserve, it is supposed, for the eldest son of the prince royal; and hence, without the delays of court ceremonies, we retired to our quarters in peace.

December 23d. — This morning at 9 o'clock, with a sky blue and brilliant as the brightest crystal from her furnaces, we left Maraga; all around sparkled with snow, while the light air, arresting our breath in its ascent, garnished our beards and hairy caps with icicles, but the elasticity of the frame in such an atmosphere was delightful. We crossed the river by one of the bridges, and after winding through the narrow intricate ways between the garden walls in that direction, arrived at the foot of the ridge called the Rassal Hills. They stand immediately behind the city. In passing over this ridge, the road bent N. 40° E., where I was shewn the mouths of several caverns in that face of the heights, and which I in vain attempted to reach, the depth and treacherous footing of the snow rendering all my efforts in that way useless. Our guide described them as vast subterraneous chambers, from which branch long passages leading to other chambers in more distant hills; and that in many of them, "large tables might be seen, which had been the praying places of the unbelievers." Altars no doubt; and the account agrees perfectly with that of Mr. Macdonald Kinnier, who describes one of these very caves situated just under the brow of the hill that supported the observatory of Nasir-a-deen, as resembling some he had seen in India. It is hewn into the solid rock, 40 feet in length, and 16 in breadth, with a number of

winding passages diverging from it, and running towards other excavated chambers, the arched roofs of which seemed to have fallen in. He remarked two elevated altars in the first cavern, in shape not unlike those of Priapus in the Indian temples. They stood at the head and on one side of the cave. These subterraneous sanctuaries are found in the very part of the Persian empire set down by historians as the native country of Zerdusht or Zoroaster; Ouroomia claiming the distinction of his birth, and Azerbijan, the province in which it lies, the honour of first promulgating his restored tenets of the Mithratic religion. Its peculiar rites had long been overwhelmed by crowds of stranger gods; its moral principles, as far as they contained any virtue, had suffered from the same cause, when Zoroaster conceived the scheme to recover both. It appears very evident from tradition, and certain doctrines mingled with his idolatry, that he had been a disciple of some one of the great Jewish teachers in the captivity, and, in like manner with his successor Mahomed, borrowed amply from their stores. When the idea struck him, to appropriate all this to the restoration of the Magi, and to place himself at their head, he retired to deserts, and into caves, where he abode many years, perfecting the plan of his future proceedings.

These secluded places, we are told, were not merely the habitations of himself and his Magi, but were used as temples; and traces of their dedication to these purposes are yet to be found; not only in the caves of the mountains near his native lake, but in similar caverns all over the empire, wherever he carried the mysteries of his new Mithratic rites. It does not appear from Persian history, that such obscure places were consecrated to the god of light, until the time of Zoroaster. Before the Sabian

corruption of that simpler species of idolatry, his worshippers had followed the impulse of nature in seeking their luminous deity in his own unobstructed temple, the "empyrean sky;" and as naturally made their altars the mountain-top, or some elevated ranges of stone in imitation; openly, because fearlessly, paying their adorations in the blaze of day. But when foreign faiths were introduced by the caprice of successive tyrants, and temples began to be built to idols of every description, then the intended restorer of the old religion found it necessary to seek security even in the bowels of the earth, darkness being the friend of uncertainty. Fire there stood to him in the place of the sun, and afterwards shared his worship; by its light he devised his doctrines, and initiated his followers; and thence, the Zend-avesta in one hand, and a flaming censer in the other, he issued forth, with all the imposing clouds of superstition around him, to rekindle the altars of Mithra. It is not improbable, then, that the caves I saw before me were those in which he and his disciples dwelt; and that in some of them the vast volumes were prepared, which Darius Hystaspes afterwards deposited in the sacred vaults of Persepolis.

After following the Rassal Hills for near an hour, we ascended another range, called the Joshoo, from the summits of which I had a full view of the extensive flat country beneath. It lay an immense expanse of trackless white to the very shore of the lake, which stretched its black unfrozen waters from side to side, like an enormous dark abyss, breaking the smooth level of the plain. Our eyes suffered greatly in descending towards it, from the completely unshadowed reflection of the dazzling snow on its intermediate surface. The road lay N. 40° W., passing several large villages, while every downward step unfolded the plain to

us, in distinct objects. Instead of one wide pale tract, we saw it diversified with every mark of populous human habitation; and in the center of a long stretch of forest-land, rose the turreted walls of a town called Binaub. After journeying five hours, we passed another town, though a small one, called Karteppa, from an artificial hill close to it; and a mile and a half farther, brought us to Adjebshir, our purposed menzil, one of the many fine villages which compose a little district called Shiraz. When we halted for the night, we had marched fifteen miles in six hours on a good road, and at a pace I may describe as a fast walk; though not quite quick enough for an Englishman's usual habits in such winter weather.

December 24th. — Renewed our journey to-day at 8 o'clock, being eager to reach Tabreez in time for passing Christmas-day amongst my own countrymen. Our course lay for some hours along the plain, at the foot of the hills on our right, while the north-east shore of the lake stretched its dark line on our left, at about two farsangs and a half distance. We then crossed one of the branches of the hills, and riding along their summits in our old northerly direction, at last gradually descended through a sort of defile towards the Ouroomia. It brought us within three miles of the lake, emerging from our pass at the base of the hills, which are here called the Jimsaun. During the winter months this part of the lake becomes nearly dry, leaving the eastern side of Shahy, its largest island, in a peninsular state, only divided from the firm land by the marshy bed of the receded waters. The island is called twenty-five miles in circumference, and possesses mountains, so abundant in wood, that the people of the plain are continually crossing the morass to cut fuel for the supply of Tabreez. The lake takes one of its names

from the Shahy. Almost immediately parallel with the south-eastern point of that island we began to ascend a range of hills, and gradually wound amongst them on a course considerably eastward of north, till, at the expiration of five hours, we found ourselves again in the heart of a thoroughly mountainous country. On the side of one of these heights, flanking the entrance to a narrow valley on our left, we saw the quarry whence the celebrated transparent yellow marble of Tabreez is dug. It is said to be formed by the deposition of the waters from an abundant spring, which forces its way out from the body of the cliffs. As we rode on, the most picturesque rocky scenes presented themselves. On our right, a succession of small plains, each encompassed by its amphitheatre of rugged steeps, rising pile over pile in every possible shape of craggy wildness; some shot up like cones or pyramids, others into beetling forms of shattered ruins; others, pointed sharp as spears, seemed piercing the clouds, while the rest of the same shapes traversed each other in all sorts of confused directions. Having pursued a winding path through this labyrinth of fantastic rocky scenery, indeed, — a place for the genii of fairy-land to wander in, — we issued forth into a rich and fair earthly valley, well stocked with gardens and villages; and at Deygurgan, the largest of the latter, took up our abode for the night. We had been eight hours on horseback, and had travelled twenty miles.

December 25th. 1818. — This being Christmas-day, I set off early, to be with my friends at least before its close. It was hardly seven o'clock when we started from our menzil; and taking a course N. 30° E. over a rather level country, kept the hills and their opening glens on our right, thick woods of fruit-trees fringing the skirts of the wintry heights in long black lines.

As we gained upon the valley of Tabreez, the high mountains on the Shahy isle lost their pre-eminence; and every step we advanced, bringing us into a more sheltered region, also carried us from the tracking snow; in five hours' march it disappeared entirely, and then we had reached Sardary, a large village about two farsàngs from the capital of Azerbijan. It is situated between a couple of projecting hills, on one of which stands its fortress, or, I should rather say, the remains of a place of strength, whose appearance conveys a much older date than the little town at its base. After crossing its most eastern hill, we came down into the immediate vicinity of Tabreez, the sight of whose friendly walls gave me a sensation of home. The distance is eight hours, or farsangs, (about thirty miles,) from Deygurgan, and I reached the city at three o'clock. Greeted at the British quarters by all the smiling faces I had left there, I found English hearts and English fare; and gladly sitting down amongst them, only remembered the perils lately passed, in the pleasure of recounting them to kindly spirits interested in what I had seen, and rejoicing I was there to tell it.

January, 1819. — His royal highness the prince governor was absent at the time of my return, on his usual winter visit to Koiy; the capital of his fine district of that name, and which he is erecting into one of the most flourishing places in the kingdom. It stands about seventy miles north-west of Tabreez, near the river Atour. The city is of considerable antiquity, which the many very old structures amidst its new and elegant erections in some degree testify. The walls have been recently rebuilt in the best style, and are additionally strengthened as a defence by a deep and wide ditch. The streets are spacious, and shaded with avenues of well-grown trees, a grateful circumstance in

summer, to a population estimated at 30,000 souls. Business is very active there, the bazar being abundantly stored with every species of merchandise in demand. In winter the climate is not so severe as at Tabreez, one attraction to Abbas Mirza; while the country also is more delightful in its scenery, and free from the shocks of earthquake so frequent at his capital. I, however, preferred a rest amongst my countrymen, notwithstanding all its threatenings, to a farther journey at that time; and while awaiting the return of the prince, certainly had more than one taste of the awful visitation.

During the present season, and towards the spring, scarce a week passes without some dreadful signals; sometimes whole ranges of houses shaken down, and all inmates disregarding the timely warning, buried in their ruins. The first signal is a heaving of the earth, accompanied by the rapid shaking of doors and windows. On this hint, all who can, rush out into the court-yards, there to await the issue of the shock; which is generally attended by low hollow thunderings in the ground, seeming to roll regularly on towards the mountains, whence, after a pause of several seconds, loud noises are heard, like distant tremendous explosions. These, I doubt not, are the imprisoned roarings, bursting their way into the external air. But should they not find such a vent, they then roll back again, filling every creature with horror of where the certain destruction may open its devouring jaws. At this moment the earth becomes literally palsied, and, even should the dreadful current again take a retrograde motion, every building falls a heap of ruins where the convulsion is felt. During the awful suspense, the town resounds with the most piercing cries of men, women, and children; with the very dogs adding to the terror of the

scene by their incessant howls and barking. These sounds have often been the first intimation to me of the cause of alarm; our countrymen in the prince's service having constructed their winter-rooms on a plan of comparative security against the common effects of earthquake. By a particular intersection of the beams of wood which support that part of their residence, it yields to the heavings of the earth like a mass of wicker-work, and hitherto has escaped injury from even the severest shocks. An apartment thus constructed is called Tackt-i-poosh; and when seated there in convivial meeting, the cry of distress could be the only warning of an apprehension we were so situated as not to feel. The prince has since adopted the same precaution in the erection of a suit of apartments in his palace, where he and the female part of his family usually inhabit at Tabreez; and it cannot be doubted that the plan will be gradually diffused over the city. At present the whole environs, for more than a mile round the walls, are covered with overturned houses, mosques, &c. half buried amongst the shattered rocks which mingle in every direction with torn heaps of earth and ruins. But it is not to escape any part of the distress to which his capital is exposed, that Abbas Mirza leaves it at this season, he returns long before the time of its threatened dangers is over. It is his custom to divide his own personal vigilance amongst the leading places of his government. During his absence from Tabreez, Mirza Bezourk, his kyme makaum, or principal minister of state, performs all the official duty here as his representative; while either the young prince his son, or his youngest brother, sustain the daily ceremonies of the court, and in his name place their seals to every public act.

One of the most active officers is the hakim; which title, in

many other places, means the governor of the town, but here implies only the governor of the police. He has the care of the bazars, and the civil tranquillity of the city; he hears all complaints of the day; and to him every offender is first brought prisoner, of whose crime, after examination, he gives report to the derra-khanah, the chief court of judgment: but all matters of common import are usually settled, without so great an appeal, between him and the cazi. "Gifts blind the eyes!" or, what is worse, make them see through crooked mediums; and from this cause, I am sorry to say, the decisions of these two personages are not always guided by the simple line of fact; a purse of tomauns in the lighter scale too often making the weightiest truths kick the beam. But it is not in governments of pure arbitrary despotism we must look for equity; that principle can only be inculcated by mutual rights, and maintained by just laws so firmly established that neither prince nor people can transgress them with impunity. Money, as I have before mentioned, is the root of all action in the East; and every part of the tree, in this kingdom, from its stem to the farthest spray, demands the potent sap. But while making this apparent charge against the Asiatic half of the world, I am constrained to confess that the same complaint may lie against Europe; though an essential difference may be shewn in the exercise of its power. The constitutions of European governments, and the law of opinion built upon them, hold the means of acquiring money, and the modes of using it, in some check; while in arbitrary states, almost every object, whether reputation, power, or enjoyment, being at the command of power, gold is generally found able to purchase all; and one just prince on such a throne can only be considered a solitary palm for transitory repose, in so wide a desert of radical

barbarism. It is to a dynasty of equitable sovereigns we must look for that gradual establishment of public and private security amongst their subjects, which, freeing them from apprehension of tyrannous acts, allows their minds to expatiate beyond the long habitual instincts of self-preservation, degenerated into those of utter selfishness, and become sensible to the ennobling and general advantage of an equal justice.

But many things have conspired to render the sordid principel the great engine in Persia: and first, by perverting the most ancient mode of collecting the royal revenues; a system, probably derived from the primitive offerings of gratefulness brought by different members to the head of their family, or to their occasional leader in affrays of general defence. A tribute in kind, or in masses of gold and silver, to which was given the independent title of presents, was brought by the different tribes or provinces, to Cyrus and his predecessors; but after the accession of Darius Hystaspes, he changed this comparatively precarious mode of income, to regularly fixed sums, paid annually into his treasury by the different satrapes of his empire. Some shew, however, of the old fashion of offerings, expressive of the produce of the countries whence they came, was still kept up, though then in far less value than formerly; and the presents at the feast of the Nowroose, to this day continue the custom; gifts and payment of the annual taxes being then laid together at the feet of the sovereign. In these gifts, when distinct from the public revenues, lie the sources of two evils,—oppression, and corruption without end. The public revenue arises from imposts on agriculture, cattle, heavy duties on merchandise, &c.; but large as the profits may be which these channels produce, they are as nothing when compared with the streams of wealth poured into the royal treasury in the form of

presents, by the ministers of state, delegated governors, and other nobles. These are delivered at the Nowroose, in every possible shape of manufacture, natural produce, and even gold and silver. And the more enormous the value of these voluntary tributes, the more devoted is the duty supposed, of the giver; which produces the natural consequence of increased confidence and favour from the royal acceptor. By these easy means, governors and ministers of all kinds know how to acquire and to maintain the most distinguished places; and, while rendering them adequately lucrative, the way is seldom considered, which increases the power of concealment in proportion to the rapacity of the collector. On this fatal system hinges all the distress of the Persian government: and that ancient usage has left even a single door open for redress, is only an occasion of further crushing the oppressed; so many of his injurers press forward to shut it. This single avenue lies in the law of listening to complaints; and however lavish a beglerbeg may be of his royal donations, he is not less liable to accusations from his district on account of any extraordinary extortions; or from rival aspirants for his place, on any feasible plea; both complainants preferring their suit to the Derra-khanah. Therefore, to prepare for the turning aside of any such lions in his path, he has always another store ready for the coffers of his judges, which, if duly administered, seldom fails dismissing him from their tribunal with "a white face!" the term for innocence in Persia. The judge being in danger of information against his purchased sentence, has in his turn, his pile of golden arguments in reserve, to fetter the grand court of appeal; and to amass which, he had given a running order of unsparing gleaning to the kelantour collecting the town and country taxes. This notable gentleman,

with his numerous train of subordinate officers, who all have similar reasons for supernumerary wealth, too often squeeze the poor inhabitants of bazar and field, till vacancy alone turn the rapacious emissaries out of doors; and thus continues the chain of injustice; linking the whole community in bonds of suffering, till it break at some overstrained part into all the bold licence of the mountain-robber. The present heir apparent to this old sceptre of misrule, is fully aware of its various points of mischief; and should he ever sway it, will render the stubborn iron, softening under his father's hand, still more malleable in his own. And in that case, the benign dispositions, integrity of mind, and happy talents for empire, with which Heaven has marked out this extraordinary Asiatic prince, are certainly likely to be assisted by the gradual importation of European just principles, brought by the continued influx, and passing to and fro of British, Russian, and other natives of Christian governments into this country: all of whom must unconsciously prepare the people of Persia, with whom they mingle in common, to understand the value of equitable laws, and of a sovereign likely to establish them.

Abbas Mirza has already begun several very desirable objects in his own province, laying them down on European plans, and under European management. Two, indeed, have failed; the mines at Koflan-Kou, which he attempted to work; and a manufactory for our sort of paper, dropped on account of a want of material; the proper supply of linen rags. The mill erected for the paper, is now a powder magazine. A printing press is the next project, and will be conducted by two ingenious Armenians from Constantinople. The arsenal at Tabreez, formed on a British model, is the most successful hitherto of all his

establishments, being under the immediate eye and direction of a very able artificer and intelligent man, Mr. Armstrong. Brass guns of various calibre are cast and bored; also carriages, tumbrils, and every thing else attached to artillery, are constructed on the spot; and the department altogether conducted with an execution and celerity, considering the tools and workmen, quite astonishing. At Koiy, the prince has lately put up a fulling-mill. The machinery at first was a subject of amazement only, to the people; but daily becoming used to the extraordinary mechanical powers of its European inventors, they duly appreciated the utility of this, in the manufacture of their coarse woollen cloths. But wishing that his people should taste the advantages of mental cultivation in themselves, and therefore become more lastingly serviceable in the improvement of their country, he has sent over six or seven young Persians to England, to study, at his expence, medicine, and several branches of the arts and sciences, of the most apparent use to his future kingdom. The Shah, whose natural dispositions are not less urbane than his son's, approves of whatever he does; and having pronounced him his heir, contemplates, with a noble complacency, rare in almost any monarch, the hand of his successor sowing the seeds of future power and greatness. But between the death of one Persian monarch and the accession of another, there is generally so much competition; such civil war, bloodshed, and assassination, that it is possible the demise of Futteh Ali Shah, instead of continuing a happy tranquillity, may again throw open the temple of Janus; Mahmoud Ali Mirza having threatened to dispute the throne with this his brother; and in that case, the issue being doubtful, the now emerging civilization of the people, may again be cast back into

all the barbarism of long civil broils. More than twenty years rest from such disturbances, the time since the accession of the present monarch, have allowed the population to increase in great numbers, and to settle into quiet and industrious habits. Hence, the younger generation growing up, are of a still more ameliorated character than their parents; and should Abbas Mirza be destined to place the diadem of his father peaceably on his head, many prosperous national results may indeed be anticipated. Yet some fear these hopes are visionary; and that the Shah, by an act of intended parental munificence, has unwittingly "sown the teeth of the Hydra," in having planted so many of his royal progeny over the empire, with each his separate court, treasury, and army. But others, again, do not apprehend annoyance to the heir from any of these princes, excepting him who cast down his gauntlet from the first. The list of their governments is as follows: —

Mahmoud Ali Mirza, governor of Kermanshah.
Abbas Mirza, governor of Azerbijan.
Abdoolah Mirza, governor of Zenjan.
Houssein Ali Mirza, governor of Shiraz.
Ali Nackee Mirza, governor of Casvin.
Hassan Ali Mirza, governor of Ghilan.
Mahmoud Kouli Mirza, governor of Khorasan.
Mahmoud Tuckeh Mirza, governor of Boorojird.
Ali Shah Mirza, governor of Teheran.
Sheik Ali Mirza, governor of Chumeen.

Besides these sons, deemed of sufficient age to sustain such high civil authorities, his majesty has many younger, numbering in all thirty-nine. His daughters amount to one hundred and forty.

While on the subject of the future tranquillity and consequent

improvement of this country, perhaps no circumstance seems so calculated to influence both, as the near neighbourhood of Russia: in either character, whether as a friend or an enemy, she cannot fail to impart knowledge; contact with superior civilisation necessarily imbibing some of its improvements. But should the present amity subsist between the two nations, then the ameliorating influence must be four-fold; the constant communications of commerce, diplomacy, travellers, &c., spreading the arts and urbanities of men used to the civil and moral restraints of a Christian government.

About six weeks after my return to Tabreez, Mr. Nazzarovitch and his suite, consisting of two secretaries, two interpreters, and several other gentlemen, reached this city in their way to Teheran, forming the Russian mission to the court of the Shah. Mr. Nazzarovitch is appointed chargé d'affaires, and I believe is the first resident accredited diplomatist ever sent by the great power of the north to this empire. He is a man of talent and observation, and acquitted himself so well in his situation attached to the late embassy to Persia under General Yarmolloff, that none appeared more worthy of the present trust. The increasing commercial relations between the Russian possessions on the frontiers of Persia, and Persia itself, renders the residence of an imperially accredited agent from the former power, absolutely necessary here. Disputes often arise between her Georgian subjects, and the Persian collectors of mercantile imposts; and for want of a competent authority to decide the difference, much imposition and loss to the honest trader have hitherto been the consequence. But on a fair examination of the advantages derived to both countries by the commercial intercourse between them, the balance on account of pecuniary

profit certainly lies on the side of Russia: cotton, fox and wolf skins, raw and worked silk, brocades, &c., as sent from Persia, falling far short of the quantities of paper, glass, leather, cloth, &c., brought into that kingdom from the imperial marts of Tiflis and Astrachan. Besides this leading step, avenues for extending the commerce of Russia on this her great Asiatic frontier, seem to be daily opening, by new facilities presenting themselves for transporting her merchandise from the shores of the Caspian into the heart of her territories. Excellent roads are constructing from the point where the Kur ceases to be navigable; and there the goods which have come up from the Caspian will be disembarked, and carried over-land to Tiflis; thence conveyed by the way of Kootaice, the capital of Imeritia, to the navigable part of the river Rion, where adequate vessels will receive and carry them down to the newly established port of Poti on the south-eastern coast of the Euxine. The passage thence to Odessa, and other depôts of the emperor, is direct; and I need not expatiate on the ease with which the different merchandise may be spread, through various obvious channels, all over Europe.

Russia now commands the whole of the north and the greatest part of the western shore of the Caspian; but notwithstanding all that extent of coast, persons inclined to disparage her consequence, still say, "That may be all very true; but she possesses no means of introducing her articles of trade, received from China and western Tartary, by any nearer route into the south-western markets of her own empire, than via Astrachan, and Moscow." So it certainly was a little while ago, but this disadvantage is now in a fair way of being removed, by the judicious management of the governor-general of Georgia; who, within these two months, has entered into a treaty of mutual

accommodation with the chiefs of the Turcoman tribes possessing the eastern shores of the Caspian, and whose territories and influence extend to both Bucharias. Should this alliance become a lasting one, and it is the interest of both parties to make it so, the future advantages to Russia may be incalculable. The imperial caravans from China, &c., will then have found a comparatively short road; and the island of Salian, and the mouths of the Kur, almost parallel with the new acquirements, must become the principal depôt, and channels of conveyance to the north.

As a preliminary to these, and many other important consequences, Russia was a considerable gainer in extension of territory to the south, by the articles of peace signed in 1813; which gave her the command of several entrances into the kingdom of Persia, on its northern frontier; and in the event of a struggle for the crown, would enable her "to take the gate," and decide the contest according to her own judgment. The line of frontier since that period, not to my knowledge having been laid down on any map, I shall here add a few details respecting it, with a remark or two on some of the districts now possessed by his imperial majesty on the northern shore of the Aras, or Araxes.

I commence my description, at the most southern point of the present line of demarcation; beginning at Lasandavil, on the western shore of the Caspian, in the district of Talish. This part, as far as to the fort of Lankeran, more to the north in the same district, was the latest conquest on the part of Russia. Almost the whole of the country, lying here between the mountains and the coast, is a forest of noble timber, and its proximity to the sea may put it to use immediately. This district flanks

part of Azerbijan, and an easy road leads direct into Ardibile, one of its finest governments, and the paternal seat of the Sefi race. From the extremity of the mountains, about twenty miles north of the fort of Lankeran, the line of frontier proceeds, embracing the plain of Mogan, till it reaches the ford of Eddi Boulak on the Aras. The celebrated plain above mentioned, excepting on the banks of the river, is totally uninhabitable during the summer months, on account of the want of water, and the swarms of venemous serpents which infest it at that season. It is related that the victorious army of Pompey was stopped by them; and though many have doubted the fact, modern travellers support the evidence of history. Mr. Macdonald Kinnier testifies, "that certain parts of the plain are still impassable, from dread of these noxious animals. They are represented as being of inconsiderable length in comparison with their thickness, but their hissing is heard from afar, and they seem to rise above the grass, like fish from the sea. They are very active, and so voracious, as to assault indifferently every thing that approaches them." During the winter and spring months, this immense tract, which is computed at sixty farsangs in length, and twenty in breadth, becomes abundant in fertility and the richest pasturage, feeding thousands of flocks and herds belonging to the Eelauts from the mountains of Azerbijan. It being in the power of the Russian government to shut out these subjects of Persia, from their customary annual fattening on a land now passed to other masters, the recovery of this district cannot but be in the heart of the Shah. From the peculiar luxuriance of the pastures, it has always been a favourite place of encampment with conquering armies, as well as with peaceable tribes; Nadir Shah dictating terms to Russia, on

that plain; and there, after establishing his tyranny over Persia, in the blood of its Moullah Bashi or high priest, he placed the crown on his own head.

The frontier line of Russia continues from the ford of Eddi Boulak, along the northern bank of the Aras, as far as the rear of the hills of Muggari; and embracing the whole province of Kara Bagh, runs along the summits of the chain of black mountains which divide the Persian district of Nakshivan from the Russian frontier; and continuing the same alpine course, separates Erivan from Shamshadil and Kazak, the two latter districts being now the property of the Emperor. Thence the boundary keeps on, along the top of the heights to the north-west, forming an angle at the limiting point of Shuragil; and from thence, over the snowy head of Mount Aliguz, runs forward nearly due west, till it reaches the Arpachia river; which stream divides these new acquisitions of Russia from Armenia, the territories of the Porte.

Kara Bagh was reduced almost to desolation by the late war between the great Northern power and the Shah; but peace appearing to be now firmly established, and the province absolutely become a part of the conqueror's empire, the fugitive natives are rapidly returning to their abandoned homes, and the country again puts on its usual face of fertility. The soil is rich; producing considerable quantities of corn, rice, and excellent pasturage, both in summer and winter. Raw silk is also another of its abundant productions. Shiska, its capital city, occupies the summit of a singularly situated, and curiously formed mountain, six miles in circumference, and perfectly inaccessible on the eastern side. All these provinces, whether under the sway of one empire or another, have their own native chiefs;

and Russia has left the internal government of Kara Bagh to one of these hereditary princes, who pays to the imperial exchequer an annual tribute of 10,000 ducats; and engages, when called upon, to furnish a body of 3000 men mounted, and on foot.

Shirwan is very extensive, and possesses more level country than any other district north-east of the Caucasus. It includes the island of Salian at the mouth of the Kur; stretches along the banks of that river to the south, and north-eastward is bounded by the mountains of Daghistan, and the Caspian Sea. It also is under the jurisdiction of a native prince, who lives in an impregnable fortress called Pfetoo, and of whom a very trifling tribute is demanded. The country is productive of silk, cotton, rice, and very fine timber; it possesses also an abundant fishery at Salian, farmed to certain merchants at Astrachan for 20,000 ducats annually. A strong fort has recently been erected at the junction of the rivers Kur and Aras, near Djwat. Shamaki, the capital of the province, and a city so well known in the history of European trade on the banks of the Caspian, has again risen into consequence and population out of the ashes to which it was reduced by the late king of Persia, Mahomed Aga Khan, in 1795.

Shekin, which lies immediately west of Shirwan, is greatly its superior in fertility and climate. Its government was given to Jaffier Kouli Khan, a Persian who had fled into Georgia at the accession of Futteh Ali Shah. He is since dead, and the Emperor Alexander has allowed the son of the deceased to assume the reins. This district yields an annual revenue of 70,000 ducats from a produce of grain, rice, cotton, and silk.

Bakou, the smallest, but one of the most valuable of the

Russian conquests to the south of the Caucasus, occupies a peninsula on the Caspian called Absheran. Its chief city is strongly fortified by nature and art, and derives great wealth from a trade in saffron, and the produce of its naphtha springs. These fountains of light and profit are even more productive than those of Kirkook, and like them are deemed inexhaustible. At a short distance from the springs, spreads the celebrated burning plain to a distance of nearly a mile. Here both the ancient and modern disciples of Zoroaster came in thousands to adore the eternal blaze, and to convey to their own hearths a portion of the sacred flame. The account given by Mr. M. Kinnier is so true an epitome of all information hitherto collected concerning this curious spot, that I cannot do better than repeat his own words: "About seven wersts east of the naphtha springs," he observes, "the attention is arrested by the Attush Kudda, or Fire Temple of the Guebres, a remarkable spot, something less than a mile in circumference, from the centre of which a bluish flame is seen to arise. Here some small houses have been erected; and the inhabitants, in order to smother the flame, have covered the space inclosed within the walls by a thick loam of earth. When the fire is required for any culinary purpose, they have therefore only to make an incision in the floor, and on a light being applied to it the flame immediately arises; which can as conveniently be repressed again by only closing the aperture. With the fire a sulphurous gas also issues; and a strong current of inflammable air invariably continues after the flame has been extinguished: leathern bottles are frequently filled with this gas. The whole country, indeed, around Bakou, has at times the appearance of being enveloped in flames. It often seems as if the fire rolled down from the mountains in

large masses with incredible velocity; and during the clear moonshine nights of November and December, a bright blue light is observed at times to cover the whole western range."

Jonas Hanway, besides giving a very similar account of the igneous phenomena at Bakou, subjoins an interesting extract connected with it, which he took from the journal of Prince Galitzen, ambassador from the court of Russia to Nadir Shah; and which, as it still farther describes the coast of the Caspian now in possession of the Emperor, I shall also add here.

"On the fourth of January 1747, (he proceeds to say,) having crossed the rivers Urbas and Samur, on the western shore of the Caspian, we arrived at a caravansary, from whence are seen the remains of some old walls running out into the sea; and near to it projects the Peak of Perschparmak, in the form of a man's hand. Some of our company made an excursion to the foot of the peak; and thence ascended, by a steep hill, to a fort, which has a battlement round it of hewn stone. It runs up the south side of the rock till it forms the summit of a high precipice, the bottom of which the hazy weather would not permit us to discover. There are several square holes, as if intended for throwing down stones, and an arched vault, of which part is broken in. From thence we climbed about thirty fathoms to the top of the peak. It makes nearly a semi-circle, round which we observed the remains of a wall. On the south side there are above a hundred stone steps, by which we descended, and found a small square platform surrounded with a wall of about twelve feet on each side; then going on northward, we saw nothing but a precipice till the clouds beneath intercepted our sight, though the sky above us was serene. We then passed between an opening in the rock on the western side,

and came to a small square sort of apartment, where we found a book in a niche of one of the walls, the characters of which we apprehend were Arabic. The paper of the book was very hard and unpliable. This romantic scene, which is difficult to describe, the Persians and Tartars believe to have been the residence of the prophet Elias when he fled from Ahab. Near it is the burying-place of some Mahomedan saints. From hence appear the summits of many mountains, raising their proud heads above the clouds. We returned the same way we came, to the head of the steps, and observed at the south end of the peak, a pillar of stone about sixty feet high, and five in diameter, at the foot of which the rock was black for some distance. This place is said to have formerly been a strong-hold of robbers; and certainly, if there be a possibility of finding an impregnable castle, this might be rendered one.

"On the 5th, we travelled about forty wersts, the most part through a barren and sandy soil, leaving springs of dark naphtha to the westward; and encamped near Niezabad. The 6th, we proceeded on our journey, passing by six wells of white naphtha, at the foot of a hill to the eastward, covered with verdure to the north. The smell of the naphtha was very offensive. We travelled over several rocks of brown soft free-stone, and encamped on the north side of Bakou, now remarkable for the best haven on the Caspian. All the country here is impregnated with salt and sulphur, and supplies the neighbouring provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan, with rock-salt, brimstone, and naphtha."

Here, then, we see Russia sole master of almost the whole of the western shore of the Caspian, commanding the Kur river entirely, and a very great part of the Aras. In short, all that Persia now possesses on the northern bank of the latter river,

are the two districts of Nakshivan and Erivan; forming a narrow but fertile strip of territory, between the Russian frontier and that of Turkey. Hence it follows, that in the event of any political confusions hereafter embroiling their ancient lord with his imperial neighbour to the north, they must become an easy accession to the great empire, and then the line of Russia would nearly flow with the magnificent Araxes. The characteristic of a brave and commercial nation, is to be ever pursuing something useful to mankind; and the opening of a trade over the Caspian sea to Persia, Jonas Hanway (who well knew this subject) mentions as having been a desirable object with British merchants, ever since the discovery of Archangel by Chancellor, in the sixteenth century; and certainly, when we recall the march of mercantile progress round the world, this solicitude to take possession of any new commanding post, was worthy their vigilance. The first detailed accounts we have of an established commerce from the East, describes it as in the hands of the Jews, and carried on through the Idumean or Red Sea, centrically lying between Egypt and Arabia. King David having subdued the land of Edom, or Arabia Petrea, and so becoming master of the two marine cities, Elath and Esiongeber, on the eastern bank of this sea, traded thence by the straits of Babelmandel to the Indian coasts, and up the Persian Gulf. Hence were brought to Jerusalem, and thence dispersed through all countries, those rich oriental products, whose golden returns so abundantly filled the treasures of Solomon, and his ally, Hiram of Tyre. In process of time, Arbaces, king of the Medes and Assyria, seizing the two Idumean ports, transferred the whole monopoly of the East to his own profit. And after his "proud merchants of Nineveh" had duly had their share, we next find

it solely in the hands of the Tyrians, who carried it regularly on from the banks of the Red Sea to their own great emporium. But when the Ptolemies built Berenice, Myos-Hormos, &c., on the Egyptian side of the Gulf, and fixed their dispensing mart at Alexandria, then the stream of commerce took that channel. And there it continued to flow, carrying with it all the riches of Persia, India, and Arabia, till little more than three hundred years ago; when Vasco de Gama discovered a passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and, like the sudden extinguishing of the naphtha flame at one part, to spring up in greater blaze at some new aperture, trade fled at once from the old tracks, to embark on the new seas of the Portuguese. That nation held it for some time; but the same route being followed by the Dutch and the English, the indefatigable perseverance of the latter prevailed; and the "greater glory indeed, dimming the less," our East India Company may now be called "the merchant princes" of that half of the world. It remains for time and enterprise to prove, whether the two seas of the Caspian and the Euxine, may not bring India nearer home to us, and by different hands.

His royal highness Abbas Mirza, returned to Tabreez early in March, to be present at the Nowrooze in his own capital; which feast of rejoicing, though only a miniature here, of the gorgeous spectacle I had witnessed that time last year at Teheran, was yet celebrated with great splendour, and respect to all its ceremonies. One object of particular interest, was the presence of Alexander Mirza, the fourth son of Heraclius, the late Tzar of Georgia; a prince, whose bold independence of spirit still resists all terms of amity with Russia, not only having rejected every imperial honour offered to him, but openly declaring himself

irreconcilably hostile to that power's possession of his native country. In the first instance, he withdrew into Daghistan, a province of the Caucasus lying to the east of Georgia, and stretching in that direction to the border of the Caspian. The name Daghistan, implies a land of mountains, and it contains some of the most inaccessible of this branch of the Caucasian range, which runs directly through the heart of this country. The eastern side, towards the sea, commands the most level ground; and on that shore we find the district and city of Derbent. It possesses a picturesque citadel; though situated at a rather unserviceable distance from the town and harbour; but I am told that part of the ancient wall named Gog and Magog, is very traceable near this old stronghold, and that its foundations may be tracked thence, running in a westerly direction, over even the highest mountains. This place, and its adjacent district, a position deemed of the greatest importance by all conquerors, whether Persians, Greeks, Arabs, &c., who could acquire its possession, is now the property of Russia. But the mountainous chain to the south-west, which gives the stupendous title of Daghistan to the whole province, being chiefly inhabited by the savage tribes of the Lesghees, is distinguished by the name of Lesghistan. Their habitations, like those of the Courds of Tahite and the Daroo, are situated on the precipitous heights of the loftiest mountains; and their manners, if possible, more untameably fierce. Like the wild hordes of the Van, they are a nation of banditti, and from the remotest ages have preserved their barbarous freedom unviolated. It was amongst these unsubordinate men, that the son of Heraclius sought, not merely refuge, but revenge; and leaguing with Sheik Ali Khan, their chief, his turbulent spirit fomented every aggression on their side, during the horrors of

the late war in these countries. He would have nothing to do with the peace, which gave them tranquillity; and even within these few weeks, his unquenchable hatred of Russia has been exerting itself to rekindle the smouldering flame, never entirely extinguished between these lawless tribes and the imperialists. But, when their own liberty is not assailed, their arms and friendship are sold to the highest bidder. Mr M. Kinnier remarks, that they not only hire themselves out to military service, to any of the neighbouring states, but "often take different sides, it being of no consequence to them against whom they fight; and it has not unfrequently occurred, that the Lesghee falls by the sword of his brother; or most intimate friend." When Alexander Mirza left them, with the greatest difficulty, bravery, and address, he made his way from the fastnesses of that inaccessible country, and when his road lay by any defended post, literally opened a path with his sword through Shirwan, till he reached the Persian frontier, and threw himself on the generous faith of Abbas Mirza. It was impossible to look on this intrepid prince, however wild and obdurate, without interest; without that sort of pity and admiration, with which a man might view the royal lion hunted from his hereditary waste, yet still returning to hover near, and roar in proud loneliness his ceaseless threatenings to the human strangers who had disturbed his reign.

After about four months passed at Tabreez, I began discussing the completion of my travels over Courdistan. Almost the whole of the eastern part remained yet to be explored; and Dr. Cormick's account of the caves in the mountain of Kerefto, where he had lately been, redoubled my impatience to be again a-stir. Meanwhile, however, gratitude for the facilities already expe-

rienced, as well as my royal host's wishes, determined me to make a second visit to Teheran, and pay my parting respects to the Shah before I proceeded farther in his dominions. Therefore, in the language of some doughty follower of that renowned Arab Cidi Hamet Benengeli, I may report myself "as once more collecting my people, horses, mules, and trusty squire, and, one fine morning towards the close of April, like the knight of la Mancha, sallying forth again, over mountain, dale and desert; in search of fame and honours at the court of a great king of the East."

My road lay over the same country I had travelled, rather more than a year ago, in company with the prince. At that time the face of nature was white with snow, excepting where the multitudes in our train tracked its surface with widely scattered groups, or long dark columns winding along the heights and depths. Now, all was smiling spring; the hills and vales were green; and the young shoots every where putting out their tender leaves. Numerous cavalcades were no longer visible; nor was the clangor of the trumpet heard in the morning to rouse us to march: but the husbandman and the plough were in sight; and the young birds awaked us with their carols, even before the peep of day. Thus we travelled on, without any redoubtable adventure befalling us, until the evening of the fourteenth day of our journeying delivered us safely into the gates of the city of the Great King.

Proceeding immediately to the British residence, I was again welcomed by the chargé d'affaires; and found my European friends there, Dr. Sharp, Major M'Intosh, &c. all in excellent health and spirits. Next morning I paid my visits to the *Saddar* Mirza Sheffy, and the Ameen-a-Dowlah; and soon after was admitted to the honour of an audience of his majesty. I held

in my hand, as a present of gratitude, a finished drawing from the sketch I had made of his august person during my first sojourn at Teheran; and which completed copy, when I shewed it to Abbas Mirza at Tabreez, had so highly pleased him, that he declared it the most acceptable present I could devise for his royal father. I therefore presented it now; and the king received it with every demonstration of satisfaction I could have wished. In the course of the different subjects on which he did me the honour to speak, the questions he asked, and the remarks he made on the antiquarian and various objects of my past and yet projected tour, were full of acuteness. My present stay at his court could not be long; but his graciousness did not lose any time in sending to me, by the hands of his first minister, several distinguished presents; besides conferring on me the order of the Lion and Sun, "as a particular mark of his personal favour and esteem." Thus enrolled in the same ancient chivalry which had constituted my countrymen the Shirleys, faithful knights to both *lion* and *sun*; one, the badge of Old England; the other, that of the land of Cyrus! could I fail to recollect the words of Shah Abbas, at the time he invested the British brothers with a similar dignity? The pith of the whole speech was admirable; and though spoken nearly 200 years ago, may be worthy of consideration now. *

As the month of June advanced, the heat became so intolerable in the capital, the Shah commenced his preparations for removing (as is usual at this season) to the more temperate climate of Sultania or Oujon. Sixty thousand persons, at least, form his train; to which are added all the diplomatic residents

* It may be found, with much useful matter besides, in Jonas Hanway's account of Persia.

at his court, with their various suites, and I know not what supernumeraries besides, who all take up their abode in the vast encampment established by his majesty at one of those places; where he remains till his company have eaten all the neighbouring provisions, and their cattle "licked the plains bare." Not to make one in this mighty host, nor to fall in with it after it had set forth on its palmer-worm-like expedition, I took my leave of the royal presence some days previous to the general march; and arrived at the capital of Azerbijan much about the same time the Shah was taking up his ground at Sultania. But in that short interval, a great change had taken place. Mirza Sheffy, the venerable Saddar, whom I had left at Teheran in such rosy health, both in cheek and beard, (the latter being always dyed a bright red,) fell ill at Casvin during the progress of his majesty; and remaining awhile for temporary rest, soon found his lasting one; having there the rare lot for a prime-minister in Asia, of closing his eyes in peace after a life of eighty years; the greatest part of which was passed in business, in trouble, in honours, and in danger. He had the good fortune to weather the storm under the turbulent reign of Aga Mahmoud Khan; and after that monarch died, his last twenty years declined so imperceptibly under the mild sceptre of Futteh Ali Shah, that the venerable minister's green old age felt no touch of a searing leaf till he thus dropped into the grave.

I cannot refrain giving a little anecdote related of this extraordinary old man, who so wonderfully maintained his life and his place in the service of a tyrant, the memory of whose acts, even at this moment, makes his former subjects tremble. Amongst the varieties of cruel punishments with which he chastised those unhappy wretches who offended him; cutting out their tongues, their ears, and digging out their eyes, were

his most lenient sentences. One morning, some of the royal goolams having just returned from a domiciliary visit of this kind to an unfortunate village under the ban of the king, and its doom having been to lose a certain number of eyes extracted from the heads of its inhabitants, the people in attendance produced the fatal bag, and the sightless organs of vision were poured out before his majesty. Scrupulous in the execution of his orders, the Shah instantly began with the point of his canjar deliberately separating them one by one, to ascertain if his sentence had been punctually obeyed. Mirza Sheffy, his faithful minister, who had long regarded his master's repeated acts of violence and cruelty with secret horror, now hoping to make some impression on his conscience, seizing the opportunity, suddenly said: "Does not your majesty think it possible, that God may one day not be pleased with this?"

The king slowly raised his head, carefully keeping his dagger between the filmy heaps in the order he was counting them, and as solemnly replied, — "Sir, by my head, if there should be one eye too few here, I myself will make the number up with yours."

The rash philanthropist awaited in shuddering silence his fate, well knowing that the word of his master was irrevocable; but happily for him, the sentence had been too scrupulously executed, to call for the forfeit of his compassion, and he even remained in favour. After the demise of the tyrant, he still continued in security and honour the first minister of state; and when he died, he bequeathed a prodigious property, amounting to two millions sterling, to the royal treasury. The various fountains of such wealth, I need not describe here, having unfolded their sources in a former page; but the subject can never

recur without exciting a repetition of regret, that power so little understands its true interest, as to make it necessary to buy and sell what simple justice alone could command by a word.

The high dignity of grand vizier, or saddar, which comprises the duties of war-minister, and minister for foreign affairs, being vacant by the death of Mirza Sheffy, the attentions of all courtiers on the spot were paid to the three most probable candidates; namely, Hadjee Mahomet Hossein Khan, the present Ameen-a-Dowlah; Mirza Bezoork, the Kyme Makaum; and Mirza Abdul Wa-ab, a man of great talent, and much in the royal favour. Mirza Bezoork was too essential to the ministry of Abbas Mirza, to be removed from the councils of Azerbijan; and the slender substance, and, consequently, no transferable property of the highly gifted Abdul Wa-ab, soon putting his promotion out of the question, the choice fell upon the Ameen-a-Dowlah; a personage, whose public-spirited erections have been frequently noticed by other travellers besides myself. The office was conferred on him by the Shah, in an assembly of some of the princes, with their ministers, in the royal camp at Sultania.

The post of Ameen-a-Dowlah, or second minister, was then to be disposed of, and opinion instantly supposed the lot would fall on Abdulla Khan, the new Saddar's eldest son; he is a man of ability, and his father does not want the means in any way of helping him up the ladder of fortune. For more than thirty years the Saddar has governed the rich province of Ispahan, and the profits of his station may be guessed at, when I say from unquestionable authority, that the annual revenue he paid into the royal coffers at every Nowrooze, amounted to 500,000 tomauns, 200,000 of which was his *own personal present!* Though I am correct in these sums, I cannot obtain any accurate es-

timation of the total revenue of the country. Sir John Chardin mentions, that in his time the royal income only amounted to 700,000 tomauns per annum; and that the population of the country exceeded forty millions of souls. The vast disproportion between these estimates, appears incredible; and the whole, indeed, is so completely different from what exists now, I cannot but suspect some mistake in our respected traveller. From the nearest computation I could arrive at, the present Shah's public revenue is rather more than three millions and a half, and arising from a population of scarcely twelve millions of souls.

When his royal highness Abbas Mirza set out for the camp of Sultania, I employed the time of his absence from Tabreez in prosecuting my intended tour through eastern Courdistan; for, hot as the weather was, I yet wished to see part of a country in its summer beauty, I had so lately witnessed in all the severities of winter.

Accordingly, attended by my usual suite, I set forth on the 22d of August, 1819, again towards the south; and journeying between the towering summits of the Sehand on our left, and the hills and vales of the eastern bank of the Ouroomi on our right, kept the road by which we had arrived at Tabreez last December; our first halt being at Deygurgan. Thence we mounted the heights as before, amongst whose rocky buttresses I had observed the celebrated yellow marble of these regions, and which I now stopped to examine more closely. I mentioned, on first remarking the spot, its being a kind of petrifaction formed by water flowing from the rocks above, and depositing itself, by a gradual sinking through the surface of the earth, to a certain depth beneath. A sort of encrustation covers the whole far-spread mass, which extends down the slope of the

hill, and over the level of its valley, for a considerable way. When sought for in its perfectly consolidated state, it is found some few feet beneath the crust, and composed of thin layers, from which the workmen cut long and wide slabs, about ten or twelve inches in thickness. These are afterwards shaped into skirting decorations for the saloons of the opulent, bordering the room all round, just above the floor. When cut into very thin sheets, this marble, having the effect of ground glass, is used for the windows of baths, or any other places where light is required, without the possibility of outward observation. Pieces of it are also cut into small tablets for tomb-stones, to be impressed with words from the Koran.

From nearly the same spot, I had an extensive view of the Lake of Ooroumia. Its waters now appeared of the deepest blue, and most singularly hemmed in by a broad belt of salt, looking at a distance like a violent surf. One small island, and a few masses of barren rock, are all, excepting the great wooded and mountain mass of Shahy, that break its surface.

Still proceeding on our old route over the hills, through the lower plain, and halting the second night at Adjebeshir, we got unto new ground on the third day, (the 24th of the month,) and marching along the flat country in a course south-west, in three hours reached the town of Binaub. It consists of about 700 houses, is walled and towered, and surrounded by gardens abundant in fine grapes. The vicinity is irrigated from deep wells, the waters of which are raised by bullocks or buffaloes. In our way to this menzil we passed a large encampment of Kara-Shee, (or black race,) the name given to Gipseys in Persia. The women came out in vast numbers, crowding about us, to beg; and cunningly implying, that a little touch of their palmistry

would give us a peep into the stars. The men stood rather aloof, finely limbed, erect in port, and with countenances sufficiently bold, and watchful of what was going forward. The complexions of both sexes appear much darker than the native Persians, while their features are of an equally regular cast with the most perfect in this country, though shewing an entirely different character. Indeed their physiognomy generally seemed to agree with that of most of their brethren and sisters I had met wandering about in various parts of Europe. The present encampment was composed of two tribes, both Mahomedans, but of the rival sects, Soonehs and Sheahs. They never intermingle in marriage, except to cicatrize a blood-feud. These people have their own priesthood or Moollahs. I asked them, if, like the Eelauts of the country, they had any marked place or district in Persia whence they originally came. "No;" was the answer, "nor did they know of what country they had originally belonged, but they were certain it was *not Persia.*" These people live here, the same vagabond life their brethren do with us. The men steal, make sieves, hair-ropes, &c., from the produce of which they pay an annual tribute to the government of two tomauns per family, or tent. The women, when not occupied in the little domestic affairs of their canvass household, beg and tell fortunes; the latter being generally muttered over a few torn leaves from a Frangy book, or the blade bone of a sheep, and accompanied with the *thread* of your life; which mysterious gift consists of a piece of worsted, knotted more or less, according to the mishaps and obstacles to occur in the real *line* of the destiny to which it is attached. The manners of these dark sybils, here, and indeed almost every where else, seem to me to harmonize with the sort of superstitious mystery enveloping their vocation,

and name. Though living on the wild common of nature, apparently without shackle of human law, and not unfrequently without visible profession of any particular religion, the men are seldom found engaged in very atrocious acts of depredation, nor are the women accused of wanting personal virtue. Their countenances often wear an expression of irresistible persuasion and archness, but hardly ever a look of that daring abandonment of female reserve, so naturally to be expected from a people only known as a race of beggars and thieves. The general expression of their faces, both in men and women, is that of deep thought, interrupted with rapid turns of observation, flashing from their bright and powerful eyes.

This extraordinary people are found in little bands, scattered over most of the provinces of Persia. Indeed, like the Jews, they appear an ungathered nation, disjointed by some curse, and dispersed every where; and to me it does not seem improbable, that these poor outcasts, who know no original home, and yet refuse to be made real claimants, by adoption, on the paternal rights of any country, may be some particularly *rent branch* of the wandering family of Israel. We have the posterity of Judah visible amongst us, in the multitudes bearing the name of Jews, spread throughout the kingdoms of the earth, and the lineaments of whose countenances stamp their origin to all the world. Judah, even in that, holds a kind of standard by which his brethren may recognise their affinity, and hereafter rally round their name and nation. The lost ten tribes, who, we are told, will be recalled in "the latter days," are deemed traceable in the Afghans of Caubul; and the similarity of import, in the name borne by this country, and that of *Cabul, the displeasing, or rejected,* given to the district in Galilee which the king of

Tyre refused to accept of Solomon, may be some corroboration of the Afghan's claim to Jewish origin. And in that case, as prophecy intimates that in the offending families of Israel "a remnant of *all* shall be saved," there are yet the possible posterity of the wretched band from Mount Ephraim and the hilly country about Jerusalem, to be sought for; they who fled into Egypt in the time of Apries (or Pharaoh Hophra), and disappeared there, hardly two centuries after the vanishing of the ten tribes from the land of Assyria. Without looking farther than my present subject, it does not seem extravagant to suppose that these Kara Shee, or Gipseys, these *dark people*, so like the Jews in physiognomy, and resembling them in a fate of actual repudiation from a country and a home,—both "an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach," should originally have been of the same people. And in that instance, their appellation of Gipsey, acknowledged to have been derived from Egypt, seems to point them out as the very descendants from the fugitive band we seek; who, (as related in the Second Book of Kings, and by Jeremiah,) after the entire conquest of the Holy Land by Nebuchadnezzar, assembled at Mizpah; and thence, under the guidance of Johanan, the son of Kareah, and in opposition to the express commands of God, fled into Egypt. They there became inhabitants of "Migdol, Tephanhes, and Noph;" and polluting themselves with the idolatries of the country, soon after received the following judgment, denounced against them by the lips of the prophet:

"Because of the evil of your doings, and because of the abominations ye have committed, behold I have sworn by my great Name, saith the Lord, that my Name shall be no more named in the mouth of any man of Judah in all the land of Egypt.

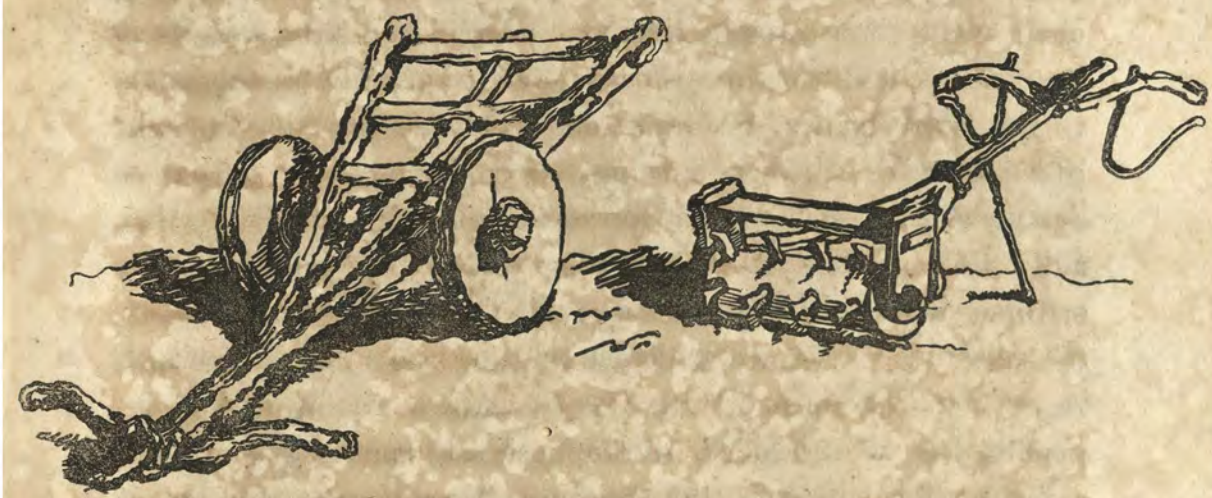
The sword that ye feared, shall overtake you; and the famine whereof you were afraid, shall follow close after you in the land of Egypt; and there ye shall die. Yet a small number that escape the sword, shall return out of the land of Egypt." (Jeremiah.)

This threatened invasion, and ravage of Egypt by the king of Babylon, happened a few years afterwards; when Pharaoh Hophra was slain, and most of the Mizpathites who had sought his protection either put to the sword or carried away captive; but a remnant made their escape. Most probably it would be of the lower order: those, neither numbered in "the men of valour," to fall in the field; nor counted amongst the rich in ingenuity and talents, to be preserved as useful servants in the victor's land; and these, as was the custom in those countries, would be left as a refuse people, to wander where they listed. Hence, I deem it possible, that part, if not all the descendants from this miserable remnant, may hereafter be found in the now poor outcast race who, under the vagabond name of Gipsey, we every day see at our doors, whether in Europe or in Asia, begging to mend a kettle or a pot, for a morsel of bread! Perhaps the bone of the sheep, over which they mumble their fortune-telling, may be some trace of the sacrificial victim over which their seers of old used to pronounce prediction!

Having taken leave of the Kara Shee encampment, and also passed through Binaub, we kept on in nearly a due south direction till, pretty far on the plain, we halted at the village of Ilkoonly. Our march had been six hours and a half, called six farsangs.

August 25th. — On leaving our menzil, we ascended the hills to the south-east, keeping a course rather to the eastward of

south, and were not more than half an hour in crossing them; when we descended again into the great plain of the lake, and passed close to the large and populous village of Deez. The road was excellent, and the natives busy carrying their corn harvest; for the conveyance of which they use a very clumsy sort of cart, on two solid wheels, while the body and pole take a long triangular shape.



I have been over many vast level tracts in Persia, but this is the only one where I found so useful an assistant of husbandry. Like the cart of the Philistines, mentioned in the Book of Samuel, as not being drawn by horses or mules, but by milch kine, so this rather clumsy vehicle is drawn by oxen or buffaloes. About a mile farther, we passed the village of Mateck Kanly, where the inhabitants were parting their corn from the straw, in much the same manner described in a former part of my journal; the beasts walking over it in a regular circle, while yoked to a pole attached to the axis of a spiked cylinder.

Ten miles farther march on the plain brought us to the village

of Laylan, peopled by Kermani transferred from their paternal province in the south-east of Persia, by the late monarch Aga Mahomet Khan. Thence our course continued more to the eastward, soon crossing the wide bed of a mountain-torrent; and then ascending a short rocky pass, we found ourselves on a circular upland plain, partially cultivated; which, after an hour and half's ride, conducted us to our menzil, at the foot of a branch of the Sehand mountains. This place is called Barney; possessing about eighty houses embattled in mud-walls and towers. It is watered by the little stream Yaroo, one of the tributary channels to the river Jigatti. Six hours and a half was this day's march, over a distance called six farsangs.

August 26th. — Started at four o'clock this morning; keeping a direction about S. 30° E., crossing several low hills, and two or three small well-cultivated valleys. In two hours we came to the village of Choklooga, which stands on the banks of the brook Agerly, another arm of the Jigatti. After crossing it and its parent dell, we ascended the opposite hills; and continued amongst their winding little valleys for five miles, at the end of which we opened into the rich and ample vale of the Jigatti, where the river flows through it in a meandering, but north-westerly direction. Our road lay to the east of its banks, in a course S. 40° E.; and so, after two hours, passed the village of Mamajook, and the newly erected fort, flanked with towers that crowns the height in its back-ground. The produce of this fine vale seems chiefly castor, tobacco, and corn. Another hour brought us to the end of our day's journey, namely Sian Kala, where we arrived after six hours and a half's ride, over the usual distance of six farsangs. It is the capital of a considerable district, inhabited by the Afshars, a powerful tribe, spreading

their villages towards the plains of Salmos and Ouroomia. Ali Khan, their chief, resides at Sian Kala; which, at present, does not contain more than eighty families; but in times of any apprehended contest in this part of the empire, must be considered a post of the first consequence. It completely commands the entrance into Eastern Courdistan. The fortress, however, is in a sad state of dilapidation, having stood many attacks, nay, long sieges; and is every where marked with the depredations of cannon-shot. In digging out foundations for repairs, both balls and shells are found in the body of the hill, an artificial eminence, of great height. Ali Khan, the present governor, is gradually restoring its appearance. The town lies at its base, skirting the hill all round; and his mansion stands in this lower circle. Walls and towers environ it also. Abbas Mirza will probably look to it by and by himself; for in the event of the Shah's death, and any consequent disturbance from Kermanshah, all egress from the south-east to Azerbijan might be stopped at this one gate of Courdistan. The river Jigatti flows majestically by the foot of the Sian Kala, at about three hundred yards distance; winding onward to the lake of Ouroomia, where it finally pours its waters; the united currents of many streams drawn from the various rocky valleys of the Koflan-Kou, the celebrated Tiger Mountain.

I had letters, not only official, but private, to Ali Khan, and found him a hearty, intelligent Courd; and, as all was peace, rather more intent on his stud than his castle; indeed, some of his horses are reckoned the finest in Persia. He soon discovered my taste for that noble animal, and the highest compliment he could pay me was to introduce me to his stables. He shewed me several of the Turcoman breed. This kind of horse

in itself is preferable to the pure Persian race for positive service. It is of a larger size; standing commonly from fifteen to sixteen hands high; and has also the advantage considerably in bone, as well as being inexhaustible under fatigue: its powers of speed are very great. The Turcomans in the possession of the Khan are a mixéd breed, half Persian blood; by which cross their figure is improved, though not their virtues. The Turcoman horse is scanty in barrel, has long legs, very-often ewe necks; and always large heads; but the creature got from a fine Persian mare, is a most magnificent looking animal. A fine pure blooded horse from Turcomania, is worth two or three hundred tomauns. Arabian horses are not very common in the north of Persia; but the breed between them and a Persian mare is all elegance and elasticity, being of a rather stronger mould than the Arab of Nidjed, the best race of the country. The Persian horses never exceed fourteen, or fourteen and a half hands; yet, certainly, in the whole, are taller than the Arabs. Those of the desert, and country about Hillah, run very small, but are full of bone and of good speed. General custom feeds and waters them only at sun-rise and at sun-set, when they are cleaned. Their usual provender is barley, and chopped straw, which, if the animals are picqueted, is put into a nose-bag and hung from their heads; but if stabled, it is thrown into a small lozenge-shaped hole left in the thickness of the mud wall for that purpose, but much higher up than the line of our mangers, and there the animal eats at his leisure. Hay is a kind of food not known here. The bedding of the horse consists of his dung, after having been carefully exposed to the drying effects of the sun during the day; it then becomes quite pulverised, and in that state is nightly spread under him. Little of it touches his

body, that being covered by his clothing, a large nummud, from the ears to the tail, and bound firmly round his belly by a very long sarcingle. But this apparel is only for cold weather; in the warmer season the night-clothes are of a lighter substance, and during the heat of the day the animal is kept entirely under shade. At night he is tied out in the court-yard. In this latter process, the horses' heads are attached to the place of security by double ropes from their halters; and the heels of their hinder legs are confined by cords of twisted hair, fastened to iron rings and pegs driven into the earth. The same custom prevailed in the time of Xenophon; and for the same reason, to secure them from being able to attack and maim each other; the whole stud generally consisting of stallions. Their keepers, however, always sleep on their rugs, amongst them, in case of such accidents; and sometimes, notwithstanding all this care, they manage to break loose, and then the combat ensues. A general neighing, screaming, kicking and snorting soon rouses the grooms; and the scene, for a while, is terrible. Indeed no one can conceive the sudden uproar of such a moment, who has not been in Eastern countries to hear it; and then all who have, must bear me witness that the noise is tremendous. They seize, and bite, and kick each other with the most determined fury; and frequently cannot be separated before their heads and haunches stream with blood. Even in skirmishes between the natives, their horses take part in the fray; tearing each other with their teeth, while their masters are at similar close quarters on their backs.

August 27th. — On taking leave of Sian Kala, and its hospitable khan, this morning at five o'clock, he furnished me with a mehmandar, and sufficient escort, to be my guide and pro-

tection through the mountains. Here, entering the great pass of eastern Courdistan, we immediately took to the higher ground in a direction south 60° east, leaving at once, both the valley and river Jigatti. Our way varied occasionally up narrow winding dells, and over successions of hills, mostly covered with pasturage burnt to the appearance of dry sand. This arid waste was spotted here and there with the black tents of the Choordoogly, a tribe transplanted from the south of Persia to Casvin, by the late king, and now removed hither by his present majesty at the request of Abbas Mirza, who has ordered winter villages to be prepared for their stationary residence. Having traversed these hills for nearly seven hours, we turned into an enormous ravine branching to the west. This brought us in three quarters of an hour to a little confined vale, through which ran a stream flowing towards that quarter, and bathing the scorched little bank on which stands the village of Gobechook. It was now left to its bare walls, the inhabitants having removed to their more airy canvass dwellings. Our guide computed its distance from Sian Kala at six farsangs. And my mehmandar, who was a relation of the khan's and a merry fellow, rode forward, "to bring out the whole encampment," he said, "men and cattle, to give me Courdish welcome!" I soon followed, and certainly was received with a greeting more like kindred crowding round a dear relation arrived from afar, than a stranger come to tax their hospitality.

While the heads of the little community were thus welcoming myself, others took the same care of my people; and a bevy of women actively employed themselves in parting off, and arranging a tent for our reception. Various partitions being made of their slender matting, carpets were spread on the ground,

and not an article omitted, the party could produce, for our accommodation and refreshment. Butter, bread, eggs, and excellent pillau of fowl and rice, were set before us; and the good humour and smiling faces of all around gave zest to the whole. For myself, I enjoyed the regale in every way. I found that sort of summer abode delightfully cool, the thick texture of its hair-cloth roof completely excluding the scorching effects of the sun; while the light fabric of the rush-woven walls, not only continued the shelter, but permitted a constant current of air to pass through freely. This was the first time I had tasted Courdish hospitality in their favourite tented field of summer. My visits, hitherto, had been to their winter stations, amongst embattled rocks, or behind the pent-up walls of their villages; and whether the gloomy terrors of nature kept astir all that was savage within them, or that the genial season itself was required to dissolve their rugged aspects into urbanity, I do not know; but assuredly, I here saw nothing resembling the ferocious air, and sullen grimness, which marked the visages greeting me from tower and dell, in my last winter's march from Sulimania to Tabreez. Here, men and animals seemed all happy and united. The whole assemblage attached to each family, meeting under one roof, enjoying the same shade, partaking the same pastime; children and poultry, dogs and lambs, all sporting together; while even young calves intruded their bright eyes from behind the matting, near which they were tied. The sides of the hills immediately around, were blackened by the deep shadows of their lowing mothers, with flocks of sheep and goats cropping the short herbage.

The chief of this little horde, for it did not number more than ten or a dozen tents, would not permit his people to bring in the

usual contribution from their substance to assist in entertaining a stranger, but furnished the hospitality of our reception entirely from his own. During my sojourn, I observed a constant cheerful employment amongst the women; and when the business of preparing food for their families was over, they set themselves down to spinning, working carpets, &c. The butter set before us was particularly sweet and creamy; and on examining the process of producing it, I found only the simple machine of a skin; which, after being stripped of its outward hair, and rendered air-tight, they nearly filled with cream, and then suspended from a supported beam, where two of them pulled it backwards and forwards in unremitted motion until the mass was formed. The little river that ran past the encampment, is called the Sarock, and its course marks the division between Azerbijan and this part of Courdistan.

August 28th. — On my departure this morning, my host refused most determinately any pecuniary consideration whatever for our ample entertainment, and with difficulty accepted even a silk handkerchief for one of his wives. We set off at five o'clock, under a rosy sky glowing from the east, and reflected brightly from the crowd of young faces at the tent-doors watching our departure. Our course lay up the valley due south; and in about three quarters of an hour we reached the foot of the high and rocky mountain of Kerefto, to visit whose internal labyrinths had been one main object of this journey. Towards its sloping summit rises a stupendous mass of high rock, overlooking for miles the less towering heads of its gigantic neighbours. After an ascent of ten or fifteen minutes, we halted at a tenantless village of six houses, or rather holes, for they were literally dug into the side of the hill. Near them ran a pretty

and clear stream. My mehmandar rode off to fetch the patriarch of this little mountain establishment, who, with its people, had pitched his few summer-tents in a sheltered glen at no great distance. The robust and venerable peasant soon made his appearance, followed by others bearing us ample store of provisions. He was to guide our research into the mountain, while part of my train remained with his, to pitch our tent and prepare us dinner against our return. A steep ascent of half a mile brought us to the foot of a perpendicular cliff of white marble; several fragments of which I examined, and found it contain fossil remains of shells resembling cockles, and of nearly the same size. The height of this mass exceeds 400 feet in many places, and in the face of one of its most elevated points we found the entrance of the caves. This opening appears about thirty feet from the foot of the rock; being attainable by a scramble over huge loose pieces lying at the base, and thence by broken remains of steps, which have originally been made in the solid body of the cliff. On reaching the top of this almost impracticable escalade, we arrived at two door-ways close to each other, about six feet high, in width four, nicely hewn and leading into the mountain side. That to the right conducts directly into the chief cavern; the other, to the left, to a couple of square rooms, leading into each other; their size six yards by seven. Their roofs are arched, and in height fifteen feet, the whole bearing the rough marks of the chisel. Three square window apertures for light have been broken out here through a thickness in the rock measuring nine feet; and on each side of them, as well as of the doors, we see holes where iron grating, or shutters, must have been formerly. Out of the first of these two apartments, a door-way communicates with the passage that

Upper range of excavations.
Tombs
Entrance

leads from without into the chief cavern. I found no inscription or other mark in these rooms, excepting a few rude scratches in the forms of circles and lozenges on the inlets of the windows, but without any apparent connection.

The other entrance from without (which is called the chief, being direct to the great cavern) commences a very steep ascending passage, gradually widening as we penetrated the mountain. Having advanced about fifteen yards, we entered a little portal, which led us through a narrow way on the left, to a flight of apartments over those just described. The first entered is square, and a few feet larger than those below. The roof is arched like the others; but this place presented the interesting addition of a mass of the rock standing directly in the centre of its floor, about three feet high, hewn into a rounded columnar form, and bearing the appearance of an altar or pedestal for a statue. The solidity of the marble cliff in which this excavation is made, does not seem to require any central support to its vaulted summit; therefore we need not ascribe this block of stone to any former design of surmounting it with other pillared material. About seven feet from the floor, in a regular line round the wall of the cave, small niches are cut, just large enough to admit a lamp. They stand so close to each other, that when lit up, the whole must have presented one girdle of light. That they had been in frequent use, is manifest from the state of the place; walls and roof being covered with a thickly encrusted smoke from the oils burnt in the lamps, now shining like black japan. I must not omit mentioning, that we brought no small store both of oil and candles, to guide us through these at present dark passages. In some parts of the walls this jetty colouring has fallen off, leaving the white purity of the marble visible. A doorway at one

corner of the altar-chamber led us into another, considerably longer, with two large window-openings commanding a glorious view west and south. At the upper end of this second apartment a platform appears, elevated about four feet from the common floor. Its western window points that way. In the middle of the rocky wall, directly opposite to the southern window, a large semicircular recess expands itself, surmounted with a rude ornamental line carved in front. Out of this cave a small vestibule conducts to a ruined flight of steps, leading to a higher range of chambers, eastward. On the lintel of the portal we pass under from this vestibule, (and I must remark that the tops of all the door-ways are flat,) we discovered an inscription in the Greek character, neatly hewn in the stone. The chiseling, however, has never been deep; and time or accident having defaced parts of it, only fragments remain, of which I have given a copy in the same sketch with the plan.

From the beginning letters, I should deem it alludes to the Emperor Heraclius; who, passing twice through Courdistan at the head of his army in their way to Tabreez, might not disdain such a stronghold as this for his own peculiar quarters. Here, again, are two arched rooms cut with equal nicety, and provided with the same circling recesses for lamps as described before. Through the second of these chambers we pass into a third, much more capacious than either; but part of the face of the rocky mountain having here broken off, and rolled down the precipice beneath, has laid one side of this cave almost entirely open to the day.

In returning to the place of entrance where the inscription is seen, the way leads down into a spacious gallery formed by nature. The roof is very lofty. The sides, bold and prodigious,

of her own mighty chiselling, are smoothed by the hand of man to the height of about twenty feet, and indented with two lines of niches for a double row of lamps. A wide flight of a few steps, conducted us into a vast cavern or chamber, perfectly circular, and evidently finished in that form with the extremest care of manual art. Places for lights were here on all sides, and every part coal black with the fumes of their long extinguished flame. The flickering glare of our six or eight candles, only catching here and there the shining surface of the wall, left the rest in a depth of darkness that seemed boundless, while the eye, following the dark shadows of the roof into similar elevation, felt how well all accorded with the overwhelming mysteries, which in times past may have there terrified the poor victim of profane imposture into the most repugnant and grossest idolatry. On measuring the cavern, I did not find it exceed sixty feet in diameter; the height, I could not even guess at. From this temple of gloom, branched five passages; that to the right ran nearly in a straight line, terminating in a circular room, with a small window-aperture. I was prevented entering, not only by the current of air, which passed through the tunnel-like opening in the rock, putting out my candle, but from the constant flying about of whole clouds of bats and birds, whom my sudden attempt had disturbed in their sleeping-quarters. Another passage answers to this, on the opposite side of the great chamber, and leads also to an apartment, which is square, and perfectly black. Leaving that on our left, we proceeded up the central cavern, to where the three other passages branched off. The center one pointed to the north, and those on each side to the north-west, and north-east. We entered the last, and found it winding and extremely intricate, from dividing, and subdividing, into

four or five other directions. Many seemed to have been subterraneous channels, or hollow places in the mountain's original fabric; but all had been perfected into commodious ways, and spacious or obscurely close apartments, according to the views of those who planned these darkling abodes. Nothing can be more easily discerned, even on the bosom of the most rugged cliff, than the point where nature has left the work, and man begins with his invading tools. Parts about were broken away, to render the sides more even, or the roof more equally lofty, and the flooring levelled by the same means; but every where, in chambers or avenues, the walls were excavated at intervals for lamps, and the whole thickly encrusted with the smoke of their now extinguished flames. In two or three places, we opened into vestibule chambers, whence passages diverged in various directions. From one of these sort of corridors, we entered a doorway to the right, and proceeded thence along a passage for more than three hundred yards, in pursuit of a considerable apartment with a large quadrangular stone in the midst of it; which, our conductor had told us, was somewhere in that direction, but our search proved unsuccessful; and he did not seem inclined to comply with our wishes, to renew the attempt down any other of the very distant leading paths. Indeed, at every step of our advance, after quitting the great cavern, he seemed to increase in wariness; being apprehensive, he said, that we should either lose our way, or come suddenly on some den of the wild animals of the mountain, with which these recesses were amply peopled. The sort of smells which assailed us in passing some of the avenues, bore sufficient evidence to the truth of the latter statement; but the other cause of alarm not appearing quite so evident, I could not be persuaded to turn back. We then pressed on, and after some

little time, reached a large cave of nature's own work entirely; the only addition from man being a flight of steps cut up to its entrance. When within, we perceived light through a small crack in the rock; and on looking at my compass, I found it lay south-east; hence, we were then near that face of the mountain. In this remote cavern I observed the singularity of several distinct heaps of stones, with a large one stuck up in the center of each heap, in the manner of a memorial over graves; and, indeed, I should think them to be such. In a natural recess of the same chamber, we discovered a wooden coffin of rude workmanship, containing a body wrapped in linen, and from the freshness of the winding-sheet, it must have been of recent interment. Hence I doubt not that both it and the heaps of stones near cover the remains of some of the bold followers of Mustapha Beg, a mountain chief, who, with sixty desperate men and their families, about four years ago took possession of the Kerefto caves, and holding them as an impregnable fortress, subsisted by the most daring robberies. Some met the free-booter's fate in various ways; but the leader himself afterwards received pardon, and is now at the court of the present Wally of Senna. Having left this den, of probably more direful scenes than any which the four-footed prowlers of the same midnight regions might have exhibited, we retraced our steps back to the great center cavern; whence we diverged again, down the northern avenue, seeing in our way other ramifications branching to the right and left, but we kept on in that which seemed the principal, till, having got deep in water, we were obliged to stop, and return. Our venerable guide remarked, that had it been shallower now, and we could therefore have gone forward to the end, we should have arrived at a large cave, containing a pond in the middle

of fathomless depth, while the banks around were covered with a rich verdure, comprising every species of grass possible to be met with. This was very like a tale of the genii, and told well in the spot where we heard it. In returning, we took one of the openings on our right, which, after various zig-zag turnings, brought us to a room of irregular shape, with an arched roof, and all blacked as the others, with bright japaning smoke. This conducted us into another narrow and long passage, leading off in a direction north-west; and which, pursued to some distance, placed us again in a very spacious square apartment, full as large as any over the main entrance. A second room joined to this, and both were hewn and arched with admirable skill and finish. No mode of issue being from the last, but by the way we came, we again traversed the two chambers, into the passage; where new avenues still invited on all sides to continue our researches. But the old Courd now became seriously anxious we should go no further, adding as an argument, that our lights, of which we had rather been prodigal in trying their effect in the most striking parts of the caverns, would now hardly last us out to find the place of emerging. On this threat, we turned our faces to retreat; and walking rather briskly, soon found ourselves at the door of the large irregular chamber we had crossed in our passage to this avenue; but not turning into it, we kept on, exploring our way along another common passage. Others branched off from it, but the line we took seemed to me to point directly to the great circular cavern; and my conjecture happily proving right, in very good time we found ourselves under its lofty dome. Here our old Courd breathed again, the bend from the water-chamber having been rather out of his usual course. Indeed, from what I observed while moving through the various

avenues, branching again into such numbers of dark paths, I cannot but conclude that many interesting chambers yet lie in the heart of the mountain; possibly some, which may have even escaped the eye of the several banditti who at different times have herded here; and others, which, though their asylums, no travellers or their guides may have yet explored. The passages are in general from eight to ten and twelve feet high, and vary in width from three to five and seven; dimensions, for a subterranean dwelling, certainly very spacious.

At what time these encaverned labyrinths of nature were first opened into by man, and adapted to his purposes, we can form no guess; no tradition giving us a hint on the subject, nor any clew to the derivation of their name. That these caves have been used as places of refuge in times of warfare, and more often as the stronghold of public thieves, a sort of running account has subsisted for centuries; and while I looked from their jagged precipices, every parallel feature brought the noted caves of Galilee so strongly to my remembrance, that the terrible scenes described there by Josephus, seemed for a moment passing in horrid vision before these less tremendous cliffs. He paints in simple and nervous language, the manner in which the robbers, who inhabited those fastnesses, stood an attack which Herod made on them, and how at last they were compelled to surrender. I cannot resist repeating the passage, it being so entirely in harmony with the spot I am upon. "These noted caves of Galilee (continues the Jewish historian,) were in an exceedingly abrupt mountain, running into its precipitous side, and encompassed at their entrances with sharp rocks. Within lay the robbers, with all their families about them. To scale the precipice to attack them, was impossible; so Herod ordered

certain machines to be made, something in the form of chests, and then hung down by means of chains and an engine from the top of the mountain, to nearly opposite the caves. It having been impracticable for his men to descend to them from above, or to scramble up to them from below, some device of this kind was the only probable way of breasting the difficulty; and into these machines soldiers were posted, well armed, and with long hooked weapons in their hands, by which they might pull the robbers from their caves, and tumble all down the precipice who resisted them. And when the chests were slung over, which was a very arduous task, from the great depth of the mountain, they were also provisioned for the use of those who might have to abide in them till the whole nest of robbers were destroyed. The banditti within were so alarmed at this new species of siege, that not one of them durst venture to the mouths of their fastnesses, which stimulated their assailants to enter, and begin the fray. Accordingly, some few managed to pass from the machines into the caves, and a conflict ensuing, drew the inhabitants to the mouths, and then the fight became general between the machines and the mountain. The carnage on the side of the robbers, appears to have been tremendous, the king's soldiers killing many in the caverns, and dragging others out with their hooks, dashed them down the rocks. When night came, they ceased; but lay still in their chests, till the return of day should give them light to finish the work of slaughter. Meanwhile, the deepest lamentations sounded within the caves, from the women and children, on account of the slain, and in utter despair of any chance of escape. The same method of assault was used as soon as morning broke; and fire, besides, thrown into the mouths of the caverns, to set the

combustibles they contained in a blaze. Amongst the unhappy wretches driven to desperation, was an old veteran of the mountain, with his wife and seven of his children. They prayed him to allow them to go forth, and yield themselves to the enemy; the king having published before the commencement of the last attack, that all who surrendered should be spared. But instead of consenting to this submission, he placed himself at the cave's mouth, and as each of his sons sought to pass him, to claim the offered pardon, he slew him with his own hand, and cast the body down the precipice, till he had destroyed the whole seven; then stabbing his wife, he clasped her in his arms, and flinging himself after them, so embraced death rather than captivity. Herod, who witnessed all that was doing, had in vain stretched out his hand to this cruel parent, offering him any security for his life and that of his children, but he would not see nor hear. And so, by these means, all the caves were taken, and the robbers entirely subdued."

That similar fierce inhabitants have frequently been the possessors of the fastnesses of Kerefto, and indeed till only within these few years, many persons near the spot have too good reason to remember. But the style of these caverns, their vastness, their masterly finishing where completed by art, their regularly disposed and numberless lamp-niches, and the effect of their lights having produced a consistency of smoke which could not have been collected in even ages of the common mode of illuminating the most extravagant banditti revels,—all prove their destination to have had some more august and solemn purpose; and which, I have no hesitation in believing, was that of some deeply mysterious and superstitious rites.

It is not necessary to discuss here, whether the old Mith-

ratic mysteries were first introduced by Zoroaster, or only adopted by him as a practice from the wisdom of former idolatrous times; or to prove that we find traces of similar initiations, performed in similar obscure places amongst all Pagan nations, from the Egyptians to the Greeks and Romans; apparently, indeed, first instituted by the sages who established them, to keep up a tradition respecting the creation of the world, and a shadowy intimation of the immortality of the soul. But the wise and the great among mankind were alone admitted to the revelation of these truths; they were held as "a sealed book," from the eyes of the lower classes. In after-times these mysteries fell into the charge of avaricious men; who, mingling their own profitable impostures, and other grosser profanations with the secrets they revealed, transformed the sublime seclusions of Zoroaster and Pythagoras into dark wildernesses; shewing the way, indeed, to death, but forgetting that which led to immortality.

With regard to these particular caves of Kerefto, I do not mean to ascribe them to Zoroaster, the country in which they are found not having ever formed a part of Media; but it belonged to ancient Armenia; and all these kingdoms, about the same time, anciently professed the same style of idolatry; the worship of the heavenly host, and the celebration of their mysteries, by the light of ever-blazing fires. Traces of caves so appropriated, are not only evident here, and at Maraga, which is in Media, but also in the mountains near the Lake Sevan, and close to the site of Artaxata the ancient capital of Armenia. Both Herodotus and Strabo discourse largely on the purposes of these initiatory retirements, and give sufficient evidence of the impure uses to which they were latterly perverted. According to Porphyry, the usual excavations for these occult ceremonies, were

planned in a most extraordinary way; forming a labyrinth of passages and apartments so disposed as to represent a sort of subterranean epitome of the world. Parts were planted with flowers and shrubs, and crystal streams caused to flow between their borders. Other places, intricate and winding, leading to these bowers of Proserpine, were sculptured or painted with images and symbols of the gods, and other hieroglyphics, so arranged as to pourtray the elements of creation, and all that philosophers then knew of natural history. By degrees the aspirant was introduced by the presiding sage and his colleagues, through all these mystic avenues and cells; each presenting him a new stage of religious or physical knowledge; and after many terrifying ordeals, leading him through the flowery pathway to cross some black abyss of horror, he was at length brought out of utter darkness, into the great blazing temple of the light of the universe! The long winding labyrinths in the caves of Kerefto, their numberless chambers of various sizes, the stream we met with, and the legend of the gulf beyond with its grassy margin, and above all the thousands of lamp-niches along most of the passages and apartments, with the double circlets for their light round the great central cavern, cannot but induce me to suppose that these ancient recesses were originally designed for something of higher import in the mind of the long-forgotten architect, than places of refuge for a few hundred houseless vagabonds and thieves.

On emerging from the caves, I made my way up to the craggy summit of the rock, to ascertain whether there were any remains of building there; but nothing disturbed its nearly barren surface, excepting a line of loose stones piled up along the brink, to prevent the sheep and cattle, who strayed thither in browsing,

from falling over its precipices. Having passed four hours within the mountain, and for a few minutes enjoyed the magnificent view from its brow, I descended, well satisfied with the day's travel; and during my ride back, being not less interested with the remarks of our conductor, and the judicious observations of Sedak Beg, saw myself, almost before I was aware, at our Courdish quarters. A tent had been pitched for us during my absence; and there I again experienced all the hospitality of kindly simple nature, under its sable shade.

We rested till three o'clock; when our horses, refreshed as ourselves, were again saddled; and having paid our grateful returns to the little establishment, found ourselves once more on the road. My object was to reach our night menzil before sunset, a village to the eastward about two farsangs. Our course lay across the mountains, which we could only pass from this quarter by an untrodden path. The way was therefore particularly difficult and wild; for where we had not to scramble over loose stones or broken protruding rocks, we found it slippery, from a surface of smooth sun-burnt grass. In this part of our track, we did not meet a living creature; nor was the vestige of any human habitation traceable. But in such high paths, villages are never found entirely out of the way of water, and here not a rill pierced the marble rock. On looking around during our advance, I saw nothing but arid craggs; while the more elevated summits of other mountains, but still of the same description, appeared as if crowned with each its respective fortress; time having worn the shattered cliffs into a thousand turreted forms. An hour's ride through these seemingly embattled regions, brought us down into a valley watered by the Sarak; the same river we passed the day before, and which

recrossing, set us again within what is called the line of Azerbijan. It receives that appellation from being more immediately under the influence of Persia than the district just on the other side of the stream; but the whole country, until it fall into the wide champaign to the north-west, is inhabited by Courds.

After ascending the hills on the opposite side of the vale, our course ran along high ground for another hour, when we reached our halting-place, the village of Taskund, distant from Kerefto about twelve miles. It consists of a few straggling huts lying in the hollow of a jungle sort of ravine, and overshadowed by the bold rocks which nearly closed over its head at a height of several hundred feet. These poured forth the living spring through many of their mossy clefts; which numerous rills, collecting into a small and rapid stream, after flowing through the glen and supplying all its purposes of husbandry, carried its sparkling little urn to augment the ampler Sarak. One of my escort rode forward to announce my approach to the inhabitants; and when I arrived, I found a tent pitched for my reception, with some groups of Courdish horsemen seated and standing near it, with their animals grazing at a little distance. When I retired to rest, the chief of my escort, without having apprised me of his caution, had ordered some of the villagers to keep watch over our quarters during the night; having some suspicion that these wild horsemen, who were merely halting like ourselves, might have an eye to my property. This supernumerary act of care, had likely proved of most disagreeable consequence; for during the darkness and stillness of the night I was more than once disturbed by the low whisperings of persons without the tent, then was more completely aroused by slow footsteps stealing near my place of rest; I listened, and heard

them pass, retreat, and approach again. At last I observed even through the darkness, the blacker form of a man warily passing the little aperture opposite my sleeping place, which opened into the body of the tent; he then cautiously approached the slender matting that was its partition, and after a moment's pause, suddenly pushed his head between the canvas roof and that wall of rushes. In doing this, the latter gave way, and laid my quarters quite open. The figure instantly made some quick movement, probably recovering himself from falling forward, which I, construing into an immediate attack on myself, as instantly met by a discharge of one of my pistols; those weapons, in these countries, being the most essential part of a man's pillow. The report roused the whole village; and most of the inhabitants springing from their beds, as well as my own people, I was soon surrounded by a most goodly company, bearing lights, arms, and consternation in every countenance. The intruder had retreated only a few paces from the spot, and, thank God! was not touched. He proved to have been one of the posted watchmen; and had approached, he said, merely from curiosity, "to see how a Frangy slept!" My mehmandar gave him a sharp admonition; while I could only feel heartily glad, that the intrusion of his head had not cost him its brains. The case being soon understood, all was immediately silent again; and after a few hours' more rest, dawn broke, and rising, we prepared for departure.

August 29th. — At six o'clock we set forward, keeping up the glen in a general direction N. 30° E.; and in three quarters of an hour scrambled up its steep acclivities to our right, which brought us again upon arid downs, marble cliffed and turreted, similar to those of yesterday. Having passed them, the road

wound down into a deep sinuous hollow of nearly two miles long, which at that extremity conducted us into a pretty smiling vale, near a village called Gashappery. The cultivation was considerable, consisting chiefly of castor and tobacco. We crossed it, only to mount again, and that on a very rugged path, over the opposite hills. Their declining side towards the east, was just as bad; but it brought us down into a still more luxuriant valley, watered by the Sarak, which poured rapidly along between very highly fertile banks. Our menzil was the village of Chok-Chok, about three farsangs from Taskund.

August 30th. — We started at four o'clock this morning, on a course north-east, up the valley, and keeping the river on our right. In two hours we crossed it, and soon arrived at the foot of a conical hill, which, from its insulated situation on the flat of the vale, and so distant from the range to the eastward, at first gave the idea of its being artificial; but it is the growth of nature. It stands about 250 feet high, and terminated by a mass of rock, the diameter of which, measuring at the summit, is fifteen yards. This stony diadem gradually sinks down towards the middle, like the crater of a volcano, till the deep concave takes the shape of a funnel, leaving a round aperture the size of a large well, quite open and fathomless. I stood over it, but could not discern any sulphuric smell; and threw down several stones, without hearing the least consequent noise. The native people about me gazed as if I were performing the act of a magician, and solemnly declared "it went through to Yankey Doonia!" the new world.

From thence we journeyed due east, over a fair pasture country of the fine down-like herbage; and in half an hour reached the ruins of a city called Tackt-i-Solomon. It stands near the

foot of a long line of mountains, where, at the base of one of them, rises an extensive elevation of rather an oval form; and on the summit of that minor hill the chief part of the city has formerly been erected. The remains of walls and towers still extend along its brow. They are built of hewn stone, and towards the south, and eastern faces of the rock, are yet very lofty. The towers are all *solid*, and stand at unusually short distances from each other. Four gates lead into the place; each formed by a small circular arch, flanked by massive turrets. No writing, nor remnant of a tablet is perceptible on any of them; a date, therefore, cannot be traced that way; but from the style of these gate-ways and their whole connecting line of defence, I should assign the character of this city's military architecture to an age much anterior to many of the ruins within the walls. In the very centre of this embattled hill, lies a small oval lake of most singular appearance, and which the people declare to be unfathomable in the middle. Its length is sixty yards, its breadth thirty. The water, from its great depth and clearness, presents a surface of the most beautiful emerald green. It is known to overflow, but no one near me could say whether that occurred periodically. A small channel opens from it to the eastward, along which it constantly issues, trickling over the hill-side down into the valley below. The water is very cold, strongly impregnated with mineral, yet pleasant to the taste, and not heavy. From certain petrified deposits, it seems to have flowed through many such little courses, till time, and its own self-consolidating properties, have transformed these channels into long serpentine ridges, running not only down the hill, but to a considerable distance along the valley, and there standing nearly three feet high above the level of the ground. So petrescent is the quality

of the water, that the successive overflowings of the lake, (seemingly all bent to the eastward,) where the walls are now low, have encrusted the whole of the earth in that direction, and the intermediate ruins besides, with a thick mass of petrifaction; also, they have poured down the steep face of the fortress to the plain beneath, and, becoming partially arrested in their passage, have covered both with the same creamy hue, though of a substance hard as stone. The high encrustation immediately surrounding the lake has doubtless acquired its present elevation from the successive deposit of many years; and since the complete abandonment of the town, when all channels for taking off the superflux of water would be left to its natural disposition for blocking up, this accumulation must have redoubled twenty fold; and, the natives say, every year that raises the heap around the oval of the lake, contracts the extent of its circumference. From these observations, we may be led to conclude that the whole hill, in the centre of which the lake now lies, was originally, and by the action of ages, the offspring of this very water, then opened in a broader mass, and nearly on a level with the common surface of the plain; but which, in successive overflowings, condensing, and elevating its petrified self to the height and circumference of the present hill of Tackt-i-Solomon, at length became surmounted by a noble city. The hill stands fifty feet above the valley; and adding that to the probable great original depth of the lake, from its first surface on the plain, we may give some credit to the difficulty of any plummet of the country-people finding its bottom.

The town on its summit must have been delightfully situated, from the view it commanded, grand and beautiful; the mountains above, towering in all their cloud-capped majesty; the

valley beneath watered by other streams, and luxuriant in verdure. Yet, happy as this spot seems, peculiarly so from its gelid freshness in these depths of scorching summer, to our amazement we could discern no village in or near the valley. But, to return to the ruins on the hill: an extensive range, which must formerly have been some immense quadrangular course of buildings, appears to the west of the petrifying lake. The walls of this square are composed of brick intermixed with stone. Several Saracenic arches rise amongst them, formerly covered with stucco, and which mark this spot to have been of another era than the city gates. In this quarter also, the remains of a large hall present themselves: the span is fifteen yards, the length thirty where a wall closes it in; the height is forty feet. Several fragments yet exist within, covered with Arabic inscriptions from the Koran. The ruins lie more thickly and extensively to the eastward of the lake. Amongst them I found the remains of a bath almost entire; also, to the south-west, a large square building of hewn stone, with a wide columned portal of a hard red kind of marble. Part of the shafts and tors of the columns were still there, with some fragments of curious fretwork carved on the same sort of stone. These relics resemble the style of the city walls, both appearing to me to have been ancient Armenian workmanship. The buildings of brick mingled with stone, are of a different character; and probably have been constructed of the old materials, in subsequent times, by some of the caliphs, or sovereigns immediately succeeding them; for, to the innovation of the Arabian, or Saracenic government in Persia, may be ascribed the first introduction of the pointed arch also. The semicircular form, has been dated from the Greeks with Alexander; and a proof shewn, in the

universal use of the flat lintel throughout the country, until the invasion of that hero. The hill and the lake, and the ruins before us, our guide ascribed to *King Solomon the Wise*, the great comptroller of all the natural, and half the spiritual world! But on my telling my Sian Kala mehmandar, that Solomon of Judea had nothing to do with building towns in Persia, he then said, "the founder of this city must have been Shah Sulieman, the fifteenth caliph. And the reason he gave was, that he had himself seen a grant of some villages in the neighbourhood, to which that sovereign's seals were prefixed; one bearing his name, and the other something like a sun and moon. How far this may be true, I cannot vouch.

While traversing the hill of Tackt-i-Solomon, I observed a rather singular style of encampment on the plain beneath, and was informed it belonged to a small division of the Shassivanni tribe; a rather fierce, and very populous race, who spread their wandering clans over the richest plains of Ardibile, thence along the valleys to near Rey; and even so far southward as Fars, we may meet their predatory hordes. Their tents are in the fashion of Tartars, circular and roomy; and their characters, in many respects resembling the most savage of that people. Ferocious amongst themselves; and ever on the watch for rapine, or to be ready in case of a sudden attack from the neighbourhoods their violence may have exasperated, their horses are always kept saddled. No animals are finer than those which belong to this ungovernable tribe; indeed the breed is in such request for a Persian stud, that men of the first rank purchase their mares at any price. While we were making our observations amongst the ruins, a little party of the Shassivanni rode forward from their camp, and invited us down. I should have been glad to

have accepted their civility, to have viewed them nearer; but our mehmandar declined the invitation, with some excuse; telling me, apart, they were too lawless a race to be trusted, and particularly in this case, where they believed a Frangy was made up of valuables. Their physiognomies did not offer any better report; therefore, as soon as they rode away, which they did not do till they had enquired which road we were travelling, we set forth also; and making a feint to mislead, if evil intentions were really a-stir against us, at first took the direction the mehmandar had told them; but were no sooner out of sight, than we struck into the mountains, over, indeed, an almost impracticable path to the south-east; and whence our careful guide, to elude all possibility of being traced should a pursuit be attempted, continued to lead us through such windings and twistings, amongst smothering ravines, and rocky hollows heated by the sun like ovens, then up scorching, slippery acclivities, and across unsheltered mountain-summits; that, by the time we reached our quarters for the night, I was literally almost broiled to death. The halting-place was Gashappery, a respectable village, where we procured a tent; and pitching it on the bank of a little brook which waters the valley, gladly got under canvas, after a ride of ten hours' complete exposure to the sun. Tackt-i-Solomon is called four farsangs from Chok-Chok, and from Gashappery five.

August 31st. — Started this morning at five; our route continuing over the hills for three hours, north 45° west; it then turned nearly west, and two more hours brought us to the village of Hazar or Hissar, where I was agreeably surprised by again meeting Ali Khan, the frank-hearted governor of Sian Kala. This was once a very flourishing place, and still shews a few

fine trees, the remains of former noble plantations spread over the sides of the valley. The chief was here for two reasons,— to enjoy his favourite amusement, hunting, and to inspect the distribution of the newly arrived tribe of the Choor-doogloos amongst the deserted villages of the district.

My friend Dr. Cormick, whose account of the Kerefto Caves determined me on this journey, about four months before I set out had travelled the whole of my route; and thence onward to Senna, to visit the Wally, its governor, then very ill. Circumstances not permitting me at present to stretch on so far as that capital, I connect the topography of this part of the empire with the MS. diary of my friend.

"On leaving the village of Hazar, (he writes,) we passed over the smooth surface of the hills in a direction a little to the eastward of south, and after five hours' riding descended into a hollow valley, by a most difficult and steep path. Through it flows the river Sarook, which we crossed over a wooden bridge, and halted at a small village called Ereckshee, distant about six farsangs.

"This day we continued our way nearly south, passing up a long valley till we arrived at the celebrated Kerefto mountains, at whose foot it passes. Three farsangs from thence, over a downy surface of country, we reached the village of Kaihbeij. In all we had marched five farsangs.

"This day we journeyed due south; road hilly but good. Passing by the villages of Shahwally and Kossnazun, and after having gone five farsangs, reached that of Dewan-derrah. The people at the different stages I found very civil. They do not feed their horses with straw or barley, but on a plant growing wild and in great abundance amongst the mountains, which

they gather and dry, it constituting the whole of these animals' food, and it certainly keeps them in the highest condition. As this sort of provender is cheap, the poorest individual almost, can turn out excellently mounted, and at a moment's warning; it being the custom always to keep a horse or two saddled in each village, to give the alarm to the neighbourhood if any number of strange horsemen make their appearance. These natives are of the tribe of Gheshgi, and for the most part great and professed plunderers, never losing an opportunity, when they can accomplish it with safety. Notwithstanding this known character of themselves, they are in constant dread of the Shizogi, a tribe near them, who, they swear, are the greatest robbers and rascals in the world. In the immediate vicinity of that tribe, scarce a village is to be seen, but hereabouts they are numerous. The most part of the cultivation is effected without irrigation, which the natives call *Daimee*, trusting to Heaven for a few showers for their crops, during the growing season. Their hospitality is noted, and they make it a point to supply the stranger with whatever his travelling wants may require besides. On one occasion, the man in whose house I halted, borrowed barley of one of his neighbours for my horses, rather than confess he had none. Nor is it possible to make them fix a price for any thing given you; they are amply content with a small present on coming away.

"From this village (Dewan-derrah) we continued our route to-day, still south. The country was far more mountainous; and in somewhat more than the distance of a farsang, we crossed the Kizzil-ouzan. This spot is about three marches (21 farsangs) to the west of the bridge at Koflan-kou, near Mianna. After about six miles more, we passed the village of Zagha; and

at eight beyond, that of Kelhoor-abad, and soon after Magah. It was here that I first observed a garden, and some trees about their huts; the cause of which general absence of such appendages originates from those villages being only occupied during the winter months; as soon as summer commences, the whole population quitting their huts, encamp under tents within shade of the hills. A very striking circumstance appears to a stranger, in the manners and habits of the women. The fair of this part of Courdistan go about as unrestrained, and with their faces as unconcealed, as the females in Europe. Indeed, this is the only part of their persons they bestow no pains to hide, whilst in Persia it is the only part the women are anxious to cover, the dress of those ladies naturally exposing all from their necks to their hips; whilst on the contrary, a large loose shift, or single robe, hides the charms of these mountain-nymphs, from their necks to their ankles; under this some wear trowsers. Generally speaking, the dress of the lower order of people here is of a much coarser material than among the Persians of the same class, particularly with respect to the men. Their address and manners are infinitely more free, uncouth, and uncivilised, and rendered more so from the savage liberty they enjoy in the bosom of the mountains. Indeed, I verily believe no barbarians, of any country, have so inherent a propensity to rapine; which too natural bent is daily augmenting in violence, from the wretched state of poverty in which they are kept by the severity, extortion, and cruelty of their Wally. Magah is called five farsangs from Dewan-derrah.

"We journeyed south over a mountainous and thinly inhabited country; at least all appeared so along the road we took, till we arrived at Nazir, a distance of seven farsangs. It is not

far from Senna, and here I was obliged to halt, having found a messenger with information that *I must not enter the walls of the capital for four days to come, that being the lucky time fixed on for my appearance!*

" Perhaps no Asiatic nation surpasses the Persian in astrological superstition, besides a practice of consulting the Koran, or the poems of Hafiz, in taking what is called a fall, or, in other words, opening the books as chance may direct, and reading the first line or sentence touched. At the king's court, and also at those of his sons, numerous persons professing great astrological knowledge, like the soothsayers of old, are always in attendance, to decide on the fortunate hour or minute for any purposed act, not only in matters of political importance, but with regard to the most trifling domestic concerns. In fact, this supposed influence of the heavenly bodies in controuling their proceedings, makes them persist in the most absurd prejudices, and often commit the most contradictory actions.

" Senna is the capital of the eastern part of Courdistan, known under the name of the province of Ardelan; its confines to the north touch those of Azerbijan. The town stands in a most luxuriant vale, richly cultivated, affording abundance of fruits of various kinds, besides producing tobacco and considerable quantities of grain. Its latitude is 35° 12'. The Wally, or chief, is its hereditary governor; and, it is said, the sovereignty has remained for ages in his family. This prince resides in a noble palace in the midst of the city, which he never quits but on hunting excursions; or to visit the Shah, to whom he pays an annual tribute; but the sum is of no consequence, nor have any attempts been made to increase it. The health of the Wally is much out of order at present, from the effects of what has taken

place in his nervous system and is daily undermining his existence, (namely, a dread of being murdered in some way;) and this secret of all his other complaints arises from a series of violent acts he has long been in the practice of committing; murdering and poisoning in every direction, till he fears there may be many in his dominions, and some near his person, well disposed to do him the like office. Indeed, so strong are his apprehensions, he will not trust even his own wives to prepare his food, or mix his medicines, without the severest precautions. The former is always brought to him under the seal of her in whom he thinks he dare place the most confidence. He then obliges her to eat part of it, also her brother, his prime minister, and five or six of his own nearest relations; so that, should poison have been mixed in it, they must all share the same fate with himself. If his indisposition require the application of a *lavement*, he first causes two or three of his women (whose occupation has been to prepare it,) to receive, in his presence, a part of it, and if no ill effects arise, he uses the remainder on himself. Whenever he takes any medicines of his Persian doctors, he obliges them first to eat or drink a part of every dose before him, and then putting his own seal on the remainder, it is carefully deposited in his harem, till he sees what effect it produces on the prescribers; and when all appears to have been right, he then safely swallows the rest. His breakfast generally consists of a pretty large bowl of soup, and the instant he has satisfied his appetite, he makes the nearest relation of the woman whose turn it was to prepare the mess, devour the remainder to the last drop. At dinner, his vizier always mixes the sherbet, and presents it himself to his master, accompanied with an empty basin, into which the prince immediately pours

a great share of the liquid, and the first minister of state drinks it off, ere his illustrious lips dare touch it."

During the moments when the Wally thinks himself recovering, Dr. Cormick told me; he found him even a delightful companion; his general knowledge being far beyond the usual acquirements of great men in this quarter of the world, and his flow of lively humour in such circumstances, perfectly astonishing. One day he was discussing the subject of Christianity and Mahomedanism, while a Jew of Ispahan, one of his occasional physicians, was in the room. "Well!" observed his highness to Dr. Cormick, "it is certainly very illiberal in you Christians not to acknowledge our prophet as a man inspired from God, for we pay that respect to the founder of your religion! But here is a rascal," cried he, turning to the Jew, "reprobate from both, for he acknowledges neither!"

But these moments of constitutional gaiety are very few. It may be said, "his crimes have murdered peace, and all her smiling offspring!" Sickness, gloom, and irritation, according to the description of my friend, almost ever clouding his speech and his aspect. His amusement without doors, to lull these busy fiends, is riding; and within, he smothers thought under the incessant noise and bustle of his harem. One of the most favourite entertainments there, is the singing and dancing of a set of people called Luzmoonies; both men and women compose these companies, while the latter in general are exquisitely beautiful, and trained to all its powers. But the palace is not the only theatre of their exhibition; various sets of them are to be found every where in the city; and, as all degrees are as fond of the show as their lord, the contagion of such manners has rendered this little capital one of the most dissolute spots in the

East. With regard to the wives and daughters of Senna, they make such liberal use of the freedom of their face and habits, that, my informer told me, "they seem to fear neither God nor their husbands."

The harems of the wealthy inhabitants, independent of the four wives allowed by the Koran, contain vast numbers of other women, but those most in favour, are usually the Luzmoonies; and, therefore, it is not surprising that their conduct, as well as manners, should be gradually copied by all the rest. In the midst of this apparently general abandonment to the most dissipated pleasures, every creature so thoroughly sympathises with the trembling lord of it all, as to be in constant dread of some destructive evil befalling themselves, from his avarice, suspicions, or habitual cruelty. From this apprehension, many affect poverty; and others carry their terror to such extremity, as to make the earth alone the repository of their riches. Indeed, this has been a custom of long standing in Persia and its adjacent countries; and I cannot give a more notable instance than Ahmed Khan, the late rapacious tyrant of Maraga, whose wealth was considered unbounded. After he died, much was discovered buried in a thousand improbable places under ground, but the greater part, every body believes, is yet to be dug up by chance; that determined miser always having taken good care that the confidential persons who assisted him to inhume his idol, should soon sleep by its side. In short, so insatiable has been this universal thirst for gold all over "the great kingdom," and such is the vibration still trembling in the nerves of all who remember the avarice, and the violence of Aga Mahomet Khan and his emissaries, in its collection, that I cannot more distinctly picture the idea a Persian yet conceives of the insecurity of his property,

than by repeating the words of one of the nobility, on hearing some remarks on the certainty of a man's possessions in the kingdoms of Europe. "It is not so in all countries of the world!" said he. "There are *some*, in which the stick held in the owner's hand is only safe as long as his is thought the stronger arm. But let one come more powerful than himself, and it will instantly be torn from him, with perhaps aggravated injury. In fact," he added, "here, I am sorry to say, you see nothing done amongst us for to-morrow! We do not build, nor plant, beyond the day; for who will erect mansions that may be taken from him? or amass riches he dare not own? or lay up provision for children, whose lives might only be endangered by his providence?"

September 1st. — This morning I left Hazar on my return northward, by Sian Kala; and taking a direction N. 70° W. over the hills, passed the village of Guzel (or Kizzil) Boulak. Two hours brought us parallel with the fortress of Guzloo, whence we crossed the heads of the mountains; and gradually descending again, gained a finely cultivated vale, watered by a rivulet called the Gorva, which finally flows into the Jigatti. A village of twenty huts stands on its margin. From hence we traversed a second range of lofty hills, the declivities of which brought us into the Great Valley, and we reached Sian Kala at ten o'clock. Our march had been four farsangs and a half.

September 2d. — This morning at five o'clock, I again bade farewell to the hospitalities of the Courdish frontier citadel, and passing down the right bank of the Jigatti, enjoyed a delightful ride amongst its village scenes. The Sian Kala side of the river chiefly belongs to the brave Afshar tribe, while the opposite shore is rather regarded as the territory of the Mickri Courds.

The line of the valley ran north-west, and carried us past the little towns or large villages of Yangy, Azenkandy, and Sharroor. A few hundred yards north of the last, brought us to that of Nadjar, where we were to rest. It is four farsangs from the Kala.

September 3d. — My object being to return to Tabreez by the circuit of the Lake of Ouroomia, we started this morning at the same early hour, and proceeding in the same direction of yesterday, after an hour's ride ascended to a kind of table-land, where, following its level, we passed the village of Chalkonmish, whence the road bent nearly due west, and carried us down again on the bank of the river. On re-entering the main valley, our course continued pretty nearly west, till turning by the village of Pochtamish, it took a line considerably more to the north, soon leaving all view of the Jigatti. The fertility in these tracts was abundant, and the population answerable. We successively passed the villages of Moollah Shabadan, and Gajerlee, the roofs of the houses shewing themselves just above the high grown castor and cotton. All this country was flat. We rode through another village called Hadjé Bazzar, and in about half an hour afterwards, by keeping more to the westward, again found the banks of the river, which brought us to the newly erected town and artillery barracks of Tope Kala. This day's march had been six farsangs.

This place is one of the most judicious, and probably may prove the most flourishing of Abbas Mirza's essays towards giving his future kingdom a European aspect. It has received its name from the depôt for which it is intended, being meant for the *Woolwich* of Azerbijan; and is surrounded by a little district called Rhamed-abad, in honour of Rhamed Ali Khan,

the Topshi Bashi, who has planned, and is now superintending the whole. He welcomed me with the courtesy of his nation, and hastened to shew me the progress of all he was doing with a brave military satisfaction, mingled with a liberal and emulous discussion of them all, that bodes well for the real advantages of the establishment. This infant town and fortress have been begun about three months, and are proceeding with great spirit. The latter is to contain accommodation for 2600 men; and the whole foundation to be carried forward according to European discipline. Indeed, from the enjoyment here of the hitherto unknown comforts to a Persian soldier, of order, cleanliness, and regulated military subordination, (a subordination, therefore, perfectly free from caprice in command, and consequent cruelty in exaction,) time must gradually make European tactics, and the practice of military order even dear to him. Besides, I venture to anticipate even a greater result; though to the usual demagogues of liberty, the idea of a manly apprehension of freedom taking its rise from martial law, may appear perfectly heterodox; still, however, I presume to think there may be something natural in such a consequence. For instance, the absolute command under which a British soldier holds himself, (and it is the British system we find adopted here,) being that of a firm unchanging law, resting on certain fixed principles of duty from which, while he cannot swerve with impunity, neither can his officers go one line beyond it themselves without also incurring the same impartial judgment; this system must, finally, teach all these people, and those who look on, the usefulness of public order, and the individual safety of mutual justice. Besides, as the whole secret of military discipline rests on this unchanging law of positive command and obedience, carried forward by a

similar chain of justly regulated subordination, from the general to the common soldier; the prince himself who commands the whole, like Jupiter oath-bound by the river Styx, though omnipotent on all other occasions, cannot pass that limitation without throwing the whole system into confusion. Do we not then see, that when an Asiatic sovereign has once thoroughly admitted such a standard of rational command into his kingdom, and as a necessary consequence, to use it to any effect, puts the yoke of subordination on his own neck, — the system of sharing responsibility is begun on the one side; — of obeying regular laws with the understanding on the other, — and an appreciation of their value in both? Hence, the natural march of events cannot but in time produce reciprocal confidence between prince and people, and the result be national freedom.

British officers, chiefly, will preside at Tope Kala. The whole is to be inclosed in high walls and towers; and canals have been cut already, by which the waters of the Jigatti flow through the heart of the place, branching off into smaller channels for the domestic purposes of the inhabitants, and, farther off, to irrigate the land. The country around for three miles has been recently redeemed from the waste, and now shews plentiful crops of cotton, potatoes, melons, and castor. The produce of all these is fifty to one, and of the finest kinds I have seen in Persia; the castor having shot up twelve and fourteen feet, appearing like trees. The soil is naturally rich; and being ably assisted by labourers from the barracks, and the dispersed waters, so abundant a virgin harvest presents itself. Indeed we may call it by that name, this vast tract not having for centuries before been broken by the plough.

September 4th. — Being now at the starting point of my pro-

posed circuit round the southern and western shores of the Ouroomia, or Shahy Lake, (a track, from the particularly wild state of its tribes, hitherto, I believe, unvisited by any European traveller,) the Topchi Bashi furnished me with an escort of ten mounted artillery-men, and an orderly officer returning to the English commander, Captain Isaac Hart, then encamped with three battalions of infantry near the city of Ouroomia. With so respectable a guard, we recommenced our journey at nine in the evening, under a most beautiful and balmy atmosphere. The moon was quite up, and at this season losing her usual attribute of *cold*, shed a kind of glowing light over every object. The stillness, the repose of earth and heaven, were quite divine, while a gentle and refreshing air constantly passed from the waters. Our course lay S. 70° W. over the plain; which brought us, in about an hour, to the right bank of the Jigatti. We forded it, our horses breast-high in the stream, and at a breadth of 130 yards. The banks were very steep and high, and in places rendered more rugged by the sudden projections of large solitary masses of rock. Our road wound along their west cliffs for an hour; thence ran more to the south, passing a few huts called the village of Chilick, and entering on a vast stretch of plain, diversified by tracts of sand, long grass, and immense spaces covered with tall reedy bullrushes. From the latter we startled several boars. The lake was now about eight miles from us, on our right; while scarcely a mile divided us from the base of the Courdish mountains on our left.

September 5th. — We halted at three o'clock this morning, at a small vacated village of fourteen houses, the inhabitants of which were of the Mickri tribe, and all gone abroad into their summer tabernacles. But not having migrated far, the hardy

senior of the horde soon made his appearance, to bid us welcome and conduct us to a tent pitched for our accommodation. While it was preparing I sat down in our host's, and had leisure to observe the usual economy of such a dwelling. I am told that a general plan runs through them all. Each tent is divided into four apartments: the first for the individuals of the family; the second for the horses and servants; the third for cows, calves, or other beasts; and the fourth for domestic purposes. In the last the victuals are cooked, and the women pursue their different works of industry, such as spinning, weaving carpets, &c. This village is called Mamian. It lies in the small district of Sirdooz, which boasts a town of the same name, but of such scanty dimensions as not to contain above forty houses. We travelled the preceding night about six farsangs, and halted here the following day till midnight.

September 6th. (Monday.) — The hour of starting, being that for the sons of the mountains as well as ourselves, we left our tented menzil with an additional escort of most of its Courdish inhabitants; and, under as promising a sky as the night before, proceeded on a course north-west, which brought us in half an hour to the river Gaidar. We crossed its then almost dry bed; and three quarters of a mile further carried us to the bank of the lake. The white saline girdle I had remarked at a distance, now sparkled in the moon-light; while the broad dark waters, with one long fluctuating line of the same bright reflection, spread to the meeting concave on our right. The shore was very winding, and the road no less intricate, over, in many parts, an apparently untrodden plain; while the uneven ground, and mountainous heights and hollows to our left, by their deep shadows and uncertain lights, presented a scene of peculiar

sublimity. Engaged in its contemplation, it was some time before my attention was called to our having lost our way; when I found, that notwithstanding all the protestations of adequate knowledge from our guides of the Mamian horde, they had missed the right track; and we continued wandering about, off and on the winding margin of the lake, for two completely bewildered hours. At last they fortunately came up with a party of Courds, who were close to the brink, loading a drove of asses with its salt; and while our men were recovering the road by the directions of their brethren, I had an opportunity of observing the salt they were digging. In many places it lies more than a foot thick; and where the bed of the lake slopes gently from the land, the salt left by evaporation in summer often exceeds a breadth of three or four miles, down to the verge of the waves. Soon after we had well turned the most southern point of the lake, and entered the winding ways on its more westerly shore, in some parts we found the mountains so close, that their very cliffs stood in the water. In other places their bases declined by easy slopes to the margin; and then again receding inward, left the broad shore of the lake, either covered with shingles, or expanding in pure sand; or exposing a morass of mud, sending forth a more loathsome stench than can be conceived.

The first village we saw, on regaining our road, was one amongst the hills to the south-west, and not far from us. It is called Shirwanshally, and our guides estimate it at four farsangs from Mamian. Nearly opposite, I observed several small islands, or rather rocks, breaking the surface of the water. Travelling an hour and half more, brought us to the village of Julbar, situated in the gorge of a romantic valley, amongst the nu-

merous hills, whose wildly various extremities towards the lake we were marching over. This place is surmounted by a fortress, and blessed with the shade of a few trees. We passed it. A quarter of a mile farther shewed us Tedja, a smaller village; and another hour's ride brought us the grateful view of a little wood, in which stood the village of Ballistan, almost close to the lake. At this spot one of the bays curves off to the north, leaving a fine open tract of four or five miles; and the inhabitants have profited by this opportune present of nature; cotton, castor, and grain being planted over it in every quarter. Not far from Ballistan stands another thriving village called Galwaz; and at the distance of half a mile to the south, a beautifully fertile valley expands from the hills, watered by a mountain-stream, and cultivated by the industrious population of a village in its bosom, called Shitoon-Awa. Proceeding on this comparative champaign ground, in the course of four miles we passed two other villages, Dashagul and Raskam. The edge of the lake stretched off N. 10° E., when we began gradually to ascend a high hill in the same direction. After an hour's difficult riding, we gained the summit; and then the whole plain of Ouroomia was laid open before us, spread with villages and fertility; a little world of plenty, bulwarked on all sides but one, by apparently sterile, and, in many places, inaccessible rocks; and where they were not, there stretched the no less secure fosse of the lake.

When we descended the mountain into the vale, we found the river Balandooz, a rather considerable stream. It rises in the Bilboss valleys, and after spreading this fine track with verdure, falls into the lake. About the distance of two miles from its northern bank, stands the fortress and village of Maki. We con-

tinued along the serpentine margin of the stream for about a couple of miles, when we forded it near the village of Jayran; and four miles farther carried us to Teppa Turcoman, where we took up our quarters, after a march of twelve hours and a half. The distance is called ten farsangs, but I should say it is nine at the most, which brings it, in our measurement, to thirty-six miles; a pretty fair journey for horses and laden mules, without an intermediate halt or morsel of refreshment. By this may be judged how these animals in the East are accustomed to fatigue and privation.

September 7th.—Left our menzil this morning at five o'clock. It was a village adjacent to a town bearing the same name, and in a few minutes we entered it; a place containing about 100 families, twenty of which are Nestorian Christians. Our course lay N. 25° W. through a populous country, abundant in barley-fields, melon and grape grounds, and also fine villages embosomed in gardens. Amongst their numerous names were those of Gur Teppa, Hanjol, Tabbát, Bahram-lee; and immediately under the mountains, we saw Kara-Plase and Sara-Lan, very large villages. While still advancing, we passed Sara-Jab, and Islam, with indeed many more, to our right; and after a ride of three hours along this Arcadian plain, reached the southern bank of the river Shar. We crossed its extensive bed over a fine brick bridge of seven arches. This is the principal river of Ouroomia, and, like the Balandooz, has its source in the mountains to the west; but it is so drawn off by various little sluices for the purposes of husbandry, that not until the season of melted snow fills its channel, does any part of the stream reach the great basin of the lake. Having passed it, a very few minutes more brought us before the walls of the ancient city of

Ouroomia. I paid it due respect, by looking up to their venerable towers with reverence; but did not then stop to enter, wishing to push on for my friend's camp, where we arrived in half an hour afterwards. This day we travelled about thirteen miles; the city being three farsangs distant from our last menzil.

September 9th. — This morning Captain Hart rode with me into the city, in order to breakfast with the Beglerbeg; whose chief officers had previously come out to pay their compliments to me on the part of their master, and all accompanied with persons bearing loaded trays of different sorts of fruits. The government of the province of Ouroomia has been possessed by the family of his present excellency, for these last two hundred years, and he lives in a state little inferior to that of a prince royal. His father far exceeded even him in magnificence, and the palace bears every mark of such past splendour. The territory, within these sixty years, has rather suffered compression, which, of course curtails the revenue; yet, notwithstanding such dilapidation, it produced about five-and-twenty years ago 7000 tomauns annually. Since then, the rivalry of certain noblemen in outbidding each other for lordship over the minor districts, has increased the receipts to the enormous sum of 100,000; and the consequence is, cruel extortion from the *rayat* or peasant, to make the speculation answer.

On entering this long-famous city, not a vestige appeared to remind the visitor that it once bore the name of Thebarma, mentioned with such comparative consequence by Strabo. Here too, we are to believe, that Zoroaster was born, or at least passed the early part of his life. Its walls and towers are at present in a very ruinous state, which, together with a shallow ditch, are all its means of defence. So much for its war appear-

ance; but when we turn our eyes to its peace establishment, we find it surrounded by the most extensive and luxuriant gardens, producing almost every European fruit, as well as Asiatic, in the greatest plenty. Nothing could exceed the beauty and variety of their hues, but the deliciousness of their flavours, and the real refreshment they give to the thirsty and feverish traveller.

The government of Ouroomia comprises ten districts, and they contain about 700 villages. It forms part of the general territory within the division, or great province of Azerbijan. Hence its plains are at the immediate command of Abbas Mirza; and there I had great satisfaction in observing the progress of his European military dispositions in Captain Hart's camp; and making it my place of sojourn, I had ample means of observation. I found it in as fine order as any I had ever seen amongst the best disciplined armies in Europe. The battalions too, did him the greatest honour, not only on account of their general soldierly appearance, but for their steadiness under arms, and consequent precision in going through their manœuvres. These regiments are composed of Afshars, a fine race of men, active, brave, and, (as it has proved when properly managed,) docile and retentive. I made a sketch of their uniform, which, though a mixture of Asiatic and European, has a soldier-like appearance, and is particularly well calculated for facility of motion.

It is only since the accession of the present Shah, that modern Persia has been able to boast any thing like a system of regular organization in any part of her army. The two Shirleys, in the time of Shah Abbas, attempted such a project; and by their means the use of fire-arms, and the powerful effects of cannon, became known through the country; but the jealousy of the

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Sir Robert Porter

A Soldier of the European Organization
in the Service of Abbas Mirza.

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native chiefs interposed, and the plans of the brothers were soon rendered abortive. In after-times, neither the genius nor experience of Nadir Shah produced any digested military regulations. He did not require them. His enemies, for the most part, were undisciplined like his own troops. Courage and strength of arm, were all he wanted; and, a public robber at the head of his wild and rapacious tribes, he broke into kingdoms, plundering, depopulating, and leaving a desert, rather than an empire behind him. The same style of warfare, whether for defence or aggression, continued through all the successive reigns, from Kerim Khan to the present monarch; till the genius of one man, having laid almost all Europe at his feet, cast his eye towards Asia, and hoping to grasp it also, attempted a first step towards it by making a friend of Persia, and then changing the nature of her military character. That done, Persia would then become a power; a meet ally for the great French empire; a strong garrison between the great rival empire on the north, and the vast eastern objects of Napoleon's ambition. But while her armies remained nothing more than a bold undisciplined congregation from her numerous tribes, however decisive they might prove opposed to people like themselves, still, when brought against any European army, organized as well as brave, they could not be deemed better than a mere rabble, and must gradually give ground and fall before it. To prevent the possibility of such an impediment stepping in the way of his projected oriental empire, Napoleon determined to be before-hand, and virtually take post himself in "the Great Kingdom."

His first embassy thither took place in the year 1806. The advantages of European military organization were then incidentally represented to the Shah; and, soon after, assisted by a few

deserters from the Russian army in Georgia, the scheme was begun, by commencing the discipline of Persian troops according to French tactics. Unconscious of the covert aim in thus sharpening his sword, the whole business went quietly on at the Shah's court; but all the subtilty of the great mover, while his ambitious strides in the west so truly proclaimed what he would next meditate in the east, was not sufficient to completely elude the eyes of those most concerned to stop his proceedings. Hence, the embassies from England under Sir Hartford Jones, and General Malcolm, soon succeeded in ejecting Napoleon from the councils of Persia; and the European military establishments, set on foot by General Gardannes and his followers, were afterwards carried forward by British officers. The principle of their foundation was different. Great Britain did not want an inch of Persian territory, nor to make it a high-way to east or west. She came as a friend, to close the door against a universal enemy, and was glad of the opportunity to teach her old ally of ages back, how, henceforward, "to keep the gate of her kingdom" firmly in her own hands. But, it must be allowed that, with all our disinterestedness, the maintenance of her power in the east has always been deemed very essential to our own. Hence, a plan was not only digested for the organization of a body of infantry, and the establishment of another of artillery, but a considerable subsidy was to be advanced by our government to promote and maintain them in existence; also several thousand stand of arms and accoutrements provided, and a certain number of officers and non-commissioned officers sent from his majesty's and the company's service in India, to instruct the new Persian levies according to British military tactics. Besides, artificers of various kinds were brought, that arsenals

might be founded; and supplied at once with cannon, carriages, &c., constructed by native workmen, under the direction of these masters. The result was very promising; for, with regard to the rank and file, (to speak of an army as a machine, which it must be in the hand of its leader in the day of battle,) there cannot be better material in any country for forming a perfect soldier, than the native Persian; he being strong, active, quick of apprehension, brave, and, when properly managed, sufficiently docile and steady. But as such management is the thing particularly required, to produce the two last essentials in the character and practical use of a soldier; the almost total absence of it for so many ages in Persia will sufficiently account for even her bravest troops having sometimes shewn themselves as little to be relied on as an army of wild animals from the jungle, whom accidents are as likely to scare away, as to bring on to their invited prey.

The military state of the country resembles the feudal. The people are made up of distinct tribes, and every tribe is obliged to furnish a certain number of men, horse and foot, to the royal war armaments. When a tribe quits its wandering habits, and becomes fixed in any particular district, then, according to the returns of the numbers in resident families, that district furnishes its quota of horse and foot. When assembled in the field, the term of service is at the pleasure of the sovereign. However, hundreds abscond, and with impunity, long before the purpose of any expedition can be answered; and many turning back on their march, never see the field at all. Spears, swords, daggers, and muskets, are the promiscuous arms of this desultory multitude; it being said, that on emergencies, about 250,000 men, and the greatest part cavalry, can be called together. For many

years, they have been regimented according to their tribes, or districts, and led on by their native chiefs. So far there appears a shadow of something like organization, though without discipline of any kind. These regiments were divided again into minor bodies; for instance, an officer was appointed to be *with* every hundred men, *not to command them!* that was out of the question: to lead, or follow the flight of his men, was all he could do. Two other officers again, had each the care of fifty men; these twain bearing the title of *Panja Bashir*; and another of less rank, has ten men in charge, he is called De-Bashi. The provinces, besides, are bound to furnish a stipulated quantity of provisions. These immense levies are only on formidable occasions. But a certain standing army has always been kept up, the great bulk of which used to be a body of 12,000 infantry called Djan-bauze. They were first established by Shah Abbas, in order to oppose Sultan Selim's new species of soldiers, whom he had denominated Janissaries. A certain number of these Djan-bauze are always on duty at Teheran, and wear a sort of demi-European dress. Not many years ago they were put under the drill of a British officer; but the expences of maintaining them in the same European form, so zealously carried on by the prince royal with his army in Azerbijan, being deemed too heavy for the Shah's private treasury, the modes of discipline were gradually withdrawn; and, in consequence, those who are now seen in the capital, present a most neglected and even ragged appearance. But during the late war with Russia, they were considerably recruited again; and, since the peace, the chief of them have been employed against the restless Turcomans, and the rebels towards Afghanistan. The augmentation was principally made from the Kadjar tribe, each man being paid twelve tomauns yearly.

The regular, or only standing body of cavalry, may be called that of the Goolams. The men are in general the sons of good families; and, not unfrequently, the protéges, or certain useful agents of persons in power, whom they wish to provide for. These people are furnished with their horses and arms; and according to their taking proper advantages of any occasions held out to them, or that might be seized, to particularly serve his majesty, they have more splendid accoutrements presented to them. Their pay varies from ten to twelve, twenty, or even sixty tomauns per annum; but their greatest sources of emolument arise from being employed, like the Janissaries of the Porte, to carry presents, to collect revenues, &c.; and the profits thence are sometimes hardly to be calculated. His majesty keeps about 2000 of these men, one officer alone being their chief; and he, at present, is a Georgian, formerly a slave, and a great favourite with the Shah. A minor division of this body, is called the Goolam Tuffanchis, or musketeers. They act either on foot or on horseback, and are celebrated as almost unerring marksmen. Detachments from these people are often sent for two years at a time, into garrison, wherever his majesty deems such lasting service necessary. They receive fifteen tomauns per annum, and a certain portion of wheat.

Independent of the Goolam, in time of war the king has an additional body of horse always in attendance on his person. These are armed in various ways, and many in coats of mail. But even during peace, he has them in small musters, brought in rotation to pass in review before the window of his palace. When all together, they consist of 10,000 men. Each receives his arms and horse from government; and should the former be

lost, the man replaces it at his own expence; but should the latter fall in the service of his majesty, another is given to him, or 20 tomauns to make the purchase. When on duty, they are paid annually 24 tomauns; and when they die, their places are filled up by their sons, or nearest male relations. Any absolute vacancies are supplied by the best horsemen from the most settled and wealthiest districts.

Such was the unwieldy machine of a Persian army. But the means of its transformation were no sooner shewn to the heir apparent, than he saw their value, and the new organization of the troops went on rapidly. The promised assistants arrived from our government; all hands were set to work; both men and officers were liberally paid and provisioned, and to Abbas Mirza was given the command of the whole. His enthusiasm in the cause is not to be described, neither the astonishing quickness with which he comprehended the principles of every military regulation, and personally executed the most precise minutiæ in our tactics. He took the musket in his own hand, and in a very short time became as *au fait* in all its uses and exercise, as the most expert of our soldiers. Such an example could not fail conquering the prejudices of the old chiefs around, and electrifying with emulative zeal, the young. He was frequently the first in the field; and, indeed, in all things led the way, when any thing new and useful was to be attempted; encouraging, and stimulating his people. In consequence of all this united energy, a very short time elapsed before a fine body of native soldiers, regularly clothed, armed, and disciplined, appeared in review before the king, in a style no way inferior to our European regiments of the line. The scene seemed an act of enchantment to his majesty, and almost to the prince himself, when the whole

thus appeared before him. Both being amazed to see how completely the rude aspect of the nomade and, the mountaineer was changed to an orderly deportment; and, above all, how soon their fierce unshackled habits of independence, had been subdued into the docility of attention, and finally regulated within the restraints of the strictest military discipline. In short, instead of a camp of wild barbarians, they now saw a field of serviceable soldiers.

The uniform, from the first, was the same I sketched in the tent of my friend, Captain Hart. Its details and colours are, in general, a green jacket, with red cape and cuffs, the black sheep-skin cap, large white trowsers, and half boots. The artillery, like ours, are in blue and red; and in my life, I never saw that duty better done. Indeed, their high order and discipline, reflect the greatest credit on Colonel D'Arcy, (of the royal artillery,) who formed them; and on Major Lindsay, (of the Madras establishment,) who has since commanded the corps. Their present force consists of six troops, six guns each, pieces of sixes, and five-inch howitzers.

A body of regular cavalry was attempted to be kept on foot, but it did not succeed like the infantry. Colonel Drouville, a French officer, born in Persia, brought it to a considerable degree of discipline as lancers, and dressed the men accordingly; but as the Persians think no management of that weapon can exceed their own, no encouragement was given to the continuance of the project; and the corps falling into neglect, is now hardly more than nominally under the command of Lieut. Willock, brother to our Charge d'affaires.

By some inexplicable circumstances or other, the British sup-

ports to this system have gradually sunk away; the officers from our country have been successively withdrawn, till very few indeed remain. Captain Hart, of the 65th regiment, is the only infantry British officer left. He has been generalissimo of the little army of Azerbijan for these five years; a post he fills with fidelity to the prince, and honour to his own government. And, perhaps, it is a post that some time hence may be considered of as much consequence as any between the Thames and the Indus.

The following is a return of the present strength of the Persian regular infantry under his command.

First, a grenadier battalion, consisting of 800 men, formed of Russian deserters from the different military posts along the northern frontier. The officers of this body are all either Georgians, or made from Russian under-officers also deserters. Then follow these native regiments:

	Strength.
1st, or Tabreez battalion	922
2d, Tabreez battalion	923
3d, or Maragha's	1145.
4th, or Kara Dagh's	929
5th, or Marandi's	997
6th, or Shaggogies, (raised by Captain Hart)	620
7th, or Afshars	826
8th, or Afshars	767
9th, or Khoiy's	731
10th, or Nackshivan's	604
11th, or Erivan's	930
12th, or Zenguni's	648
Light infantry, Shaggogies	898

This amount includes officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers and bugles. The pay of the private, is fifteen tomauns per annum, three of which are stopped for clothing. When on service, he has an allowance of two pounds of bread per day. The native soldier, from natural disposition and habits, cannot fail being adapted for war in any part of these oriental climates. He is inured to heat, fasting, thirst, fatigue, in short, privations of every kind, without a murmur. Indeed, his usual moderation is such, that bread, water, and a little fruit, dried or fresh, make a feast for him at any time. These people have been known to make the most unparalleled long marches, without refreshment of any kind, while in pursuit of the Bilbossi marauders. They are alike patient and active, are anxious to be taught any useful art, and emulous of excelling. When once brought to discipline, no men on earth can be more steady and obedient under arms, and their sobriety is inviolable. This last virtue is of the first consequence in a soldier. Hence, when we sum up all these qualifications for a soldier, and this adaption to climate and its resources besides, it may be seen, that were these battalions chiefly officered by Europeans, (and a continuance of British officers was understood at the founding of the system,) 50,000 Persians so organized, would prove more formidable during a campaign in the East, than four times that number of the best European veterans. Captain Hart has put their camps too, into true military order. Before his judgment and authority interposed, they differed in no way from the ordinary style of even nomade encampment, being all dirt and confusion. But at present, their whole plan and distribution are exactly the same as our own ; but with one advantage, — the tents of the privates are more commodious, from having their sides three feet high,

by which means a great accession of room and air is admitted. The numbers of men who occupy each tent are the same as with us. While thus sojourning on the warlike plain of Ouroomia, so fine an Asiatic array, with a British officer at its head, and its own brave Persian prince in its heart, could not fail recalling to me the page of history, and the military advantages acquired by his great predecessor of the same name, when a Briton was also in his councils and his camp. Indeed, the scene suggested to my memory an anecdote concerning that gallant Shah, which I cannot resist repeating here. The circumstances took place only a little more to the northward, and when the Persians were at war with the Turks.

The Ottoman troops were collecting on the frontiers; and Shah Abbas, in order to watch their movements, had encamped on the banks of the Kur. Some short time previous to the opening of actual hostilities, the king was one day standing near the river with two or three of his generals; a little party of Turkish officers on the opposite shore, not guessing them to be any thing else than Persians of similar rank, gaily invited them to cross, and like good comrades partake of soldiers' fare. Abbas, with the spirit of chivalry natural to the highest order of the brave, accepted the offer; passed the river with his generals; was well entertained; and, at parting, in his turn gave a warm invitation to his new friends. "We will attend you with pleasure," cried one of them; "but you must promise to contrive us a glance at your brave young king, whose fame already sets graver heroes on their mettle!" Abbas smiled, and said he would do all in his power to gratify them. Accordingly, when they made their appearance within the Persian line, and arrived at the spot appointed by the king, where they indeed found

him, the demeanour of all around soon explained to them *who* had been their guest; and Abbas, enjoying their surprise, yet treating them with the same gallant familiarity, entertained them sumptuously, and afterwards sent them back to their camp loaded with royal presents.

September 11th. — This morning at six o'clock I took leave of my friend Captain Hart, and the admirable military scene he had presented before me; and taking a direction N. 10° W. the ride of a few minutes carried us past the large village of Garellar. In half an hour more we saw those of Kizzil-Ashick, and Gird-Abad; and two miles farther led us through Shiek Sarmoze and Ouzarlee. Thence we continued on, over a highly cultivated country, and equally populous in villages. At eight o'clock we came to the river Nazli-Chai, which we crossed by a ruinous bridge of four arches; turning our backs on the fine villages of Askar-Abad and Dastu-Gird, which rose on each side of our road on the southern bank. From hence we successively passed those of Chimgar-Ali, Sahat-Lee; and one called Hanau-Gar, built near a hill with a fortress on its summit. At no very great distance from the river, we approached the south-west point of the mountain-chain, which here forms the first great amphitheatrical range on this side of the lake. We marched along the foot of its acclivities, with the lake on our right, at about six miles distance. We kept on, N. 70° W. over a totally uncultivated tract, bounded to the north-east by lofty mountains, that seemed gradually to decline and fade away into the lake. Their nearer slopes seemed well peopled with villages, and charmingly embowered in gardens. By eleven o'clock we halted at the village of Kareeze, situated in the mouth of a small valley

at the foot of the mountains. It is called five farsangs from Ouroomia.

September 12th. — This village is pleasantly surrounded by gardens, abundant in delicious fruit, and particularly fine grapes. The people here use the heavy triangular cart, drawn by four or six buffaloes. Their plough is extremely large and ponderous, but constructed with two leading wheels, precisely like our improved English machines for the same purpose. Six or eight of the above-mentioned animals are employed to drag it along, each couple having their appropriate driver sitting on the yoke with his back to their heads. Two extra persons guide this most formidable instrument of agriculture along the furrow. The cylindrical machine, described before, is also in use here for a thresher.

Just over the village, in the side of its rocky mountains, several natural caverns invited my curiosity; but they did not show any marks of former human occupation, either as dwellings or former courts of mystery. We left Kareeze at half past five this morning, our road excellent, and in a direction N. 30° E. in which we continued for nearly two hours. At four miles we came to the village of Guloojee, the lake being two miles on our right. Here the plain was stony and waste, yet we passed through a large village inhabited by Nestorian Christians; it was called Jowlan; and not far from it appeared another similar place named Jamal-Abad. There we bent N. 60° E., soon coming to the village of Grosschi, within half a mile of the lake, and whence the highest mountain on the Isle of Shahy bore S. 70° E. We now got pretty close to the water's edge. Another hour brought us to the point of the mountains which terminates their second great amphitheatre; just before we reached it, we

passed the village of Barry. We now rather receded from the water, striking N. 30° E. into hilly, rocky, and very uneven ground. In half an hour we passed through the village of Magettelli, wildly situated in a deep dell, under a pyramidal mass of naked cliffs; its little gardens and surrounding vegetation, beautifully contrasting with the rugged and frowning aspect of its towering back-ground. Through an opening in the hills, the lake was visible at about two miles distance. In half an hour we reached our menzil, a place called Goorchin-Kala. It lies under the hills, with the country sloping gradually down from before it to the water's edge. In parts the ground is cultivated, in others left to nature; but almost the whole terminating in a sandy shingle, at the distance of a mile and a half. Goorchin-kala is estimated at four farsangs from our last halt. A stupendous and perfectly insulated rock rises abruptly from the coast, immediately opposite our quarters. In the winter, when the waters are at full, it stands many hundred yards in the lake: at present its western face may be approached with ease. The village takes its name from this august neighbour, which, in former times, they say, was crowned by a very strong fortress; indeed, the same that protected the treasures of Haluko Khan. In after-ages it frequently afforded shelter to the adjacent peasantry, against the lawless hordes which came down upon them from the mountains. But since the accession of Futteh Ali Shah, the walls and interior places of refuge have fallen into utter neglect, and therefore ruin; one evident proof of the Rayat's present security from the inroads of former depredators. Before the regulations in that respect, enacted by the king, and so vigilantly enforced in this quarter by his son, scarce a village could exist without its adjoining strong-hold; and indeed all over the kingdom

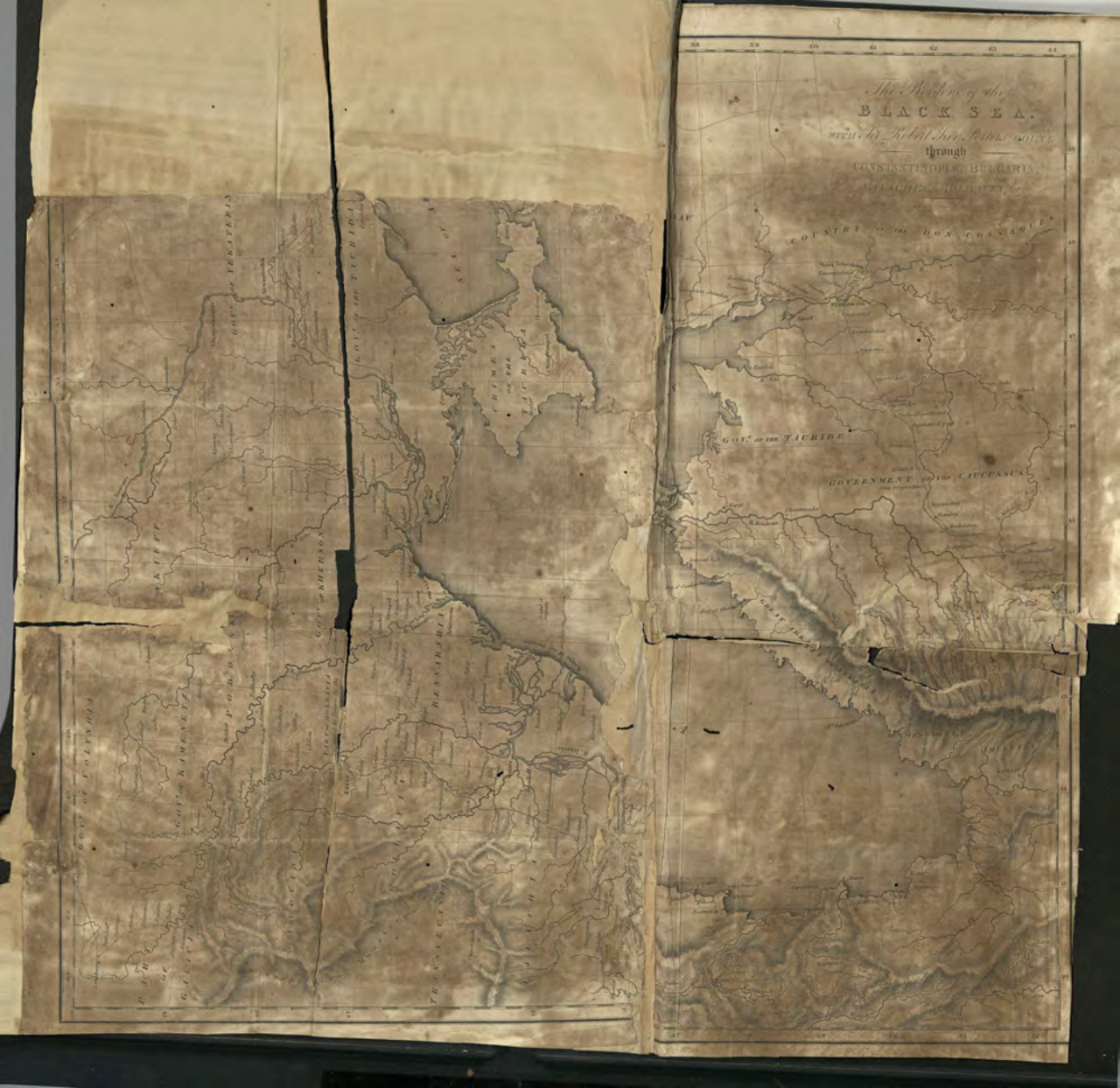
there was not a solitary pass that did not possess communicating watch-towers, and bodies of Tuffanchies to guard them. The rock of Goorchin Kala is perpendicular on three sides; the fourth, which faces to the north-west, having rather a slope; but it is yet sufficiently steep to defy any sudden attempt. At the base of this least inaccessible point, a deep ditch has been hewn, as a defence towards the shore in the dry season; and through it the salt waters of the lake make a circuit. The spot, altogether, reminded me of the impregnable castle of Koeningstein, in the vicinity of Dresden. Like that fortress, the Kala of Goorchin has only one entrance, and it is cut through the solid rock; from which opening, to the summit, the way is exceedingly narrow and difficult. On arriving at the top, it presents a very singular appearance; a particular air of wild grandeur, from the union of man's labour, and nature's own rough bulwarks, in the construction of its battlements: here and there, pieces only of wall having been required, to fill a few chasms in the rocks, which had formed its high and perpendicular defence on all sides. Within, the remains of houses, built out of the stone of the general mass, were yet visible; and also large and deep square excavations, which our guide told me were intended for granaries and stores. Walking towards the eastern brow, we found the wide mouth of a well, apparently reaching to a great depth in the rock. It is now abundantly supplied with water; and shows its stone circumference, worn into long hollows by the ropes and chains of former ages raising the water. From that spot we turned to the north; and approaching the brink of the rock on that side, scrambled 200 feet down the face of the fortress, on a most shuddering ladder, found by instinct of hands and feet, for path there was none, till we arrived at the mouths

of two caverns. Their natural very wide entrances, had been narrowed by strong walls of stone masonry, for the apparent purpose of additionally supporting the cliff immediately over them, surmounted as it was again, by the heavy structure of the fortress. But within, we found that the wall had a second object: to preserve in the deep and cool reservoirs of these caverns, a beautifully pure water that constantly trickles into them through the solid rock above. We saw it accumulated here, in the form of little subterraneous pools; a sort of fairy lakes, most deliciously refreshing after a scorching ramble, and we did not fail to taste. It is perfectly fresh, and clear as crystal; something surprising, when recollected that it springs through a rock encircled by the saltest water in the world. Several large fig-trees grew on the narrow shelf that led into these cool retreats, shading the rugged entrances, and mingling their ample leaves with the grey and broken fragments of the wall. This particular feature in the scene was wild and romantic; but the whole was raised into sublimity by the awful and dizzy height, whence they waved their green boughs, and where we stood, viewing the azure surface of the Ouroomia deep at our feet; while the hollow roarings of its waters, dashing into the caverns they had worn through the rock at its base, rather increased the nervous giddiness with which we looked down a precipice of 800 feet, from a ledge scarcely six in width; and with the towering mass above, we so lately had the temerity to descend. These caves have long been the occasional resort of dervises; and a small sanctuary is shewn, half excavation, and the rest completed with rude stone-work, said to cover the remains of some unknown saint, to whom frequent prayers and pilgrimages are made. Near to it the print of Mahomed's foot

was pointed out to me, impressed in the rock. I remember to have seen a similar mark of a holy visitant at Kerefto, where our guide had shewn us the print of Ali's hand. By all these accounts, the narrators must have good faith in the errant propensities of different members of their two saints' bodies, since nothing ever brought their whole persons, visibly, into this part of the world. After descending from the fortress to the shore, I put my hand into the waters of the lake, and having drawn it out again, a very short evaporation left it encrusted with glittering saline particles, perfectly white.

September 13th. The country around was most romantically intercharged with mountain and valley; and consequently, in ascending one or penetrating the other, we lost or gained different picturesque views of the lake. This morning, at half-past five o'clock we left the village of Goorchin Kala in a direction N. 60° W. and taking our course up the tortuous dry bed of a spring torrent, gradually ascended amongst the most arid and barren summits of the mountainous hills; along which, as we wound our way, occasional glimpses of the fine expanse of waters opened on our right. This high upland journey continued for about an hour and half, when we suddenly diverged down again upon the flat plain, where we found, near to the lake, the village of Guljeki. At that point we altered our direction to S. 80° W., along a fertile valley three miles wide, and smiling with well-populated villages. The principal place is called Kara Bagh, from its thick and dark green groves of trees. In half an hour we passed a village named Neschiff, whence our road struck off north-west, by a gradual re-ascent of the mountains. Having marched that path, another hour found us again on the margin of the lake, which we had gained by a steep and

At Salmos.


The Western part of the
BLACK SEA.
with the Rivers Don, Dnieper, Bug &c.
through
CONSTANTINOPLE, BULGARIA,
WALLACHIA, MOLDAVIA &c.
COUNTRY of the DON COSSAQUES
GOVT. of the TAURIDE
GOVERNMENT of the CAUCASUS
GOVT. of YEKATERINA
GOVT. of the TAURIDE
GOVT. of KHERSON
GOVT. of KHERSON
GOVT. of KAMENETZ
GOVT. of PODOLIA
GOVT. of KIEW
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GOVT. of CZERNIGOW
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GOVT. of KURSK
GOVT. of KURSK
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GOVT. of SLOBODA UKRAINIA
GOVT. of SLOBODA UKRAINIA
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GOVT. of TAMBOW
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GOVT. of RIAZAN
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GOVT. of TULA
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GOVT. of KALUGA
GOVT. of KALUGA
GOVT. of SMOLENSK
GOVT. of SMOLENSK
GOVT. of MOHILEW
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GOVT. of MINSK
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GOVT. of GRODNO
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GOVT. of BIALYSTOK
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GOVT. of WILNA
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GOVT. of WOLHYNIA

zig-zag pass. For rather more than four miles we now skirted its edge, the naked mountains shooting up close on our left. This longer companionship by its bright side, seemed that of our adieu; for almost immediately at the termination of the four miles, we took leave of the lake entirely, turning off due west, into the bosom of an extensive plain. High mountains bounded it to the north; but all between, seemed rich, verdant country; and, on enquiry, I found I was now entering the wealthy district of Salmos. Having traversed its cultivated and level ground for nearly four miles, (though here and there it exhibited the too usual shades in the fairest Persian landscape, deserted villages, and partial waste,) we drew towards a narrow, but level dell, formed and divided by detached masses of the rocky mountain stretching out into the plain. Our course lay within it for about twenty minutes, when we arrived at the entrance of a fine rural-looking valley to the south-west, and riding up it, soon reached the village of Tamar. We had been marching five hours and a half, over a distance called four farsangs from Goorchin Kala.

This was our purposed menzil; and not far distant, the people told me I might see a curious group of men cut in stone, on the face of one of the mountains. Having rested myself awhile, I set off, attended by one of the villagers, in search of this piece of sculpture. About two miles from the village, and along the great plain of Salmos, rise several detached rocky mountains. On the southern face of one of these, and a good way up the precipice, the rock has been smoothed for the length of sixteen feet, and there I found a very rude piece of workmanship, representing four figures, two of which are equestrian. (See Plate LXXXII.) Rough as it is, the style is similar to that of

the Sassanian dynasty, mentioned in a former part of my journal. This bas-relief consists of what may be called two groups, though evidently connected in one point of history. The group to our right, (when standing before it,) consists of a personage on horseback, whose horse trappings and own apparel shew the Sassanian fashion before described. His hair flows in the full bushy curls, a globular shape surmounts the helmet, which here has no other ornament, excepting the royal streamers. His left hand holds the reins, appearing at the same time to rest on the hilt of a long straight sword. Besides the waving ends from his head and neck, others stream from behind his back, as if attached to the robe which clasps over his chest. Similar appendages float from his heels. With his extended right arm he grasps a ring or chaplet, either giving or receiving it from a person on foot, who stands at the head of the horse. This latter figure is bare-headed, his hair parted over the forehead, and thence devolving on each side in full and abundant curls. He is dressed in a short tunic reaching to his knees, and fastened round the waist with a band and a sword-belt. Loose trowsers, apparently fastened round his ankles, complete all that is now discernible in his apparel. The second group, but in order of march it precedes this, represents a similar action; and, indeed, the chief difference in its details lie in the dress of the equestrian personage and the decorations of his horse. The caparison of this animal appears more splendid than the other's, and the head of the rider without the usual Sassanian complement of hair, a singular circumstance in bas-reliefs of that era, and seems to mark him to be a prince rather in alliance with those sovereigns, than one of their race. The drapery which incloses his leg and thigh is precisely like that on the figures in Plate XXIV.

at Nackshi Roustam; whereas the other cavalier has his limb covered in the style of Shapour, in Plate XXII. *

This performance, on the whole, is very poorly executed, and ought to be called a very low relief, since it scarcely rises four inches above the face of the rock, the detailed forms being made out upon it by the simple line of the chissel, in the manner an engraver draws on copper. Therefore it is surprising to me how any part of so slightly elevated a surface should have stood the wear of so many centuries, considering the changes of seasons, and other inclemencies, which must have passed over it. Great mutilation has taken place, yet enough remains, to shew the original rude execution of this indeed curious specimen of the state of the art of sculpture in Armenia at that day, for I should be inclined to suppose its date early in the fourth century of our era; and a miserable idea it gives of the then Armenian taste in such works; a contempt, indeed, of these imitative branches of the fine arts, manifested also in the coins of the country, all that I have seen being particularly barbarous. I say contempt, for their artists must have known better models, from the constant communication between that country and those of Greece and Rome. This is the only relic of antiquity I could hear of on the plain; and I would venture to suggest its interpretation from the following notice from history. Narsi, the Persian king, after his defeat by the Emperor Galerius, surrendered to his conqueror Mesopotamia, and five districts to the east of the Tigris. The last included part of Carduchia. These five districts belonged formerly to the dominion of Armenia; and as the war had been undertaken by Galerius in defence of

* Both these plates are in Vol. I.

Tiridates king of Armenia, the fine province of Atropatia (Azerbijan) was also extorted from Narsi as a compensation to the Armenian monarch, for that part of his original inheritance which had been ceded to the emperor, and which he chose to hold as his own. I should therefore suppose that the two groups in this sculpture may refer to these separate cessions. The leading two persons, the man on foot, and the regal personage without the Sassanian or Asiatic curls, may designate the Emperor Galerius mounted on horseback, receiving from the Prince of Armenia (who being on foot shews his inferior dignity,) a cession of all right on his part to the five districts surrendered by the king of Persia; and the group of two that follows, may represent Narsi of Persia, also mounted, in honour of his superior rank as the *Great King*, presenting the Armenian prince (who is still on foot) with the investiture of the province of Atropatia; extorted, indeed, from the Persian, for the reason above assigned.

On my return from the sculpture to our quarters, the peasant conducted me two miles beyond the village of Tamar, up the valley, on the western side of which rises a solitary hill of a pyramidal shape, called by the natives Zingir Kala. It appears about 400 feet in height, and is extremely difficult of access on which ever side it may be attempted; we ascended it from the north, actually climbing the steep as the boys do a wall, by the aid of our hands. Having accomplished about three parts of the height, we reached an extensive platform, now in a very ruinous state, formed of large rough pieces of rock, but put together with great care, and in regular lines. Its expanse might be from 70 to 80 feet. In some places the face of this constructed mass is still ten feet high, in others it is lowered by dilapi-

dation; but in all it appears to have been of much greater elevation than any part now remaining. From the point of its highest present level, rise the almost obliterated marks of a flight of steps leading to the door of a chamber hollowed in the solid rock above. We ascended; and entering, found it arched to a height of six feet; in width it was eight, in length ten. The walls and roof have been nicely cut with the chissel; but the entrance is small, being only four feet in height by three in width. It faces the east. The whole of the interior is thickly encrusted with the japan-like consolidated smoke, before described as having probably arisen from the concealed ever-burning light or lights of the followers of Zoroaster. There being no niches in this excavation, for lamps, the flame which produced the smoke here, must have been in the centre of the cell, therefore could only be some single mass of fire. On the outside of the passage into this gloomy recess, another flight of steps is visible, which conducts quite to the top of the rock. Thither we mounted also, and found a square hollow dug into its surface, and rendered of deeper dimensions by an elevated border of masonry. It appears to have been a reservoir for water. From the side of this sort of tank, a kind of rough way leads along the summit of the rock towards its north-western brow; and in a part of its natural projection to the south-east, a narrow opening has been hewn, overlooking the most precipitous and highest steep of the hill. This extraordinary point of commanding view, situated almost as inaccessibly as if in the clouds, has been closed in by a door; the large hole for its immense pivot, as well as similar ones on each side in the rock for a cross-beam, being quite evident. From the secure nature of its position, it is difficult to assign a reason for a door in that situation. The hill is so steep and

pyramidal in its form, and of such small expanse at the summit, it is next to impossible to suppose that any building whatever could have been erected there, to which that door might have been only an appendage. Indeed, so scanty is the plane of the rock, that the artificial platform I have before described, must have been made to obtain a little more room for enacting the purposes for which the broad flat surface was required. From what I have just said respecting the narrowness of the whole extent, no idea can present itself of any thing like a fortified post having been here. The present appearances, then, can only be resolved into reasonable use, by supposing it one of the high places consecrated to the worship of the sun. The cell within has been the repository of the sacred fire; and the platform above, designed for the sacrificial or other rites performed in the eye of the people. It faces the east, the kebla to which all those worshippers were directed to turn themselves in prayer.

We returned to the village of Tamar, our rest for the night, rather fatigued with the heat and bodily exertion attendant on the latter part of our expedition; but our refreshment was good, from the abundant harvests and gardens of the plain. The district of Salmos, in which our menzil lay, is not very extensive, but its fertility is great; and the villages it numbers, particularly towards the mountains in the west, are estimated at nearly 200. It boasts two towns; one called Salmos, (its little capital,) and the other Dilmar, distant from Tamar about eight miles.

September 14th. — We recommenced our march this morning at five o'clock, taking a course north-east over the plain, towards Sultan-abad, a large village, which we reached in an hour and a half. Hence we continued over a waste tract for three miles, passing the villages of Kara Kishlock and Yow Shanlee. From

them, we bent much more to the eastward by nearly 20 degrees; and after a ride of six miles, passed the Radhar Khanah, or house for gathering duties on travelling merchants' and caravans, situated at the foot of the mountains. Here we came in close neighbourhood with the lake again, having its most northern extremity within two miles of us on our right. The highest mountain of the Shahy Island bore S. 40° E. A couple of miles more brought us to the village of Almasary, called four farsangs and a half from Tamar.

This place is agreeably situated under the brow of the mountains, and the people who inhabit it are particularly civil. While making my short sojourn there, I was happy to be the means of probably prolonging the life of a respectable father of a large family. I found him in extremity of pain, and the people about him not expecting him to live. His disorder was a violent bilious attack, an enemy I had long been accustomed to grapple with; and immediately taking him in hand when I arrived, by the aid of tartar emetic, calomel, and castor oil, left him next day free of all inward annoyance, and in a fair way of speedy and entire recovery. Something of the sort happened amongst the mountains of Louristan the preceding summer, where I halted at a small collection of huts, and saw a poor jaundiced-looking wretch lying in severe bodily agony. I would fain have tried my skill upon him, and offered it to his kindred standing near; but the answer was, "No; he has been very bad these five days, and experienced people say he must die in the morning." Still, however, though the poor creature had indeed every appearance of his approaching end not being far off, he seemed in such tortures, I would have been glad to persuade them to allow me to try some little alleviation; but the chief of the village with

whom I was to lodge, stopped me by the timely reminder: "You acknowledge," said he "the man must die ere long; now if you give him any thing to-night, and he should die before the morning, the whole country about will have it that the Frangy has poisoned him; and what you meant well, may cost you your life." There was no resisting the verity of this argument, and I gave up the point. But that I believe was the only place in which the ministration of my attempts in this way were rejected; and death having never been a follower in any case where I chanced to interfere, whether the cure were or were not effected, I luckily escaped all hazard of the penalty my host of the Louristans had held over me. A small knowledge of maladies, but a good deal of experience while in the East, and a little, but useful store of drugs in my medicine chest, constituted my whole pretension to the healing art. Yet, scanty as that might be, it was Esculapian to the miserable medical resources of these poor villages; and on leaving many of them, it was no unpleasing sound to hear Mahomedan lips calling down blessings on the Frangy doctor! for with that title they naturally dubbed me.

September 15th. — We set forth this morning in a course nearly due south, in order to join the direct road nearer to the edge of the lake, which then lay about three miles to our right. Having got into the main track, our line of march then pointed more to the east by 60° for the space of five hours. At its commencement we passed a succession of fine villages on our left, mostly lying under the shelter of the romantic lower hills, amidst each its respective gardens thickly planted with trees, and their adjacent cultivated lands; forming altogether, a lovely contrast to the red and naked summits of the loftier mountains which backed their variegated beauties. All these little com-

munities were copiously su pplied with water from myriads of springs distilling from the rocks above. Indeed, they flowed so profusely in one I passed through, that its narrow street was quite flooded by the superflux from a tank, into which the inhabitants had directed the stream for agricultural purposes. During two hours' ride, we went by Kizzilja, Topchi, and Chirawan, three very flourishing villages; and soon after, came opposite the once populous town of Tasoutch, now reduced to a long dun line of ruins, and inhabited by a few wretches of such scanty numbers, as are hardly sufficient to make up the meanest village. Their characters are infamous, for dishonesty and contempt of authority; yet it forms one of the usual halting-places between Tabreez and Khoiy. We gladly left it four miles to the south-east. Not far from us, and on the same line we were marching, lies Kara Teppa, a respectable village. As we moved on, the lake gradually curved to the south, and continued within a mile of our course. In an hour and half, we passed through the village of Keil-Koutchick, and saw another, about a mile from us on our left, called Keil Bezoork. The chain of mountains nearest to us on the north-east, began to lose the extreme elevation of their appearance, melting by degrees, as we advanced into the valley of Tabreez. We had now come to a second Radhar Khanah. Passing it, we took a direction south-east, leaving the high road, and in our way skirted the villages of Heft Chesma, and Sheerif Khanah. The lake, in this part of our march, was about a mile and a half from us to the right; and the mountains on our left might be distant about four miles. In less than a quarter of an hour, we halted for the remainder of the day at a place called Alibegloo, said to be six farsangs from Almasary, our last menzil.

On reaching Alibegloo, I had virtually made the circuit of the lake; and, according to the best of my observations, I should calculate its extreme length from north to south to be about 89 miles; and its breadth (which is nearly the same all the way southward of the great island,) does not exceed 32 miles. From the great island, or rather peninsula, it narrows exceedingly immediately opposite Goorchin Kala, where it bays in considerably to the north-west; so that I should judge its circumference to produce nearly 240 miles. The island or peninsula of Shahy, (whence the lake takes a rival name to that of Ouroomia,) is the only inhabited spot that rises from its surface. This mountainous mass of rock and wooded hills possesses one village in tolerable population; but, I am told, there are several others in complete ruin and desertion; and also the remains of a strong old fortress. The island abounds in fine trees, wild goats, antelopes, and wild fowl of various kinds.

September 16th. — This morning we started with the rising sun; and continuing on a course S. 60° E., over the widening valley, found it gradually expand into a vast plain. The lake was now left far behind; and an hour's ride brought us to the village of Koshkiffandi. Two miles led us through that of Shindara; near which stands a very large mound of earth, excavated on all sides, and very deeply, by the inhabitants, for the purpose of making bricks of its clay for the erection of their poor little houses. The consequent broken ground, taking all sorts of irregular shapes within the huge scooping out of its body, at a little distance gives the whole the singular appearance of a ruined amphitheatre. In former times it, probably, has also been one of the Mithratic *high places*, the name it now bears being the Gaur-Teppa; Gaur is a corruption of Gueber, and therefore means

the unbeliever's hill. Five miles north of this, and under the mountains, stands the fine village of Koomla, most extensively surrounded by gardens. In another hour we passed through Deeza-Kali; and a little to the north of it, still under the hills, the flourishing little place of Choiristar may be descried. All these villages are noted for the manufacture of a superior kind of cotton cloth called kuddûck, which forms the summer clothing of the people when dyed blue or green. It is a similar fabric to what we call nankeen, and is very strong and serviceable. Proceeding, the high line of mountains on our left gradually receded, and all the intermediate plain expanded in vast tracts of varied cultivation. It is supplied with water from the hills; whence it is conducted many miles through the level land by the means of canaughts, a sort of subterraneous course I have described in a former page. A ride farther, for rather more than an hour and half, brought us to the village of Ali Shah, four farsangs from our late menzil.

September 17th. — From our last night's quarters, a short march of twenty miles over a similar smiling country, would bring us to Tabreez. At the end of the first eight miles we reached the disappointing margin of the saline Augi; and, from its situation, I should deem it the salt river which Mark Antony and his fainting troops drank of, after passing the mountains in his way to the Araxes. It was now very shallow, and not more than twenty yards across. The remainder of our ride was particularly pleasant, a gentle cooling air blowing through the openings of the hills upon the valley; while every successive point of note we saw, assured us of nearer approaching the welcome of our friends; and at the end of twelve miles, after

passing the salt stream, we again had the pleasure of entering the gates of Tabreez.

After the sojourn of nearly another month in the capital of Abbas Mirza, the time arrived for my departure home; and by the way of Constantinople. In that track I should accomplish my wish of visiting many spots in Armenia, interesting to the historian and the antiquary; and thence proceed through other countries of past celebrity, though, as to political existence, at present in most oblivious slumber. My dispositions were soon made: and the first being to disencumber myself of my Asiatic train, consisting of horses, mules, and the whole train of their et-cetera, the next was, to engage an able guide to the Bosphorus, capable of supplying the place of them all. Such a personage luckily presented himself in the shape of one of three janissaries, who had brought letters from the Grand Vizier of the Sultan to the prime minister of the Shah; and I lost no time in making a bargain with him for the required service. I was to pay him 1800 piastres; for which he was to furnish me with horses for myself, attendants, and baggage, (with provisions besides,) from the Persian frontier, to the gates of the Ottoman capital. My attendants were now reduced to my only surviving Russian servant, (who, I believe I mentioned before, had rejoined me from Shiraz quite convalescent,) and my secretary Sedak Beg; whom his royal master would not allow me to leave behind till he had seen me safe on a European shore. My poor Tcherkassian horse, who had carried me so faithfully from the mountains of Caucasus, to over half the alps of Persia, had ended his labours with his life, at Tabreez; and I acknowledge to more than one tear, when I saw his noble limbs, so often tugged to the utmost

in my service, stretched cold and stiff before me, and his bright eye closed.

October 19th, 1819.—Having bade farewell to all my kind friends in the Azerbijan capital, and received from Abbas Mirza the royal packet with which his majesty and himself had honoured me for my own sovereign, I took my final leave of that amiable prince. That epithet, when attached to an Asiatic heir apparent, is of much greater moment to the people likely to be committed to his care, than can well be guessed by European subjects. But I will not dilate further on the character of a prince, whose life as a sovereign, should Heaven hereafter grant that blessing to Persia, must prove his best panegyric.

Leaving Tabreez at eight o'clock in the morning, we had a fair length of day before us to perform, rather a long journey ere halting for the night. Our course lay N. 30° W. bringing us to Sofianat at two o'clock, and Marande, our proposed resting-place, by seven. I do not dwell on the particulars of this part of my route now, having fully described its adjacent country in the journal of my first arrival in Azerbijan from Georgia. Yet some difference in the general style of my entertainment may be anticipated; the cutting off my train necessarily maiming my consequence in the eyes of caravansary keepers, and all their satellites of board or manger; however, his royal highness, at parting, furnished me with a little antidote to the higher powers, the governors of towns, and the ketkhodas of villages; his sign manual, ordering them to provide me every facility, accommodation, &c. at my command, to the utmost verge of the Persian dominions. At Marande we were lodged in the Mehman Khanah, or house for travellers. The distance of this town from

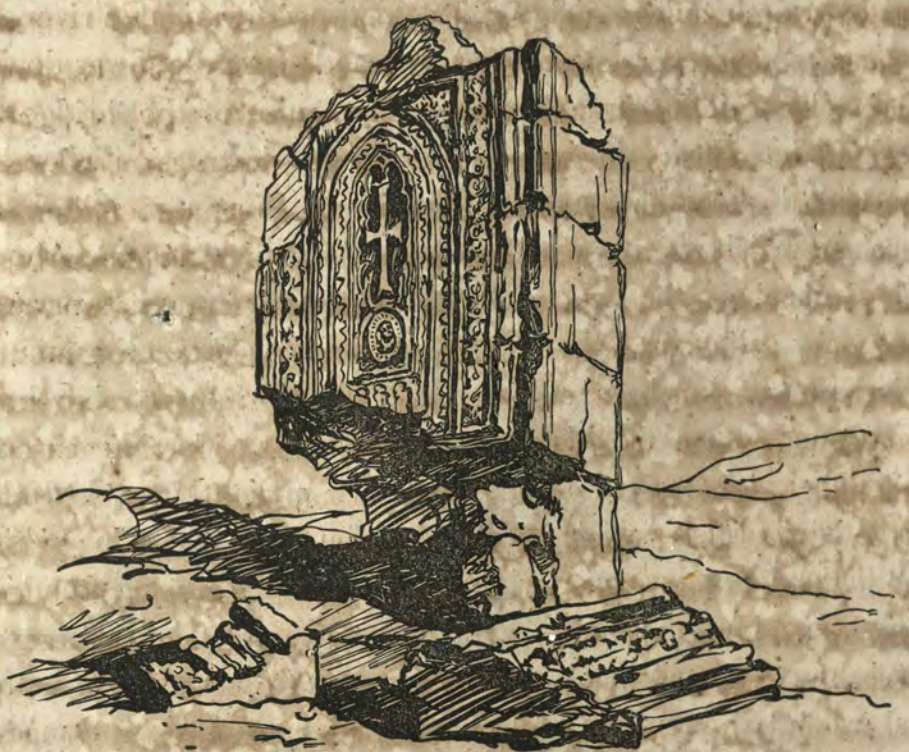
Tabreez is called ten farsangs; and by measurement from a perambulator it gives forty-three miles.

September 20th.—Left our quarters this morning at six o'clock, the road stony and troublesome; and arrived at the village of Gurgur, our menzil, at half-past two o'clock; the distance computed eight farsangs; measured, thirty-two miles.

September 21st.—Started this morning at half-past seven, and in two hours reached the banks of the Aras, or Araxes. I found the stream very low, but extremely rapid; the latter striking feature being occasioned by the visible long descent of land over which it rolls to the eastward. After wandering like troubled ghosts for near an hour on its southern margin, we at last got ferried over in one of the lozenge-shaped boats I described in my former passage two years before. The bridge in the vicinity having for nearly two centuries been impassable, the government of Azerbijan established the present ferry at its own expence, for the accommodation of merchants and others. Having passed, I ordered my baggage to proceed, and went off the road myself across some barren hills, which form the bank of the river in a western direction for about four miles, and then suddenly terminate in a vast naked flat expanse, once constituting the fertile plain of Eski Julfa, (or Julpha,) marked out into fruitful fields, and blooming gardens. At this point the Aras makes a bend; and here the ruins of the bridge just mentioned, form a picturesque and melancholy object. Its remains appear a few hundred yards from the spot which once supported the great arch of the eastern gate of the city. The masonry of the bridge is of the first order, finely hewn, and the stones admirably joined. Only two of its immense arches have been required to stand immediately over the stream; and their lofty and massy

bulwarks yet defy the utmost fury of the current. Two others advance on the land, one on each side. The span of each arch may have embraced about ninety feet; and from the firm and noble structure of the whole, I should be inclined to say, that had not the contests of man's ambition been engaged in its overthrow, "the indignant waters" of this proud stream, with all its mountain-torrents, might have poured through it for ages, without starting one stone of its mighty fabric. At the present comparatively dry season, the water flowed through its northern arch only; so that this sometimes formidable river is not now so wide here as at the ferry; and at a mile lower down, they tell me it is fordable. The first ruin of the bridge is attributed to Shah Abbas, who ordered its destruction when he transferred the inhabitants of the city to the great suburb of Ispahan, which afterwards adopted the Armenian name. About fifty yards above the bridge, the river rushes through a narrow and rocky valley, or rather vast chasm in the side of the mountain. On its northern acclivity, remains of houses, churches, walls, and other mouldering masses of considerable extent, mingle with the rugged cliffs. The town anciently touched the verge of the river, which formed its defence on that side; while the high mountains, over whose slope the buildings extended, seemed an impregnable bulwark on the other. The two extremities then were all that needed protection from the art of man; and we find the remains of strong walls, in the wide and massy places of entrance still standing. Beyond that to the eastward, a very beautiful relic presents itself, of an ancient chapel and tomb. One side of the latter shows a finely wrought cross cut in stone, and embosomed in the most intricate fretwork, intermingled with mazy interlacings, bands, tendrils, and a variety

of climbing, interwoven leaves, the whole of which is enclosed by a Saracenic arch; exhibiting altogether a rich specimen of this style of Armenian architecture, bearing date, probably, about the middle of the eleventh or twelfth century. An old peasant, our guide, (who, on our chancing to meet him at the bridge, had offered to show us the ruins,) said, this was the burial-place of a female saint, whose name was no longer known, but tradition always called it the Tomb of the Virgin.



Armenia had been long trampled under foot by the Turks, when Shah Abbas wrested the wealth of Julfa, and the industry of its opulent inhabitants also, from the treasure-house of his Ottoman rival. It was about the year 1603 when this transac-

tion took place, leaving the city utterly deserted. Since which time the whole has become a mass of vacant ruins; echoing the hooting of the birds of night alone, or now and then the startling voices of a few travellers like myself, who turn aside to read again and again, in such mouldering monuments, the transitory nature of all human greatness.

After this place had lain about a hundred years in an almost forgotten solitude, seven poor Armenian families wandered towards the spot, and peaceably established themselves amidst its desolated walls. Having abided there ever since, at least in their descendants, they have increased to thirty-five houses; and being quiet and industrious, live in unmolested content. The father of one of the present resident families was the good man who acted as our guide; and who, from the separated holy spot that contained the tomb of the saint, led us across the site of the city to beyond its western gate, where we found the great cemetery of the ancient inhabitants, a vast, elevated, and thickly marked tract of ground. It consists of three hills of considerable magnitude; all of which are covered as closely as they can be set, leaving the length of a foot between, with long upright stones; some as high as eight or ten feet; and scarcely any that are not richly and laboriously carved with various commemorative devices in the forms of crosses, saints, cherubs, birds, beasts, &c. besides the names of the deceased. The most magnificent graves, instead of having a flat stone at the feet, present the figure of a ram rudely sculptured. Some have merely the plain form; others decorate its coat with strange figures and ornaments in the most elaborate carving. The form of this animal appears to have been a favourite type in sepulture, throughout Armenia after the introduction of Christianity. But

having observed it first in some old burying grounds near Ouroomia, and in others beyond Tabreez, I conceived that it must be over Mahomedan graves, and probably marked the last beds of some heroes of the Black and White Ram factions; but finding it thus at Julfa, I can have no hesitation in supposing it an emblem connected with the Christian faith. Subjoined is a sketch I made from one of the largest, and most ornamented; which may be sufficient to give an idea of the uncouthness of shape, but indefatigable labour of ornament, exhibited in these strange memorials of the dead. On one of the sides, the legend of St. George slaying the dragon, is most curiously carved; and on the other, some second champion, followed by three walking personages bearing a long pole. The tail also is honoured with the figure of an equestrian saint, bound round with a scroll stampt with Armenian letters. A sort of net-work covers the neck of the animal.

I shall not exceed the fact, when I say that thousands of grave-stones marked this awful depositary of the old Armenian race. Indeed the various sorts of recollections which present themselves to the mind in this particular quarter of the East, continually suggest the idea of treading over some vast tomb. And it is so; for here the first fathers of all the families of the earth were buried; here immense empires rose, and crumbled into dust; here we find the remains of cities, whose founders died in the infancy of the world; and the monuments of people, sunk so long into the depths of time, that the name of their nation is no more remembered. The cemetery of the Armenians at Julfa was not yet in such a case, though the individuals which filled it were mingled in the common mass; but the time may come, when the ram on its hills, may be as little assignable to them there, as I found it on the tombs beyond Tabreez; or as the rude sculptures dug up in the endless tumuli north-west of the Caucasus, are now explainable of the people whose vast remains they cover.

From this melancholy spot my conductor led me to one well calculated to disperse its gloomy apparitions; his own little abode, clean, cool, and cheerful; and, how he had managed it I cannot tell, but I found a nice repast prepared for my entrance, consisting of fish, eggs, bread, butter, and acidulated milk. Sedak, as well as myself, heartily enjoyed the regale of these good Christians; and having taken my leave of the hospitable director of the whole, our venerable guide, with thanks and a suitable present, we rode forth from the ruins of Eski Julfa. Nackshivan was to be our menzil, which we reached at five in the evening; having ridden seven farsangs, a distance of thirty measured miles. My people had just arrived; and I found them

in high dispute with the head of the Mehman Khanah, but our interference soon made peace, and we all retired quietly to repose.

October 22d. — About six miles to the south-west of Nackshivan, and close to the bank of the Aras, stands the fort of Abbas-abad; first constructed under the direction of General Gardanne, when the French embassy was in this country; and since improved by Captain Monteith, our own brave countryman. A detachment from the Nackshivan regiment always keeps post there. We left our menzil in that town to-day at a very late hour, in consequence of delay in getting horses; but at length the proper number being produced, we set off at two o'clock in the afternoon. When we had some time slowly gained upon the long uneven ground that slopes down into the wide Arasian plain, we arrived at the point where the sublime mountain of the ark is commonly first discernible in marching hither from the south; but all the heavens to the north-west were covered with clouds, which continued gathering forward in such obscuring density, that hardly a point of the whole line of mountains in that direction was visible. But as we advanced, the collected storm burst over our heads in torrents of heavy rain, accompanied by a violent gale of wind; while at intervals the dark obscurity on our left was broken by the most vivid and broad streams of lightning, followed by long and reverberating thunder; in the course of the tempest, the black veil was rent that enwrapped the head of stupendous Ararat, and I beheld the mountain under the sublimest circumstances. The clouds broke from before it, not gradually, but seemed to divide with such velocity as though some sudden shock from heaven had hurled them down its awful sides. The sun was not far from setting, and his oblique and golden rays, darting through the melting obscurity,

tinged the huge and pointed rocks with light, beaming a bright contrast to the deep gloom beneath. Ere evening closed, both peaks of the sacred mountain were clear; and when night came on, the whole gigantic form was perceptible against the blue yet glowing sky, sweeping darkly from its pale-pointed summit down to the vast plain to the north, called that of Ararat. It is impossible to describe the sublimity of its aspect, under both circumstances of storm and peace, nor the feelings that rose in my mind during these rapid changes.

It was late before we passed through Hoig, or Khoig, a place noted for the insolence of its inhabitants. And soon after coming upon the traversing branches, or rather tributary streams of the Arpatchia, we had to cross so many in our path, as to render this part of our march peculiarly troublesome from the shadowy and therefore deceiving appearance of the road in the gloom of night. Our menzil was the post-house of Noorhasham, called eight farsangs from Nackshivan, our last halting-place.

October 23d. — We were on horseback this morning by seven o'clock, the animals having been brought forward with alacrity. The allowance for their use, to the peasant owner obliged to furnish them in pursuance of the royal order, is two reals each horse; which sum government deducts from the payment of his annual tax, and therefore, being always thus sure of remuneration for the service of his beasts, he is seldom scrupulous of bringing them readily forth on these occasions. But in great towns, where these royally provided horses are usually pressed from housekeepers and tradesmen, they are produced reluctantly, on account of there being three chances to one against the probability of their proprietors being ever repaid at all. The two reals per beast ought to be put down by the chief magistrate of

the place, who is seldom ready with his money; and even double the sum is expended by the richer inhabitants, in bribes to the feroshes, or public servants sent out to collect the horses, to spare their finer studs, and take up instead the poor laborious beasts of the lower orders. The morning proved delightful, and the surrounding view, brightened in verdure by the late rain, was rendered doubly lovely from the delicious temperature of the atmosphere through which we saw it. Indeed, this is the season of most enjoyment, both at Tabreez and in these luxuriant tracts north of the Aras, the autumnal months being those of October, November, and December. Our way lay in the same direction as yesterday, about N. 25° W., continuing along the plain. In passing the fine village of Sadarak, (which stood close under the hills to our right, at three farsangs distance from our late menzil,) we came up with two men in the act of killing a snake. As it appeared very large for this part of Persia, I stopped to examine it; measuring it, I found the length forty inches, and the thickness of the body that of a musket barrel; its colour green with black stripes. I observed about the middle of its belly part, a prodigious sort of swelling, which, on being gradually pressed beneath it, moved upwards, and so continued, till, on approaching the throat, which in circumference was not more than my finger, that membrane stretched with ease, and we forced from it a full-sized partridge; the head only had suffered any loss, the reptile having certainly swallowed the bird whole. Its feathers were all covered with a slimy fluid; and thus we had a miniature process of the boa-constrictor and its buffalo. The snake had been discovered by the peasants coiled up asleep, beneath a low bush; and, doubtless, would have remained so till nature had silently digested the unfortunate bird.

It may be recollected, that this happened near the region of the serpent-mountains mentioned in the first volume (p. 211.) In six hours we reached the village of Devaloo, distant from Noorhasham 24 miles.

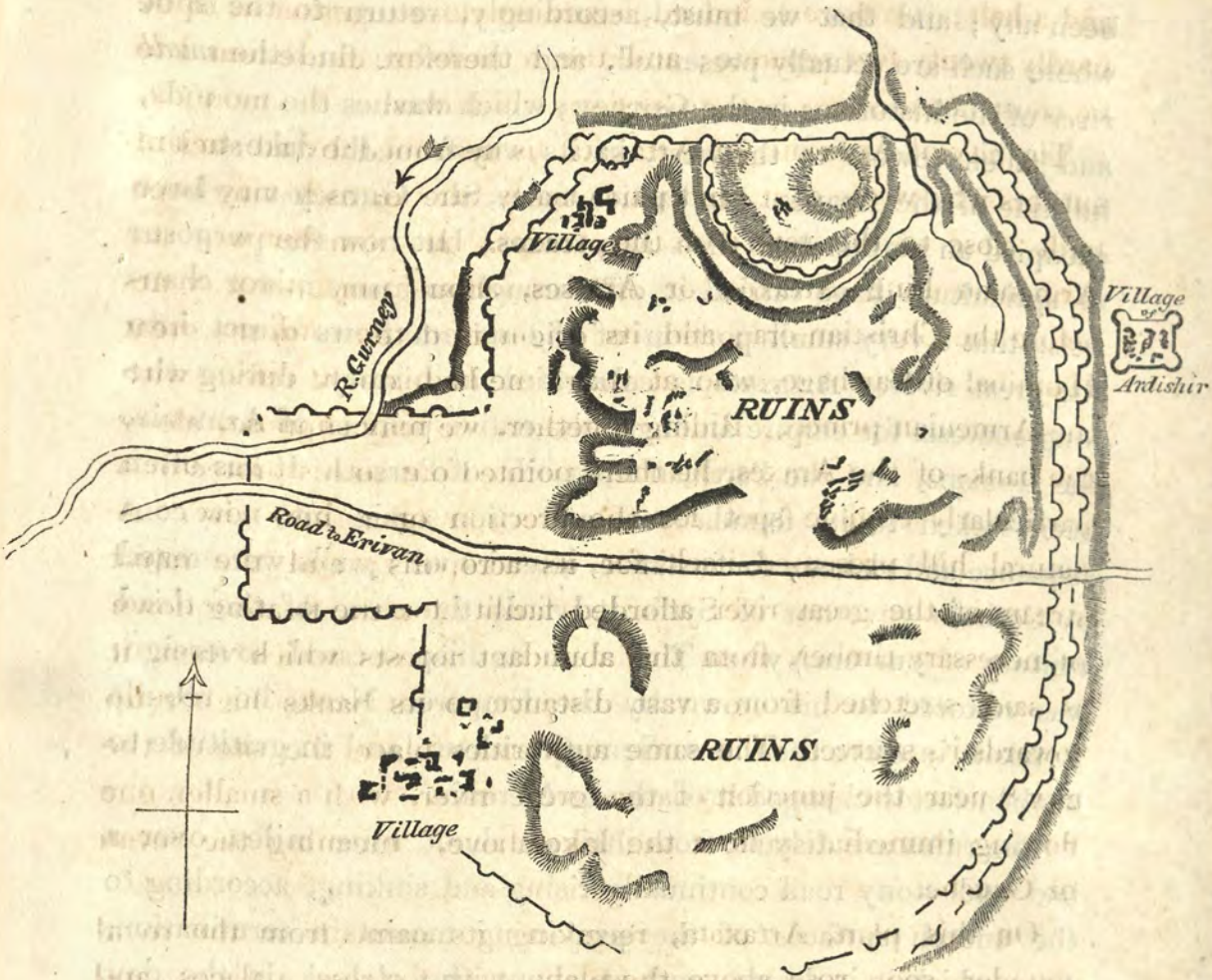
October 24th. — Started this morning at seven o'clock, with particular alacrity, being in the direct road for revisiting the ruins of Ardashir (Artaxata), which I only briefly noticed in my way southward two years before.* They lie near a village which takes their name, and at about eighteen miles from Devaloo. When we reached the ground, I found the usual traces of former habitations, — fragments of brick, tiles, &c., stretching to a great extent both within and without ridgy lines, marking the walls and towers. The entombed ruins of an extensive fortress rises to the north, in the form of a wide conical hill, standing at present to the height of 100 feet. On the eastern quarter of its summit, a yet higher mass shoots up, of a circular shape, evidently bearing traces of walls. Its present extent is ninety paces, which probably was its original diameter. It slopes gradually down eastward, to a level that has formerly been inclosed by a line of strong walls and towers. To the west, the whole mound commands a considerable area, and is bounded by a wide ditch that cuts it off from the town to the south. The north of this citadel has been equally well defended by walls, towers, and ditch, which run straight east and west; while the city at large appears to have been protected by a double wall, towers, and also ditches; all of them being easily traced round nearly the whole site. To the east, and south, the most unbroken masses may be found; but high mounds, and detached pieces of wall only, mark the west. The length of these out-

* See Vol. I. pages 203—206.

ward ramparts do not extend in any direction beyond a mile and a half; the towers, indeed, stand so close together as to be hardly twenty feet separate; and the remains of all are found to be constructed of large squares of sun-dried clay.

The city of Ardashir, or Artaxata, is described by all ancient authors who wrote of it, and particularly Strabo, as having been built close to the waters of the Araxes. Its founder was the Armenian king Artaxes, or Artases, about ninety-five years before the Christian era; and its origin is dated from the great Hannibal of Carthage, who at that time had sought refuge with the Armenian prince. Riding together, we may suppose, along the banks of the Araxes, he there pointed out to his protector a particularly eligible spot for the erection of a new city. A natural hill presented itself for its acropolis; and the rapid stream of the great river afforded facility for the floating down of necessary timber, from the abundant forests which then, it is said, stretched from a vast distance to its banks higher up towards its source. The same authorities place the site of the city "near the junction of the great river, with a smaller one flowing immediately from the lake above," meaning the Sevan or Gauche.

On this plan, Artaxata, receiving its name from the royal founder, soon rose above the plain, with fortress, palaces, and temples; and one more splendid than the rest, amongst the latter erections, was a temple dedicated to Anaites and Artamatea; while without the gates, a magnificent structure of the same kind was inscribed to Apollo. Statues were raised in all. And when the whole was finished, the king not only placed many of his native subjects in the new city, but brought many industrious Jewish families from Amavera, to complete the inhabitants.



Some writers have supposed that the *small river* mentioned here, is intended to describe the Zengay, which flows from the lake Sevan into the Araxes considerably to the north-west of that great river's junction with another minor stream, which runs direct through these ruins. But on examining the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the Zengay's union with the Araxes, no trace whatever of former building can be found,

which appears to me to prove the fact of there never having been any; and that we must, accordingly, return to the spot where such are actually presented, and therefore find the *small river* of the historians in the Gurney; which washes the mounds, and fallen towers to the west, in its way from the lake to the full tide of the Araxes. In earlier times, the Gurney may have occupied an ampler bed than at present; but now the purposes of agriculture have carried it off through so many minor channels, that a very small portion of the stream flows direct into the great river. Artaxata is celebrated in history, during the long contests for empire amongst the native princes of Armenia, the Romans, and the Parthian monarchs of Persia. It has often been sacked to its foundations, and risen again into new consequence and riches; for instance, after its very walls were razed by Corbulo governor of Syria (towards the close of the third century of our era,) when Tiridates, its dispossessed sovereign, was restored to his crown by the Emperor Nero, he rebuilt Artaxata in more than its ancient splendour, and in gratitude to his benefactor changed its name to Neronia.

The ruins are distant from Erivan about nine miles, over a bad and stony road continually rising and sinking, according to the uneven surfaces of the projecting mountain terminations over which it is drawn, and at about two o'clock in the day, we reached the city itself. It happened to be the anniversary of the deaths of Hossein and Hassan, the martyred sons of Ali; and the whole Sunni population in the place, were screaming their lamentations within the mosques, also clad in mourning. While passing on to my quarters, amidst this terrible outcry of a whole people in sorrow, I could not but muse on the sort of instinct in human nature, to now and then lower the fire of its constitution

Pl. 84.

Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark Sc.

View of the Fortress of Erivan and Mount Arrarat.

by a few voluntary tears. In short, to what else can we assign such regular seasons of weeping as we read of in heathen story, commemorating the deaths of Adonis, and of "Thammuz, wept by Syrian maids?" Here also, is an annual time of mourning ordained by the Mahomedan sages; and I do not doubt its salutary effects on the usual burning blood of his sons, so far to the East.

I found my lodgings in the house of an Armenian, and my apartments singularly clean; I may say *singularly*, that people being considered the dirtiest in Asia: but a man must have visited Asia, fully to appreciate the superlative in such a comparison! The house was admirably situated, on a declivity of the steep bank of the Zengay; and from its roof I had a most beautiful and extensive view of the luxuriant country on the opposite side, its gardens and groves, the fortified residence of the Sardar; and beyond all, the far-stretching plain, closed with the double-headed and sublime Ararat. *

October 25th. — This morning I was invited to a splendid breakfast with the veteran chief, who welcomed in a really royal style my second appearance. At my first visit I was rather a novice in Asiatic manners; but an absence of almost two years having made me perfectly acquainted with most of his contemporary governor-courts, even from the south-east of Persia to his own northern boundary; and his own character now being well known to me, I conversed with him like an old acquaintance; and obtained from his ready assent, every facility to explore the celebrated scenes of antiquity amongst the mountains in his neighbourhood.

* See Plate LXXXIV.; — also p. 195—202. in Vol. I.

October 26th. — Not to lose time, I set off this morning at a very early hour, with a rather strong escort, into the wilds of the mountains. We crossed the main road north-east of the city; and keeping in that direction, ascended gradually for nearly four hours. During this time we passed one or two tenantless villages, the inhabitants not having yet returned from their summer expeditions. At the termination of the fourth hour we struck into the boldest and most extraordinary kind of valley I ever beheld. On the first view I might have supposed it the ruins of some vast city of the Titans in the antediluvian world; so castled, pillared, and overturned, appeared its gigantic details. The immense perpendicular heights, shattered and projecting in every variety of form, press in, between their nearly meeting bases, the narrow but rapidly pouring stream of the Gurney; and on one of the huge overhanging rocks, once stood the castellated palace of Tiridates, or, as the natives call it, the Tackt-i-Tiridate: its remains appearing in real decay, amongst the vast assemblage of rocky masses, so formed as to be mistaken for ruins.* The enormous cliff projections on which its towers have stood, are for the most part composed of basaltic columns; and the whole chain of the mountains on each side the valley, stretching north-east to the source of the river in the lake, are broken and cragged with the same. Their strata appear in every possible direction. Some rise from the earth in extraordinary serpent-like shapes, twining together, or shooting out from each other in a hundred radiated points; others, again, are perfectly perpendicular, forming vast, and sublimely pillared walls; in the next cliff we find them horizontal, or traversing each other obliquely;

See Plate LXXXV.

Sir Robert Porter. I. Clark sc.

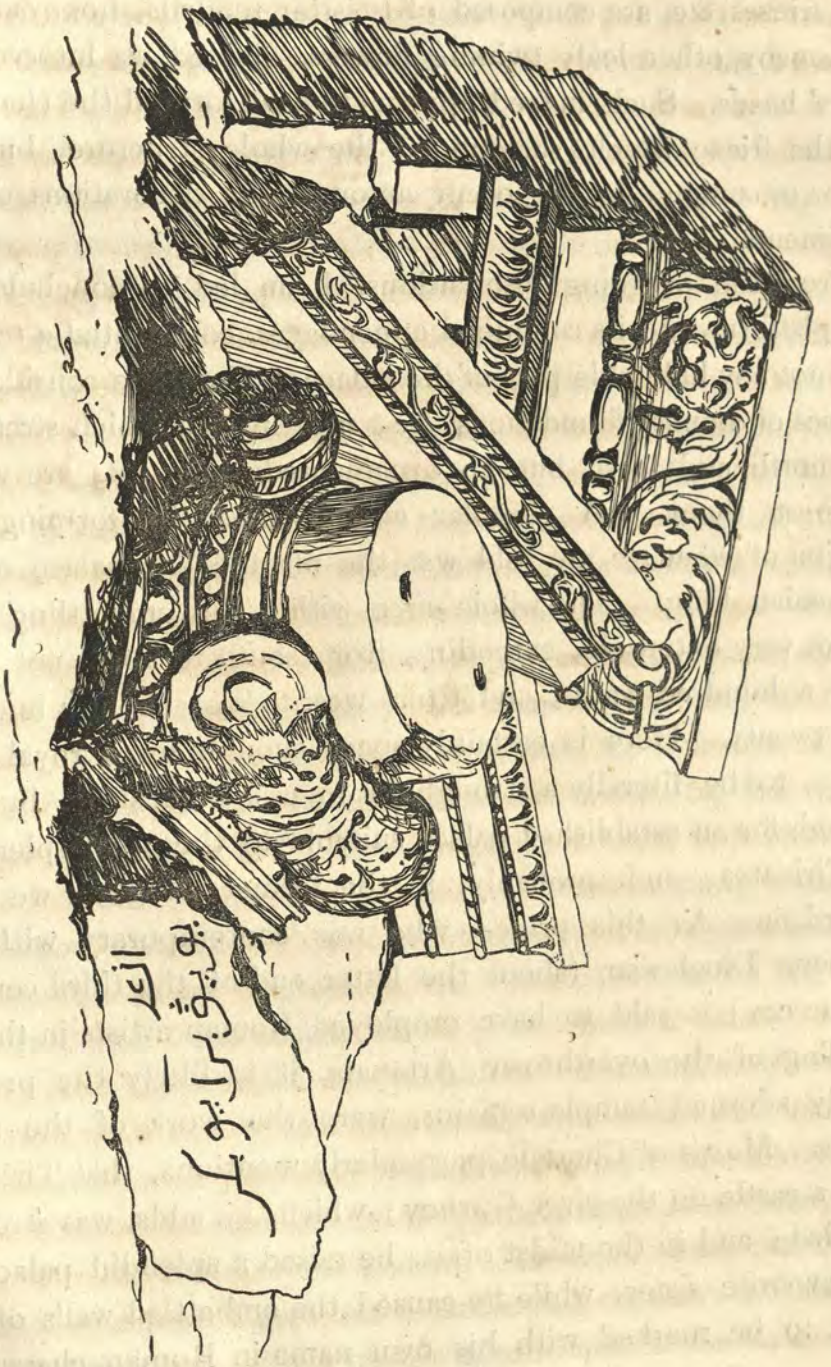
View of a Basaltick Valley, and Tackt i Tyradates.

or, perhaps, tumbled together in all the different directions, standing, lying, and leaning, composing the wildest and most picturesque combinations. In short, I do not believe a more varied or extensive specimen of these extraordinary effects of nature's operations, can exist any where.

The columns are in general pentagons; and on examining many of the broken ones, I observed that most had a convexity of surface on the upper face, similar to what I had seen in the basaltic columns of the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. The texture of the stone is exceedingly close, and of a dark grey colour. The great general outline which their masses assume, may be described as shooting up from the valley in a direct perpendicular, of from three to four hundred feet; at the summit of which a short receding ledge of rock slopes inwards, and thence springs a second wall of columns running up to the same height; then comes another slope, and another wall; and so on, till these successions of terraces and basaltic superstructures terminate at the top of the mountain under a thick stratum of shapeless rock. Such is the general character of this stupendous stronghold of the ancient sovereigns of the country.

The situation chosen for the fortress, I have just mentioned was the broad summit of an immense body of the rock, which projected out into the valley like a promontory. On its northern side it joined the mountain; the top of which was a vast plain, running on to other mountain-summits in that direction; but the southern face of the projecting rock exhibited a perpendicular of 150 feet, while the sides to the east and west gradually lost their precipitation in joining the slopes of the valley. To compensate for this lessening of the natural bulwarks, walls and towers have been substituted, formed of im-

mense fragments of the rock, beautifully hewn, and put together with all the nicety of Roman workmen; and such are understood to have been the architects. Its northern line of protection consisted of a semicircular range of walls and towers, meeting the steeps to the east and west. We could trace only one gate of entrance to the whole, and it is probable there never was another; it stands not far from the second or eastern tower. Within the walls were situated the royal palace; much of the ruins of which are still visible amongst the humbler heaps of several minor buildings. But the slow dilapidating hand of passing ages, aided in the work by the convulsions of nature, has now reduced that boasted edifice to a confused pile of beautiful fragments; columns, architraves, capitals, friezes, all mingled together in broken disorder. The remains of a magnificent and finely executed pediment, particularly engaged my attention; and sufficient was left, to give me a pretty fair idea of the whole. With some pains, I partially traced the general dimensions of the ground on which the structure to which it had belonged must have stood; and I found it to have been a square of twenty-eight feet, forming a solid platform of polished stones nicely put together, and raised eight feet above the common level of the rock. From the numerous capitals, and broken shafts of columns lying on all sides of it, I should conclude that a colonnade had stood round the whole; or rather, perhaps, that they may have composed four pedimented places of entrance to the quadrangle described: their remains, indeed, are traceable on all the sides. The columns measure in diameter about twenty-seven inches, are without flutings, and of a very elegant composite order, in some instances fancifully enriched in their details, with a variety in almost every column. Sometimes



4 I. 2

the friezes, &c. are composed of twisting tendrils, honeysuckles, and many other leafy twining flowers, divided at intervals by lions' heads. Such, indeed, appears to have formed the character of the frieze which surrounded the whole structure, but the latter ornaments do not occur amongst the decorations of the pediments.

From the foregoing observations, I am led to conclude that the platform, and its columned appendages, constituted a temple, and not any habitable part of the palace. There are considerable masses of stones, foundations, &c., near it, and which stretch to the north and west, but no ornamented fragments are visible amongst them. A singular circumstance in forming any portion of what we are told was the magnificent palace of the Armenian king. The whole area within the embattling walls is not very extensive, extending from south to north not more than a hundred yards, and from west to east about a hundred and twenty. Here is certainly space enough for a royal residence, to be literally a stronghold in case of a siege, but not enough for an established palace suitable to the usual splendour of Tiridates; and, probably, in the former character we must regard it. As this prince, who was contemporary with the Emperor Dioclesian, (about the latter end of the third century of our era,) is said to have employed Roman artists in the rebuilding of the overthrown Artaxata, it is likely the present highly adorned temple-remains, were the work of the same hands. Moses of Chorone particularly mentions, that Tiridates built a castle on the river Gurney; which, he adds, was strongly fortified; and in the midst of it, he raised a splendid palace for his favourite sister, while he caused the embattled walls of the place to be marked with his own name in Roman characters.

Other historians mention a fortress called *Gorneas*, as having long existed in this country; hence, I conclude it to be the same just described by the Armenian writer; and that instead of the king building it, he only strengthened its works, and adorned it with added structures. Mithridates, the father-in-law of Tigranes the Second, during the revolt of Rhadamistus shut himself up in a fortress of this name, then considered impregnable from its natural situation, and having the advantage of a Roman garrison. Some curious remains of the ancient implements of attack are yet visible near the mouldering walls on the plain to the north, namely, rough stone balls of a diameter exceeding our largest shells. They never could have been ejected from guns, therefore must have found their way thither from the more complex machinery we read of in the oldest arts of war.

Beyond the northern wall, towards the mountain plain, appear ruins of the deepest interest; the remains of a city, to which the people of the country give the name of Gurney. These venerable relics stretch to a great extent, exhibiting the walled foundations of long and diverse ranges of houses, and the more lofty ruins of five churches; all in a style of building evidently of a different period to that of the fortress. The architecture of the sacred edifices is precisely the same with that of the monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen, which gives them a date of full a century after the erection of the pillared structure on the rock. Defensive walls and towers may be traced round a space likely to have been the city boundary, to a square of a thousand yards. About nine or ten families of the poor unsettled mountaineers have crept into some of the arched recesses of these crumbling mansions of departed greatness; deforming the stately shapes of ancient architecture, with a variety of rude appurtenances for their

own convenience and that of their beasts. The people too, were as rude as their taste; neither kindliness nor self-interest opening their hands to afford us a morsel of refreshment. In one of their large stables, however, we at last took up our temporary quarters; and, after much abusive language between them and my escort, saw a few eggs and a little bad bread brought forth. But it was grateful to the weary; and, after partaking it, I rolled myself in my cloak, and lying down with my head on my saddle, under the flap of which my pistols were disposed, passed the night with rather too many of Sancho's bed-fellows!

October 27th. — At the dawn of the morning we were up with the lark, too happy to emerge from our murky repose, and breathe the wholesome air. Being all soon mounted, our present path, to still more antiquities, lay along the abrupt sides of the mountains; and following the windings of the river in a direction nearly north-east, in about an hour and a half, we reached the end of the long basaltic chasm through which it rolls. Its source commences there; and not far from it, on the southern side of the valley, a very lofty height presents itself, crowned with the remains of another fortress. The people call it the Bursa or Burs; and ascribing it also to Tiridates, say it was the stronghold in which he kept his treasures. Having ascended the slope of the valley on its northern side a few hundred yards, we saw the Kayargast, or seven churches, a pile of most extraordinary aspect, cloven into the very heart of the mountain, and raising its sacred fane amidst ruins and graves at its feet. Standing in deep solitude, and many parts unimpaired, the effect was indeed that of "the church in the wilderness," solemn and impressive. The Armenians, who may well look upon it as the type of themselves in a Mahomedan land, regard

it as a place of pilgrimage. Several ancient martyrs are buried there, whose names now only live in the book of heaven; but the great point of interest with the present worshippers, lies in the belief that Saint Gregory himself (the great tutelar angel of Armenia) took refuge from persecution within the caves of this holy ground. The legend goes further, in asserting that he not only disappeared thence in a most mysterious way, but, though all know his journey was to heaven, yet he is to revisit the spot again, and then, most inexplicably expire. Several of my escort, being Armenians in faith as well as birth, found themselves now engaged in a double duty; that of military service, and paying their homage at the sacred shrine. This is done in the form of sacrifice, the pilgrims taking a sheep or goat to the door of the church, where they cut off its head; when, the remainder of the flesh being thus consecrated, it is divided amongst them, and carried home to be distributed in holy morsels to their respective friends. This custom is evidently of Jewish, or pagan origin; and the probability of its having been adopted here, from some old custom of the sort attached to the valley by its old heathen masters, is something supported by the devotees not being able to say why they do it, or that it is enjoined by any ordinance of their religion.

The outward boundaries of this venerable pile are castellated, one side of which is formed by the high rocks of the mountains. Within the walls, rises the great church, inclosing under its dome most of the seven from which it takes its name. On entering, you find a line of separation, that makes two chapels. They are supported by strong columns and circular arches, exactly resembling in forms and ornaments, our Saxon architecture. The sides of this sanctuary are overspread with large slabs, fixed against the

walls at small distances from each other, and all richly sculptured with crosses, fret-work, and various legends in the old Armenian character. A door leads from the largest of these chapels into a third, hewn entirely out of the solid rock of the mountain. The roof is hollowed in the form of a dome, and lighted by a circular aperture from above. All the interior of this subterraneous chapel is carved in pilasters, connecting arches, crosses, and wreathing ornaments. The height, from the ground to the top of the dome, is about thirty feet, and its length and breadth a square of seventeen feet; but it possesses an additional space of eight feet in the form of a recess divided by two arches, beneath the floor of which are disposed several low vaulted graves, filled with human bones. The sides of this little rocky chapelage, like the walls of the greater, are covered with carved crosses, legends, and flower-like ornaments. Just above the two arches, a very singular piece of sculpture presents itself; the head of a goat of a prodigious size, holding in its mouth a ring, to which is attached the ropes or chains that secure two lions: beneath the beasts, an eagle appears with open wings, having in his talons a lamb. The whole, probably, a hieroglyphic of the vicissitudes of Christianity since its establishment in Armenia; and in no country, perhaps, have its followers undergone more calamitous changes.

A fourth chapel opens from this again into the depth of the rock, excavated in the same way out of its bosom, domed and pillared. Its style is superior to the other; and bears the appearance of having been left unfinished, many red lines being drawn on the smooth stone, as if intended to mark where pilasters, arches, and fretwork were yet to be formed. In this sanctum sanctorum, a large altar is hewn, standing within a

recess on elevated ground, and approached by a flight of steps. All this part, where finished, was profusely covered with the usual sacred emblems, Armenian characters, &c.: and as every place and detail seemed to have been dug and chiselled by the hand of man, I could not but wonder at the indefatigable labour and patience with which they had been executed.

On repassing all these chapels, and regaining the entrance, we proceeded a little onward by the rocky wall on the outside of the church; and then ascended the cliff a short way, in the side of which we found a door, leading into another excavated holy place, domed like the former, but much more spacious. This measured a square of thirty-five feet, divided by four massy columns, and received light from above by a large round aperture in the dome. The natives who went over the scene with me, spoke confidently of the manner in which the excavations had been made; and described the process as having been begun with the opening of the round holes at the top of the rock; whence the workmen dug downwards, till the whole assumed the shape in which we saw it; a method, I think, very probable. Above this fifth chapel, ranges of small cells also are cut in the side of the cliff, apparently for the residence of monks; and on each side of the gate, leading out of the great church court into the valley, two very large rooms appear. Beyond the walls, and in various parts of the rocky acclivities, huge natural caverns exist, besides other excavations, with doorways, and openings for admitting light; but the paths to them were now too broken and precipitous to allow a possibility of our ascending. My guides told me that some of these places had been the stationary habitations of certain devout hermits; while others were the labour of holy pilgrims, who, for shorter

seasons inhabiting the caves of St. Gregory, assisted in the good work of preparing similar abodes for more numerous visitants to the same blessed shrines. These remoter cells reminded me of the little lonely hermitage amongst the rocks of the Coquet, in Northumberland, where the solitary chisel of a single monk sounded down that beautiful valley for a space of forty years; during which time, as the tradition goes, he excavated the first cave for his own abode, the second for a chapel, and the interior for a place of penance.

On leaving the Kayargast, or Seven Churches, we went direct off, over the mountains; and reached Erivan in six hours.

October 28th.—I halted to-day with the Sardar, in order to receive the necessary papers; and also to be furnished with letters to the pasha of Kars, and the serraskier of Arzeroom. But my veteran host would fain have detained me a little longer, under dread of the plague, he having heard it was then raging in the former city with such fury as to render it prudent for himself to stop all communication towards him from the other side of the frontiers. I was grateful for his anxiety; but being obliged to press on, received my credentials, and prepared for departure on the morrow.

October 29th.—I did not quit Erivan till half-past one o'clock in the day, and after a delightful ride over the noble plain of Ararat, reached Eitch-mai-adzen, or, as it is sometimes called, Utchkilissia, the Three Churches; a distance of three farsangs, or thirteen measured miles. Epheme, the venerable patriarch, received me with every kindness I had anticipated; a sort of parental welcome, no doubt belonging to the sacred character when so secluded from the world at large; which, from that circumstance, inclines him to consider all who approach him, with

the feelings of a hospitable man and a Christian father. It being Friday, he was obliged to allow me to dine alone. But he gave orders to the steward of his household, who was also a monk, to make me a suitable repast, and to do its honours. He certainly obeyed both directions, for I had an excellent dinner; and though he did not partake of the flesh, he made pretty free with the spirit, shewing his companionable powers were not at all churlish. Another of the brotherhood, too, who brought in the desert, volunteered a psalm; the words of which, he told me, were his own, but the music English. Of course I accepted as graciously as it was offered; and when sung, it turned out to be our national air of "God save the King," but most wofully mutilated in its long journey. However, the good-humoured benevolence of the smiling monk, who evidently only sought to amuse me, sweetened his notes; and I enjoyed the simple, and often very sensible remarks of both brothers, during a conversation which occasionally referred to subjects of my late travels. Afterwards I went through the three churches. The first, or great church, is within the walls of the monastery, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary; the second, about half a mile to the south, is inscribed to a female saint they called Kayi-Ann, and assured me she was a Briton born! I did not readily give my faith to this beatification. The third church is distant from the last about two miles to the north-west, and is dedicated to Saint Ripsima. Her skull, together with the arm of St. Gregory, is kept in a silver case, and preserved amongst the most sacred relics of Eitch-mai-adzen. The spear-head of Calvary, still more eminently revered than these relics, is brought out with them, to be held forth to the people in cases of any great public calamity. From a circumstance of this kind, I again missed the sight of the spear;

it having been sent off to Erivan a few days before, to allay a terrible fever raging amongst its Christian inhabitants. Had I known this before I quitted that city, I might have satisfied my curiosity to examine it there. I do not particularly describe the monastery in this part of my journal, having gone over its details in a former page. *

October 30th.—Yesterday being a fast to all within the walls, excepting myself, this morning I breakfasted most substantially with the patriarch himself; but "the salt and the seasoning" were certainly his discourse, intelligent, mild, and full of urbanity. I left a little memorandum with him, of the English traveller's gratitude; and he presented me with a few curious old coins picked up in the neighbourhood, and a ring, which I value particularly for the sake of the venerable donor. His blessing accompanied the last gift; his blessing to my child, for I told him I had one; and good authority tells us, that the "prayer of the righteous man availeth much!" I took my leave of the brotherhood at noon, and mounting my horse, was again on our way.

Our course lay along the plain, S. 70° W., with the sublime mountain I was so soon to lose all sight of, in full magnificent view before us. † Contemplation of its double summits again suggested the idea which had occurred to me when gazing on them for the first time; namely, that on the subsiding of the deluge, the ark rather sunk down gradually with the receding waters, to between the towering peaks, into the broad haven of the bosom of Ararat, than grounded on either of them. And, on looking over the sixth and eighth chapters of Genesis, the

* See Vol. I. page 186. to 191.

† See Vol. I. page 182. to 184.

account which Moses gives, appears to warrant the supposition. He describes the ark as being built with a single window, and he places it "above," or on the top.

"A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it, above; and the door-way of the ark shalt thou set in the side." Chap. vi. verse 16.

And from the succeeding observations from this window, I presume my opinion of the subsequent descent being rather from the middle of the mountain, than either of its peaked summits. The sacred historian goes on in the eighth chapter, to describe, that after "the waters assuaged, and returned from off the earth continually, the ark rested upon *the mountains* of Ararat." Here, we have *mountains* specified as the place of its haven, not *the mountain*, as denoting a single summit. Therefore, as the holy ship could not rest on both *peaks*, the account must necessarily mean that its rest was on the *bases* of the two great uniting mountain-piles of Ararat; which plain reading would bring it into the broad mountain-valley between those immense pyramidal summits. After it has thus found a haven, the description proceeds to say, that "the tops of the mountains were seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark." By the *tops* of the mountains being seen when he opens the window, (which we were before led to understand was on the roof of the ark, and therefore could command an upward view only,) the summits Noah then saw, must have been *above the ark*; from its position, there not being a possibility of his seeing beneath it. And, if such be the right understanding of the text, it certainly establishes my idea; that the ark gently descended with the subsiding flood into the great mountain-vale between the two

peaks; and thence, when the returning dove appeared with the olive-branch, and the unstrung bow shone in the cloud, from that protecting tent of the Lord the fathers of all the future families of mankind took their downward way; not with the brand of incensed justice impelling them, but called by Almighty Mercy, "to be fruitful, to multiply, and to replenish the earth."

Having journeyed a short way from the monastery, we crossed a little river, designated by three different names, the Harpa-sou, the Kara-sou, or the Ashtorick; but being drawn off in a thousand directions for the purposes of agriculture, a very small quantity of the waters flow to any distance in their original bed. At half past three o'clock, we reached the village of Kerim Arklee, a picturesque spot standing close under an insulated hill surmounted by the ruins of a fortress, called Lewanna. The distance, three farsangs from Eitch-mai-adzen. My quarters for the night were in the house of the governor of the district of Kerim Arklee, a stretch of country extending westward to the shore of the Arpatchia river, the boundary of the Persian territory in that direction. My entertainer duly honoured the firman of the prince under whose hospitalities I still travelled; and I felt, in drawing towards the confines of Persia, the sensations of a man parting finally from a spot where acquaintance were become friends, and the passing hours of his sojourn had been most pleasant to him.

October 31st. — I took my leave of my host this morning at eight o'clock, and resumed our route in the same direction as yesterday. As we advanced, a high and pointed mountain rose immediately before us, being indeed the most conspicuous of any I could yet discover, forming the western range from Ararat. It has received the appellation of Tackat, from its resemblance

to the pummel of the saddle of the country; and is also called Courd Ougly, from its fastnesses having formerly been possessed by a freebooting chief of that name. The people who were with me described the habitation of his band as having been in the heart of the mountain; and that several large rooms, cut deep into the rock, still exist where he resided, and whence he commanded a view over all the country. A thousand wild stories are even now in the mouths of the peasantry, respecting his extraordinary feats, robberies, gallantries, and generosity; in fact, he was the Robin Hood of Ararat. But in these regions, making the sword a sickle, does not appear confined to one single Courd and his myrmidons; I am informed that the whole northern bank of these mountains is infested by tribes of the same nation, who plunder every where with the most lawless perseverance. The immensity of their physical force holds the frontier districts in awe; and the well-timed presents of the chiefs to the governors, prevents all troublesome investigations beyond their lines, of any extraordinary little accident of rapine or murder which may have occurred on their borders. In short, what these very mountaineers were in the time of the passage of Xenophon, we find them now; unsubdued, untameable, fierce, and inhospitable as their own slippery rocks on the verge of a precipice; and such they extend all over the mountainous regions stretching hence, even to beyond Arzeroom.

In about an hour after our starting, we passed close to the village of Shahargar. The next hour carried us by Kaleg-arkli, from whence we bent our course rather more to the southward to visit the village of Kara-kala, or rather the remains of the ancient city of Armavra, amidst whose ruins it stands. They lie on the banks of the Aras; and on our approach to them, we found

the level country wild, and very slenderly cheered with tracts in cultivation. But the bright beams of a noonday sun, chased away every immediate apprehension of the probable night-troopers of that abandoned ground; and at one o'clock we reached the northern shore of the Aras. Which noble stream, from the point of Abbas-abad, in the district of Nakshivan, where I first particularly observed it, had then appeared to me to keep on in a widely-sweeping course through a continued immense winding plain, banked to the south-east by the sloping sides of the hills forming the countless valleys of that long chain of Ararat. But as we approach the point of Armavra, the country entirely changes its character; the plain disappears behind us, and the broken ground and acclivities appearing before and on each side, gradually close round us, till we find ourselves in a pent valley, and the river confined by perpendicular rocks. At this season of the year the water is low, but does not lose its rapidity. We forded it about a mile from Kara-kala, at a breadth of not more than forty yards, and so shallow that it scarcely washed the chests of our horses. On gaining the southern bank, we followed its course a short way, bringing us to the mouth of an immense ravine, equal in spaciousness to the great bed of the Araxes; and on the angle which it formed with that river, we beheld the ruins of Armavra.

Here was another of the vast solitudes of Armenia, where thousands of happy families had assembled round their domestic hearths, in opulence and comfort: and now all these thousands of habitations lay like others I had seen in similar depopulated silence, bearing awful characters on their walls against the mistaken principle of ambition, which calls such desolation greatness. Considerable remains of embattled defences rise on all sides of

the area of the city; while some of the towers, and those of prodigious magnitude, exhibit the finest specimens of the ancient high-finished Armenian masonry; being composed of white and reddish stones, joined in alternate lines with the nicest art. In traversing the ruins, we found about forty Mahomedan families, belonging to a neighbouring tribe, living amongst the most habitable parts; while their sort of chief held his superior residence within a tower of the broken angle of the walls, which in former times constituted part of the old fortress; most of its mouldering foundations now overhung the river. No other kind of large buildings remain. Below, where the waters roll through the narrow valley, the high buttresses which once formed a fine bridge, still stand in proud contradiction to Virgil's assertion — "Pontem indignatus Araxes!" — and casting their long shadows across the subjected stream. At present it was low; but when at fullest flood, I should doubt its height having ever been sufficiently powerful to have carried away the arches, either of this bridge or that of Julfa. The depredations of both, I date to the hand of man.

On leaving the ruins, our course lay through a burying-ground, but I did not perceive amongst its tombs, any of antiquity. Thence we rode forward for about two miles along a very wild and picturesque tract, till we descended into the valley of the Araxes, opening into spacious scenes of cultivation; the chief produce of which was corn and cotton. We crossed a small and rapid current called the Augi; one of the tributaries to the great stream of the valley. It rises amongst the hills which possess the famous salt-mine, now producing to the governor of Erivan an annual revenue of 10,000 tomauns, about 5000l. sterling.* Besides the immediate neighbourhood, Turks

and Georgians repair to it for immense loads; and indeed we met several hundred bullocks, laden with masses of the salt, like large slabs of alabaster. The excavations within the mountain that produce it, are in spacious galleries and caverns; presenting a most extraordinary and beautiful effect, from the dazzling reflection of the surface when any light strikes into them. This mine has been worked from the earliest times, and yet yields exhaustless stores. Having next re-crossed the Aras, we rejoined my baggage, and continued along its northern shore till at two o'clock we passed Hadjy-baramloo; a village on the eastern bank of the Arpatchia, and situated about a mile and a half above the point of its junction with the Aras. This spot forms the double gorge of the great valleys of each river; and consequently presents many romantic scenes of hill and dale. In one of the most picturesque of these, we find the village, quite embosomed in a thicket of almond and walnut trees, and standing on the verge of the bright waters of the Arpatchia, dashing along their deep rocky bed. Delightedly we spread our nummuds near so pleasant a lullaby; and the most querulous of us all, next morning declared he never had sweeter rest.

November 1st.—This village was the last on the Persian side of the frontier. Immediately beyond it, towards the Turkish line, extended a neutral tract; a space indeed totally abandoned to the desert; and in character with such appearance, it was often infested by the wildest and fiercest of all animals, bands of desperate men, the outlawed refuse of both countries. Hence we were to march from Hadjy-baramloo under a pretty strong escort, till we had passed the dangerous limits. When on horseback, our array presented a rather formidable appearance; for besides my own party with the Janissary at its head, a priest and his serv-

ing man, with two or three travelling merchant-pilgrims, had put themselves under my protection at Eitch-mai-adzen, till I should house them in safety at Arzeroom and Tokat. They were returning to those cities, after a holy visit to the shrines of the monastery of *The Presence*. The weather continued delightful; the mornings clear and bracing, with a powerful sun at noon, and an evening of glowing beauty. We started at half-past eight o'clock in the morning; and, after descending the rugged bank of the Arpatchia, crossed it, and bade farewell to Persia. The river, at this point, is rapid and pretty deep, but the width only twenty yards.

The road proceeded up a gradual and winding course, in a general direction N. 80° W. As we rose above the vale, our eye commanded very extensive views of the meandering courses of both rivers; and a magnificent sight of the sacred mountain, rearing its double head over the immense chains, whose summits appeared to support its base. After marching thus for about an hour, we bent far more to the north, and up an exceedingly steep and jagged road, till at half-past ten o'clock we reached the top of this branch of the Alleguz mountains. Sweeping hence to the west, its bold acclivities inclose the left shore of the Aras, till mingling their swelling promontories with those of Ararat, at the point where both mountains blend in each other, the river springs. We rested at the summit of this part of the chain for a short time; our descent then began, and we soon lost sight of the plain of Erivan, the silver windings of its stream, and the venerable mountain of the ark.

On gaining a more level country, the road became gently undulating over fine verdure; while the rocky chasm through which the Arpatchia flowed, stretched a considerable way on our

right. On losing it, we descended to a gloomy little plain, bounded on all sides by prodigious steeps; at the foot of one of which stands the village of Nakshivan, a poor place, inhabited by a wretched set of people calling themselves Christians, but bearing a horrid character for knavery and thievishness. On entering, we found it swarming with the Pasha's troops; brought thither in behalf of a village in the neighbourhood, which had been *chappowed* by a band of Courds belonging to a tribe nominally under the government of Erivan. These military ambassadors had been sent by the Pasha to the Sardar in quest of redress; but that not arriving quite so speedily as the claimants demanded, they began to retaliate on the quarters of the offenders, and no small plunder and bloodshed were the consequence. We had been told of the dangers of this road, and we now saw one source of them. These border-frays, by continually recurring, as constantly sow the seeds of new inroads, ravaging of villages, driving off cattle, murdering their keepers; and, while in the utter confusion no one knows *who* are the robbers, persons nearer home way-lay travellers, and often are the most certain murderers. The presence of the troops not only increased the difficulty of our obtaining quarters, but gave us little hope of getting any thing to eat. Persuasions were vain, and neither the threats nor the whip of my Janissary made any impression on the stubborn faculties of the boors. The contract of the preceding year, by which they had engaged to supply persons travelling on public affairs, had just expired; and I believe if a much greater sum than the stipulated allowance had not been offered them, we might have remained there without the due relay of horses, even until a new agreement had been signed. It ended in our paying five piastres each. During the

height of the quarrel between these people and my vociferous train, I was rather surprised that the mighty threats of our Ottoman guardsman did not put on a more ostensible shape than the smacking of his whip, when his military brethren were so near; but I soon found they backed the villagers; and that his courage was of too "lily-livered a hue," to hazard any real contest.

November 2nd. — When the war of words was ended, and the needful for farther march purchased at a good round sum, we sallied forth again this morning by seven o'clock, with half a dozen musqueteers for escort; but did not quite clear the ground before we heard the storm again amongst the natives, quarrelling about sharing the money. Of all disagreeable places I had ever been in, and not a few I have seen in the East, this was the most odious for dirt, insolence, and wrangling. And after we had left it, the temper of the scene seemed to extend to the very climate. The air had become bitter cold during the night; and when we faced its sky in the morning, we found it dark and lowering, with a most chilling wind. Our route lay north half west and north, in a sinuous direction up the mountains; and in less than an hour the wintry visage of the clouds burst upon us in the shape of a heavy fall of cutting sleet, which the wind blew in our faces during an arduous ascent of many miles. During this half-blinded kind of travelling, after an hour's farther ride we passed a village, (the name I have forgotten,) standing on the brink of a deep chasm, washed at its base by a rapid stream called the Bazar Joh, and one of the tributaries to the Arpatchia. Owing to the thickness of the atmosphere, which continued thus sleety great part of the day, as well as the saturated state of the ground, which in places became heavy and

slippery, our progress did not exceed three miles an hour; and ourselves became almost perished with cold. At the end, however, of seven agatches (farsangs) we appeared turning the brow of the tempest. We were descending the heights; and having reached the little village of Marajuck, met a clearer sky, with a fine expanding view of the lower country. It lay rich in cultivation to a vast extent, with the north-west range of the Tchilder mountains, under the name of the Mossian Hills, bounding it in that direction. At the extremity of this noble vale stands the city of Kars. In our approach to it, I thought it very commanding; being built on the side of an immense rocky height, on the summit of which, to the eastward; rises its citadel, of evident great antiquity. The walls of the town extend in a straight line east and west along the plain; then run up the acclivity of the rock on each side till they reach its top, where, strongly protected with round and square bastions, they meet at the great towers of the fortress. Perhaps there can no where be presented a more perfect and interesting specimen of an Asiatic fortified city. Beyond the walls, a considerable suburb stretches out eastward; but three or four pentagon batteries, each mounted with five pieces of cannon, seem the sole defences of the outer town; and they were the only ones I saw, where guns were planted. Besides the majestic appearance of the place when seen at a distance, from the imposing aspect of its citadel and the extent of its walls, the houses being several stories high, and built mostly of stone, give it an air of peculiar magnificence. But the moment we entered its southern gate, the illusion vanished; instead of courts and avenues corresponding to the august castle I believed myself approaching, like some poor misled knight in enchanted land, I found long environs,

dismal enough to be passages to a prison; while the fell Cerberus I had lately become too well acquainted with, — dirt, ruin, and neglect, sat in the corner of the streets, growling a wholesome warning against our approach. But, in truth, the loathsome animal was not there merely in type; every porch and alley swarmed with hundreds of skeleton dogs, of every age and kind; and to which their Turkish masters will neither give food, shelter, nor merciful death.

Having ascended through the town, by various winding ways amongst bazars, and through lanes, we halted at the post-house; an edifice large enough for a barrack, but all its numerous and lofty rooms were fast falling to pieces. The sides of each apartment are covered with wainscot, and furnished with a variety of cupboards; but the most agreeable feature of the whole was a large fire-place, like those in our baronial halls of England, and which I had the English comfort of soon seeing piled up with blazing faggots. For a long time before my approach to the city, I had completely forgotten the Sardar's warnings of danger in daring the attempt; but recollecting his account of the plague having "half depopulated the place," at the very moment I saw such multitudes of its dirtiest inhabitants passing to and fro in the court of the post-house, I made some enquiry respecting the foundation of the story, and was told "there was no truth whatever in the report!" But the real fact, I discovered to be this: the old system of avarice was to thrive at all sacrifices, the truth of his excellency not excepted. In short, it is the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar set up, and "all the people and tongues" of the East, have never ceased to worship it. The story of the plague prevents the corn and cotton of the plain of Kars being purchased for sale at Erivan, where they happen at this

time to be much wanted; and in consequence, those who have a monopoly of both in that government, sell them to the alarmed and distressed people at any exorbitant price. But, to return to the town.

Kars is doubtless the Charsa of Ptolemy; and having been long considered one of the strongest places in this part of the Turkish dominions, is the selected residence for the Pasha of the northern frontier. In consequence of its situation, as the very key of Armenia towards the north, it has stood a variety of sieges, and endured every change from the varied events of war. Amurath III. restored the chief of the fortifications to the state in which we now see them; and a pentagon redoubt was added about thirty years ago. Mustapha Pasha, the present governor, has the rank of three tails, and is much respected by foreigners as well as his people; for, having been some time a prisoner amongst the Russians during the last war, the treatment he received wore away much of the prejudice which Turks of this rank too generally entertain against Europeans. About 10,000 families form the population of the city; and these consist of Mahomedans, Christians and Jews; being Turks, Courds, Armenians, Georgians, Israelites, and a few Persian merchants. Of course, there is no lack of business amongst such a variety of nations, but the presence of prosperity is no where very visible. The place is well supplied with wood for fuel and other purposes, from large forests to the west of the city; and whence it is brought in large carts. The same sylvan scene also furnishes Erivan, and other towns in the same direction, by floating its produce towards them down the Arpatchia; which river, on whose banks this fortress stands, takes a sudden turn westward of the city, and then flowing round the northern side of the

vast citadel-rock, winds along south-east, till it reaches Hadjy-baramloo; and soon after pours itself into the Araxes. At about four agatches (farsangs) to the north-east of Kars, lies a small lake, nearly three miles in length: it is celebrated for producing most delicious fish, and possesses as many names as the finny tribes within its bosom. Some call it Bala Katsio, or Igur-guely, or Chinglu. It was time to consider myself the guest of my Janissary Ahmed Aga, now that we had fairly entered the Turkish frontier; and, in consequence, he began to furnish my board, whether from lake or field; I was therefore both hungry and curious to know what the larder of the choppar-khanah, or post-house of Kars, would produce. In about two hours after our arrival, the feast was announced. The first appearance was the large towel-like bread of Persia; then a low stool was set on the floor, and a capacious pewtered circular tray placed on it, well garnished with small dishes; a large one being in the middle, filled with a sort of pillau made of wheat instead of rice, and plenteously intermixed with morsels of mutton; on the whole, rather savoury food. Next to it stood a pile of beef kabobs, shook up with slices of raw onion. These smoking restoratives appeared to be most agreeably snuffed in their advance by the different individuals of my party, who all squatted joyously round the tray, levelling its heaps presently with their fingers and spoons, with Ahmed Aga as nimble at the fare as the best of them. I sat alone by the fire, not less relishing the pillau; and, having the "misfortune to dislike onions," did not invade their entertainment farther.

November 3d. — Being provided with every requisite order, and authority, for proceeding to Arzeroom, this morning we had the comfort of leaving our quarters without hazard of a pitched

battle. The horses were speedily led out, and as promptly laden; and every thing bidding fair for good progress, at about eleven in the forenoon we passed the gate of Kars. The road was excellent; and soon after leaving the eastern suburb, it carried us westward, with the shore of the river on our right. The plain continued opening in that direction with every testimony of active husbandry, while the abundant waters of the Arpatchia, here called the Kars, aided the work, assisted by countless little streams, the bounty of the adjacent mountains. Having thus proceeded three miles, in a direction S. 70° W. we crossed the river, and at the termination of three more, reached the village of Koombat, very distinguishable at some distance, by the ruins of its ancient church appearing over the surrounding hovels. Two miles onward, we found the village of Tamboora, and a little to our right, that of Mucha. During our travel we met several of the wedge-shaped carts before described at Jigatti and Salmos; but here they were of lighter fabric, and better put together. All were loaded with each a huge trunk of a tree, placed ingeniously on the vehicle, a little beyond its balance; the thicker part towards the angle and along the pole, and poised so as to come within six or eight inches of the yoke of the oxen. Being suspended from the yoke by a strong rope of willow branches, which allows it play, a very small force is necessary to raise it sufficiently to admit its easily passing over uneven grounds, as well as to draw it onward when once set off; besides, its position gives an impelling power.

Marks of industry were seen every where; and innumerable villages studded the ground, to the most distant parts of the landscape. I may picture the huts of the peasantry under that appellation; for they lie so close to the earth, (in fact, the chief

of the habitations are dug into it,) that little more than their dingy roofs are seen above the surface. The door is a mere hole, through which the occupier must stoop, if not crawl, to make his escape. Within, it appears a large gloomy den, lit from the roof by two or three other holes, and the inhabitants are in harmony with the place; men, women, and cattle all pigging together; or, if any distinction is to be made, we find the beasts a few feet below their masters and mistresses, who have raised themselves a sort of shelf above their four-footed servants, with a fire-place in the corner, and a few dirty carpets on each side; and there they dwell, in plain fact, as happily as any of their distant Turkish lords in their harems. It was in villages formed of such houses, and most likely in this very plain of Armenia, that Xenophon and his harassed Greeks first sought, and then fought for shelter. At two o'clock, we passed, on our right, the village of Bagley Hammot; and at three, we again crossed the Arpatchia, (or Kars,) leaving it winding to the north-east; its source, I am told, is about eight hours' distance from hence. By four o'clock we reached our quarters, at a village called Jow-waluke, one of the ground excavations of course. The distance from Kars is reckoned five agatches; I think it does not fall short of twenty miles.

November 4th. — We did not quit our rabbit-hole this morning until past eight o'clock, our conductor having to collect a guard against the anticipated dangers of to-day's march; almost the whole of the way hence to Arzeroom lying amongst the noted haunts of the worst species of Courdish depredators. After a little exhaustion of patience on my part, our Janissary made his appearance at the head of his chosen escort, consisting of a dozen musketeers from a neighbouring village, in garments as

tattered, and with aspects as like gibbet-birds, as any which followed the "old knight of the castle" to the field of Tewksbury. Indeed, I did not doubt, that though these might not have performed the slight-of-hand manœuvres so dexterously as some of honest Sir John's *élite*, they were just as ready to cut a throat, as a purse; or, when seriously opposed, to run away, as the best of them; though with the additional fundamentals of character, that robbery and murder have most likely been the calling of their race, from time immemorial. On these grounds, I confess to viewing them rather suspiciously; but our Janissary seeming perfectly satisfied, I could not be otherwise, and so with such sorry defenders we moved forward to brave the dangers of the "fatal Pass of Saganloo;" that being its name in the country. Our road lay nearly in the same direction as yesterday; and still on the fertile, populous plain, till after an hour and half's riding, we reached its western boundary, and there commenced the dreaded vale! At that spot, my *band of mercenaries* sat down and loaded their pieces; and I verily believe the contents of one powder-horn supplied them all. In short, I remarked enough, to be sure that if any thing of real alarm should happen, I must not rely on them for defenders. This wary operation achieved, Ahmed Aga marshalled our force, and getting us into pretty close order, we set forward.

The scene we entered presented the magnificent of nature to the highest degree;—a long winding valley, ascending amongst the steeps of bold, craggy, and picturesque mountains, opening into narrow, deep, and endless defiles; while their overhanging, or receding brows, and vast irregular sides, were every where covered with forests of lofty fir-trees; at some points towering aloft in thick interminable woods, in others pendent

over yawning gulfs, and interlacing each other, stems and branches, in the wildest and most extraordinary growths. Through this stupendous valley, whose abundant beauties were its terrors, (for all this luxuriant vegetation and romantic intricacy of avenues, by leading to the remoter regions of the mountains, only rendered it more liable to ambuscade and secure retreat;) through its deep hollows flows the Kars, which we now traced to its source, and found its spring-head not more than a yard wide. At two o'clock we attained the highest point of the Pass of the Saganloo Dagh, that being the name of this branch of the Tchilder mountains; which also, under the appellation of the Mossian Hills, embraces the Arasian plain on the north-east. All the surrounding heights, in like manner with those we had passed over, were covered with similar eternal woods; and where they stood more to the north, we discerned snow, not merely on the summits of the mountains, but lower down, lying thick amongst the trees. Our own elevation, gave us now a pretty smart taste of the winter; but the extreme of its cold, might rather be attributed to the piercing violence of the wind, than to the absolute temperature of the atmosphere. In one of the intersecting valleys, we saw the ruins of a large khaun; and a few yards beyond it, observed a second fountain-head; the clear sparkling rills of which, forming into a fuller stream, winds westward amongst the mountains, till its augmented waters fall finally into the Arás. Our course now bent more to the south, in order to pass over the commanding brow of the last of these sylvan hills; the long and steep descent from which, would bring us down to our night's lodging. When we had gained this apex, a glorious mountain-view spread before us; and amidst the deep openings, between the multitudinous piles

to the south, we now and then caught a glance of the glittering windings of the Aras. But I had hardly enjoyed this expanded scene twenty minutes, when it was changed at once by suddenly finding myself entering as it were into the very rocky heart of a mountain, and where we soon became engulfed in the most extraordinary stony labyrinths; sometimes wandering amidst successions of enormous shadowy chasms, then diverging off into higher, or deepening defiles; some lost under beetling cliffs in almost total darkness, and others seeming so precipitous that nothing heavier than an eagle's wing could ever reach their acclivities. So I might have thought, had I not been amongst the escalades of the great Courdistan, and seen them made the passages of every day. But the extreme sterile rudeness of the banditti scenery I found here, could not be exceeded any where. The long silent solitudes, and the "rocky precipitations," so often at hand to offer quick dispatch for the lurking murderer, seeming to me much apter places for the perpetration of dreadful deeds, than the luxuriantly wooded part of the pass we had just left, and which possessed so much worse a character. Our horses carried us down this sinuous and rugged path at so fast a rate, that in less than two hours we reached the bottom with only two of our musketeers in party, the rest not having been able to keep up with us; and I must say for these, I never saw pedestrians hold out like them.

When we reached the brink of a vast naked ravine, and looked down the cliffs from a point whence I was told our purposed menzil could be seen, I beheld a yet more perfect picture for Salvator Rosa than any of the former, wild and stupendous as they were. An immense savage rock rose from the bottom of this great mountain-chasm, standing in frowning solitary gran-

deur, and crowned with the remains of strong walls and towers. In former times, it had been the fastness of some of the most formidable robber chiefs; and, certainly none could be better chosen. Our looked-for village, or rather cellarage, lay close to its base. The inhabitants of such places, in these districts, are now called "tamed Courds;" the natives of the whole chain of mountains being of that people's numerous and far-spreading tribes. We dismounted at the *roofs* of our quarters, by half-past four o'clock, the distance from Jow-waluke being called twelve hours, but I should judge the miles to be no more than twenty-eight, or seven farsangs. After beginning the descent of the Saganloo, our course had run S. 60° W. The name of our present menzil is Mazengutt; and immediately on entering, we took possession of no small part of the already crowded apartment dedicated to those who travel post; but nothing can describe the heat and suffocation of a night passed in one of these choppar-khanahs: a Spanish posadoe is comparative air and freedom. Men, horses, &c. are all crammed together in the same hole; seldom less than thirty or forty of the latter animals, forming its quadrupede population; so some idea may be conceived of the noisome effluvia, as well as heat of the place. To bivouac under the open rocks, may seem the natural alternative; but at this season of the year, no traveller can venture such exposed lodging; nor to proceed on his journey during such dark and cold nights, unless pressed by business. Such as that which sometimes urges the Tatar (the courier Janissary) to pursue his object after sunset; and so necessarily exposes himself and company to all the peculiar dangers of these banditti-mountains, and their bleak casualties of snow, and icy precipices.

At this post we were joined by one of these Tatars from Kars.

He was returning to Constantinople; and proved a not unwelcome stimulus to the aguish courage of our own military conductor. Two fiercer-looking heroes, I believe, can hardly be found any where; and, indeed, I may say, that, for insolence in office, and ruffianly conceit of themselves, nothing can exceed this order of men, when in situations where they may indulge both with any idea of impunity. Within these choppar-khanahs they are perfectly imperial; commanding to the right, and bowed to on the left, as if the Grand Seignior himself were laced in their doublets. The moment one of these Tatars arrive, all the customary idlers about a post-house hurry forward to help the great man from his horse; which being permitted with all the state of conscious claim to such deference, he stalks into the house, leaving the officious assistants to unload his baggage also. This very scene occurred at our present menzil. Ahmed Aga no sooner came in view of its burrow-holes, than he seemed quite on his own territory; and having been thus ushered into the most eminent place, instead of returning, as I expected, to give report of the accommodation, he appeared to have forgotten that his duty there was to provide for me; and after waiting a quarter of an hour outside, I at last poked my own head into the horrible den, which breathed a furnace from its very door, and at the top of the apartment I saw him snugly seated by the fire, drinking his coffee and smoking his pipe. Sedak Beg had followed me in, and his zealous voice soon sounded an admonitory peal in the ears of the pompous gentleman, surprising to the gaping crowd, his worshippers, and which made him instantly bestir himself to give me place in that part of the chamber. But independent of this sort of voluntary homage, paid to the self-important great man, these choppar-khanahs

are the very sinks of equality; masters, servants, thieves, and honest men, being all mingled in that sort of *hail-fellow, well-met* familiarity, that makes the same pipe and coffee-pot common to the whole party. In short, from the extreme coarseness of these most barbarously unmannered people, rude as my Janissary now and then seemed inclined to shew himself, I venture to pronounce it impossible for any Christian European to traverse these Turkish districts, without the protection of such an officer of the Porte. He brought supper forward in due order, which, in the true eastern style, when once the double mess was drawn from the same dish, published amnesty this time between him and me; and by way of dessert, I might have amused myself very well with the motley group around me, could I have confined my senses to my eyes and ears. The latter, however, were called on for a little trial likewise; the Surregee, or leader of our baggage horses, volunteering a few airs on an instrument, national with Turks, Persians, and Courds, a sort of guitar, the very appearance of which was sufficient hint that nothing but the most hideous din could be brought forth from such a contrivance; and the proof was no less; its music consisting of a monotonous scratching on its wires with a piece of quill. A dead silence of attendant admiration accompanied the musician's instrumental strains for five or six minutes, when he suddenly broke it himself, by bursting forth into a kind of savage bawling, now and then diversified by a growl or a yell, rising or falling as the boisterous or langúishing demons possessed his musical faculties. The ecstacy of his auditors was often in full chorus; but none joined so heartily in his raptures, both by gesticulation and responsive shouts, as his brother Courds, who seemed to feel the words and air of his song with something of the same

sort of enraptured passion as that which agitates the wandering sons of Helvetia, when they hear their Ranz des Vaches. The present scene brought to my mind that of the cavern-hospitality in the mountains of Courdistan the preceding winter; but there the strains of the wild piper, his voice, his instrument, his talent, were in the most exquisite harmony. In short, it was impossible not to think of Apollo amongst the wandering herdsmen of Admetus; or to suppose, when heard from afar in those wildernesses of nature, how readily they would suggest the image of a faun breathing his divine notes to Echo, or the nymphs.

As our next day's march was allowed by all present to be even more perilous than the one we had happily accomplished, a mounted escort of twelve men was ordered by my Janissary, who, producing our authority to that effect, immediately received an assurance that all should be in readiness for early starting in the morning. The pass thus dreaded bore indeed a dreadful name, being called the *Hill of Blood.* And while dosing, I could distinguish, that for a long time after this discussion of our particular route had been settled, the conversation continued with tales of ambushes, plunderings, maltreatments, and murders; all of which had taken place in different horrid valleys, where, in general, the narrator of each story had shared its terrors; and I must confess, bating the catastrophes, I could not help wishing the whole party airing themselves in those valleys a while, that my poor aching head might find a little rest.

November 5th. — Savagely rude as the aspects of last night were, in the gloomy souterrain, the turn-out this morning of my Courdish horsemen, when grouped with the scenery around, was far beyond them in every wild and ferocious characteristic. Spears, round shields, knives, pistols, with other accoutrements,

ancient and modern, completed their barbarian array; while the pale sun, gleaming from a wintry sky on the burnish of their arms, and dark countenances, shewed much legible writing in the iron furrows of the latter. They reined back their spirited animals as we emerged from our den-like abodes. The ruined fortress of the robber-chief rose immediately over them, grey, fissured, and under the deep shadow of the higher mountains; forming altogether a living picture of bold and savage objects, so mingled with some of the grandest combinations in nature, as never to be effaced from my memory. We started soon after sun-rise; and having crossed the great chasm of Mazengutt, began to ascend the mountain to the south-west, by a pass of upland vales, intricate glens, and the threatened tortuous ravines full of terrors. In the more open parts, the yellow sterile face of the scene was animated by trains of bullocks, dragging hundreds of felled fir-trees down the valleys from the neighbouring wooded heights. These convoys were for Arzeroom, and for safety generally move in considerable bodies, small numbers seldom escaping pillage; that is to say, the cattle stolen, and the drivers stripped. All of which depredations are commonly laid to the charge of the Courdish tribes, under the nominal jurisdiction of Erivan; indeed, parties of mountaineers from that province, often making excursions thus far, give too ready a cloak for every species of rapine wrought by native thieves, being laid to their border name.

After proceeding most warily for some time towards the south-east, with our videttes in advance on the higher grounds of the road, we came in view of the pyramidal summit of the Kuss Dagh; and in about an hour reached the river Zebeen, the source of which we had seen near the old mouldering khaun in the Saganloo mountains. A few yards from its brink, at this

place I observed a large stone building, of excellent masonry, now in ruins, but which must have formerly constituted a spacious warm sulphuric bath. I put my hand into the water, and found the heat very great, but having no thermometer could not ascertain to what degree. This, I believe, was the spot where our apostolic countryman, Henry Martyn, faint with fever and fatigue, alighted to bathe, in his way to Tokat. Thence we crossed the stream, and pursued our dangerous route amidst the hills. A little after eleven o'clock, we passed the village and rivulet of Ordooze; and half an hour more, brought us to another collection of huts, called Azub, inhabited by Nestorians. On leaving them, we gradually descended into a fine vale, with the agreeable prospect of a less wild country opening before us, covered with browsing herds and flocks. My companions told me it was well stocked with villages likewise; but they were of too lowly a structure to be discernible above ground. At two o'clock we approached near enough to see one, which my informer called Aran. Our course now lay S. 35° W. at three we reached the termination of the irregular part of our descent, at which point the road divides; that to the left, winding round a lofty hill, and finishing at the village of Kupri-Kiey, close to the Aras; which is there crossed by a fine stone bridge, and additionally adorned by a large khaun of a noble appearance. I had a good view of both from our higher ground; also of the river itself, which flows from the south-west; and thence I was able to trace its meanderings almost to their very source. The peculiar name of the mountains amongst which it rises, are called the Shoo-Welun-Dagler. They are very towering; and on their southern side (nearly opposite to the fountain of the Aras, in their north-eastern brow,) is the Bin-guiel (a thousand springs),

one of the western heads of the Euphrates. At the division of the roads, the Armenian priest and his serving-man left us; proceeding on his way to a monastery of his confreres, dedicated to the Holy Virgin; rather a strange consecration for an establishment of monks. Our path was now one unimpeded slope, quickly passed over, and bringing us down into the extensive valley I had contemplated from above. Mountains quite surround it, excepting to the east, where opening, they leave a passage for the Aras; but the expanse of the valley is at least twenty miles from hill to hill. We reached it when the evening was beginning to close in; and the casualties of the season soon rendered it darker than the time of day, by the gathering clouds rapidly shrouding the mountains, and leaving us only the wide shadowing horizon of a then seemingly boundless plain. At half-past five we reached the environs of Hassan-kala, supposed to have been the ancient Theodosiopolis: more of it to-morrow. After winding round the foot of the rocky hill, on which the town appears to be built, we entered a gate; and proceeding about fifty yards, passed under a second; both in a ruinous state, but still guarded by their ancient massy doors, strongly enclosed with iron.

Our quarters, in point of gloom and suffocating crowd, were little better than those of the foregoing night; though I found the keeper of the choppar-khanah very civil; and on the whole, the Ottomans of Armenia so much more generally familiar with Christians than the lower orders of Persians, that the former will readily eat and drink from the same bowl, while the latter would consider it defilement. Yet the usages of the Great King permit the followers of Issau (Jesus), to give blow for blow to any person who assaults them; while those of the Turkish government,

either maims by the loss of his hand, or takes the life entirely, of any Christian rash enough to strike a disciple of the Prophet. The distance of Hassan-kala from Mazengutt, is called twelve hours; and the space gained in an hour, I believe to be that of the usual march of a Kofla in that time; hence we had come about ten agatches (hours), or forty miles at the utmost. The town and fortress of Hassan-kala are built on a projecting point from the northern line of mountains, where a most favourable site, indeed, offered itself, impregnable on three sides by nature. Its summit was chosen for the strong-hold, and accordingly crowned with a double-towered wall. The keep of the fortress rises within these formidable battlements, near the north-west face of the cliff. It is considered one of the strongest places in Turkish Armenia, but did not appear to me, from what I could perceive, to possess a single gun. I wished to examine more closely, by entering the castle, but was not allowed; the governor, who is under the Serraskier of Arzeroom, having orders to the contrary. The city is built on the south-west slope of the rock, a favourite situation for towns in this part of the world; and certainly nothing can be more imposing and picturesque. Ranges of double walls and towers encompass the whole. They are of stone, and constructed so admirably, I cannot doubt the work being that of the founder of the city. Time has made many inroads on their fabric, and, if they ever had any Greek or Armenian inscriptions, entirely worn them away. A Turkish writing is over the outer gate. The population of this once noted place, does not now exceed 3000 inhabitants; but one-third of them are Christians. A little river with two names, the Arast-chai and Nebby-chai, flows at a short distance past the town in an eastern direction, and joins the Aras a little above Kupri-Kiey.

As I have now, in all probability, marched over part of the ground, passed by Xenophon and his brave Greeks with so much difficulty and danger 2200 years ago, I venture to propose my impression of the particular point in Armenia where he crossed the Araxes. The observations I have made incline me to think that common opinion has placed that spot too much to the eastward; a mistake likely to have arisen from the inaccurate ideas which have long been conceived of the course of the Arpatchia, the Harpasus of the Greeks. I compare geographical positions, with the descriptions of Xenophon, riding over the same country with his volume in my hand; and in this way I seek the spot where his troops forded the Euphrates. "It was then only navel-high, and its source said to be not far off;" consequently this ford could be but a few miles to the westward of the most eastern source, and therefore a little to the south of the modern town of Diadan. The valleys are there very extensive, both in length and breadth; and amongst them the Greeks marched fifteen farsangs in three days. The ancient and modern farsang differ considerably, both Herodotus and Xenophon giving the former thirty stadia; which computation by the latter, makes each day's march amount to little more than fifteen British miles. The direction he would take, we may suppose would be to the north-east; and the third day's march was rendered dreadfully severe "by the piercing north wind which blew directly in the faces of his people." The fourth was still on the plain, and when covered most impedingly with snow. At length they came to many villages, answering exactly in description (Anab. lib. 4.) to those under-ground habitations I have so lately described; and which, I am told, still keep the same character all along the southern shores of the Aras (or Araxes), meaning particularly the rich vale east and west of Kara-klissa; the

plain traversed by Xenophon after crossing the Euphrates, and whence he took the bailiff of one of the villages to be his guide. It appears to me that the troops were purposely led astray by him the two latter days of his employment; and that he better deserved the chastisement he met at the impatient hands of Cheirisophus, than Xenophon suspected, and which therefore caused him to run away. Seven daily marches were next made, calculated at five farsangs each, ere they reached the banks of a river, which their leader names the Phasis. But the army having been left to its own guidance after the escape of the bailiff, and being ignorant of the country, must have wandered about in useless attempts to find a direct path during most of these days; for any man who knew the track might have conducted them to the river in two marches. These vexatious and abortive fatigues seem to have excited the only difference which fell out between Xenophon and Cheirisophus; the former attributing to the hasty humour of his colleague, the loss of the man who he hoped would have been their safe conductor to the end. The Phasis can be no other than the Aras; and which is fordable at this season of the year in several places, from its source, to even as low down as Abas-abad; therefore, unchecked by an enemy, as Xenophon then happened to be, a passage could easily be discovered. After his troops had forded, they made two marches, evidently over a plain, before they reached the great heights northward, where they found a vast array of natives posted to oppose them. The line of mountains which bounds the left shore of the Aras, I have already mentioned as a branch of the Mossian range. They gradually sink in consequence as they touch the valley of Hassan-kala, but by various ramifications unite with the dangerous defiles of the *Hills of Blood* we

had so recently passed. A part of the level ground between the river, and the base of these hills to the west, I should suppose, held the battalia Cheirisophus drew up against the Chalybians, the Taochians and Phasians, who had taken their stations on the mountains leading on to the plain. From these the enemy were dislodged in the night, and the victorious Greeks pressed forward to the passes of this difficult country. The whole land from Hassan-kala eastward, as far as Hadjy-Baramloo, is one series of frightful chasms and insulated rocky fortresses. That of Mazengutt might well answer to the description Xenophon gives of the formidable mountain-citadel in this track, which, after having been defended by the natives with signal determination, was at last taken by the Greeks; at which terrible moment, the women of the garrison, with their children in their arms, cast themselves headlong down the precipices; and some of the men, seizing their conquerors in like manner, threw themselves over the battlements, dragging their victors with them. Xenophon describes the spectacle as horrible.

My reason for supposing the Greeks passed the Aras so far to the west, rests on the simple fact of there being no country immediately east of the Arpatchia that will in any way fall in with the account of the historian. From that river, eastward, an almost unvaried plain extends nearly to Erivan; and also northward, for twelve or thirteen miles, till the wide champaign is bounded by the hilly outskirts of the Alleguz mountains. At the end of seven marches, after carrying the rocky citadel, Xenophon passed the Harpasus, (the Arpatchia, or river Kars; it now bearing the latter name, in compliment to the town on its banks:) and thence he advanced into the country of the Scythians. These latter marches were fought at almost every step,

which sufficiently accounts for the seeming disproportion in the comparative short distance between the Aras and that river, and the length of time consumed in the way. From all circumstances, I should suppose that the point of the Arpatchia, where the Greeks forded, might be about twenty miles eastward of the town of Kars. The western part of this stream, as I intimated before, being now known by the name of that town. This ford would accord, better than any more eastern, with the direction Xenophon afterwards took to reach the city of Gymnias, and the holy mountain called Theches, (at present bearing the name of the Tcheh chain,) and thence to Trebizond. Few passages in history are more affecting than those in which the able leader of the Ten Thousand describes the feelings of his Greeks on running up that mountain, and beholding the Euxine, whence they were to embark for their country; their shouts, and cries of *'The sea! the sea!* calling him up, to enjoy the same grateful sight, whilst the hardiest veterans by his side, burst into tears, embracing each other, in the fond hope of soon returning to their wives and children. (Anab. lib. 4.)

November 6th.—At seven o'clock this morning we were again on the plain, making our way rapidly over a fine level road, on a course S. 70° W. Having gone two miles, we passed the village of Elivan; and after eight more on a full canter, in like manner flew by that of Karajok, said to be half-way between Hassan-kala and Arzeroom. At Karajok we pulled up, and rode thence rather slowly for a couple of miles, which brought us to the foot of the mountains bounding the great valley to the westward. We now began their ascent. The wind was piercingly cold, but the sky clear and cloudless; and on looking back on the distant country we had left, I again saw stupendous

Ararat high above the gigantic masses of every other range. From this point of our view, its towering hoary head bore S. 65° E.; and thence, I believe, I for ever bade farewell to the great primæval home of mankind, the hallowed "mountain of the Lord."

The heights before us were rough and rugged, appearing yet to be subdued by the labour and sweat of man; while the pass we now slowly wound up, being long, and partially steep, we occupied nearly three hours in compassing it. From the brow of its descent on the opposite side, we had a full sight of Arzeroom, lying in the hollow of a vale beneath, and completely surrounded by mountains. It was not more than three miles from us when we saw it. The city appeared large; and its lofty houses of stone gave it an air of magnificence, which totally vanished on more intimate acquaintance. However, the near as well as distant view of its embattled citadel, porcelained and glittering mosques, and cemeteries filled with monuments, struck me, as forming very decided contrasts to the more sombre features of similar structures in a Persian modern city. At half-past eleven o'clock we entered the suburbs; and soon after passing along part of an extensive bazar, rode through the opened double gates, which were strongly coated with iron, into the town. A few minutes more brought us to the post-house, a most miserable place in point of dirt and dilapidation; and so deserted, that scarce an individual appeared in its courts, and not a horse in its spacious stables. But all had been bustle, both with men and animals, in our way to these lonely quarters; which contradictory circumstances were soon explained by a little hint that Sedak gave me. In short, my friend the Sardar's Courds had again been trying their prowess on Turkish ground; and having

marched on, to the depredation of a village not far from the city of Arzeroom, the governor was despatching horsemen in every direction in quest of the banditti and their booty. In fact, the Grand Seignior's eastern dominions seem to lie between two fires: the Sardar of Erivan, to the north-east; and Mahmoud Ali Mirza of Kermanshah, on the south-east; for not long after hearing this first recital, I was told a second disaster,—the latter prince having on some pretence made an inroad on the pashalick of Bagdad; a diversion which, at any time, would be acceptable to the revolted Arabs, whom the Pasha's sanction of his general's treachery had so unappeasedly exasperated.

Foreseeing from all these circumstances, that want of facilities for moving would probably detain me at Arzeroom, I picked out as decent an apartment as could be found in the post-house; and prepared my store of patience for any other casualties that might occur.

November 7th.—Yet, that nothing might be lost by omission, this morning I despatched Sedak Beg, accompanied by Ahmed Aga, with the Sardar's letter to the Serraskier, requesting a speedy order for horses and guards to attend me on my journey. He received these delegates with the greatest civility, notwithstanding the subjects of the writer of the letter were in such apparent hostility with the Turkish state, and did not hesitate a moment in returning me every authoritative credential desired; though he at the same time observed, that since the *Chappow* had carried every horse out in pursuit, I could not possibly move till the return of some, and that he could not expect any under a couple of days. There being no alternative, I remained quietly in my quarters, gathering as much amusement as might be from my numerous visitors, both Turks and Armenians. From

the latter, I learnt that the population of the city amounts to about 6000 Christians, and 50,000 Mahomedans. It contains forty-five mosques, and two churches. Two of the most ancient of the mosques are beautifully ornamented with bricks and coloured tiles; which lofty domes, together with the glittering minarets of others, rising above the fortified walls of the governor's palace, give a delusive splendour to the appearance of the city when seen from a little distance. Besides these interior embattlements, the whole city is outwardly defended by high double walls, well built, and additionally strengthened with lofty towers. The outer wall is supported by a deep ditch; but all are now in a neglected, and therefore ruinous state. The post-house being raised on the exterior rampart, I had a good opportunity of overlooking a considerable part of the suburbs; which appear to extend quite round the walls, while the scenes that passed beneath presented no small variety for an Asiatic drama.

November 8th.—Wishing, however, to draw a little nearer the actors, and also to see the town within the walls, I sent to his Turkish Excellency, to request permission to walk into the heart of the city; but here a species of jealousy shewed itself, I had never seen in Persia; and the answer my messenger received was—"If your master wishes to purchase any thing in the suburb market, there can be no objection to his going there; but as for his seeing any other parts of the town than where he is, it can be no gratification to him, since one house is like another, and so are all the streets."

This decisive reply determined me to make no more attempts to extend the objects of my vision beyond my window; but did not prevent that bird's-eye view of the city, presenting me many subjects for sketches of the natives. The description of some

of their costumes I shall subjoin here. The ordinary habit of a Turk is too familiar to almost every European to need a repetition in detail, but there are some peculiarities here, annexed to different degrees and professions, which I shall briefly notice. The head-dress generally distinguishes the calling of the wearer; and the horsemen or military troopers, are cognizable at a great distance, from their high cylindrical black caps. This towering sort of helmet is bound round the brows with a scanty slip of many-coloured linen or silk, while the uniform which accompanies it, is a brown jacket; something like that worn by the common people, only more ornamented with braidings of red, blue, and yellow cords down its back and shoulders. This, with a pair of enormously wide trowsers, hanging low over large red boots, make up the garments; but the accoutrements are not quite so simple, —a broad embroidered belt strapped round the waist, contains a pair of long pistols; a sword is slung across the shoulder by a worsted cord; while half a dozen pouches with other et-ceteras, increase the picturesqueness of his appearance, and the incumbrances which impede his motions.

Some orders of the people wear the Courdish red turban-bag; but their rank seems a little above the peasants, or domestic servants, who do not presume to cover their heads with any thing more obtrusive than a close skull-cap of any coloured cloth, wrapped round with an ample piece of dirty linen, either plain or figured. The well-known flowing garment, and large turban of the Turk, are common alike to the trades-people and highest classes; the chief difference lying in the colours, and materials: but the gaiety, and even splendor, of them all, often exceed imagination, and so completely confuses ranks to the eye, that an inexperienced foreigner, gazing at a procession of

these stately personages moving solemnly along in their motley attire, could not possibly distinguish the degree of one from the other. I remember, on entering the town of Kars, meeting a most gorgeously apparelled gentleman, who, from his gravity and majestically-slippered walk, I might have mistaken for the Pasha's Vizier, had not a string of little tallow-candles in one hand, and a plate of sour cream in the other, proclaimed his title to some humbler calling.

The Tatars or Janissaries are all clothed in a dark yellowish crimson colour. Their ordinary head-dresses are high turbans made of black lamb-skin, terminated at top with a huge cushion of yellow cloth. This turban is presented to them by their chief on being appointed to the corps; and may, in fact, be regarded as their commission; for, on the possessor committing any misdemeanour held derogatory to the body he belongs to, the cap is taken from him, and from that time he is no more a Janissary.

Arzeroom is a pashalick; but the present pasha was absent on a visit to Constantinople at the time of my arrival, and hence I found the reins of government in the hands of the serraskier. The city lies in latitude 39° 56′ N. and is numbered amongst the most ancient capitals of Armenia; of old, it was called Arze.

November 9th. — Our complement of horses was brought very early this morning, but from various circumstances it was nine o'clock before we got free of our most filthy menzil; an exaggeration of the too common negligence of the East, particularly unpardonable here, from the unusual command of water the town possesses; it being abundantly supplied, not only from the countless springs which flow from the mountains, but from numerous fountains in various parts of the city and suburbs. Before we arrived at the western gate, whence we were to take our departure, the path to it carried us almost entirely round the town, but only between the two walls; and on issuing forth, we found ourselves at once on the high road, which lay in a long hollow between the undulating slopes that form the burying-ground of the inhabitants. It was very extensive: and for the first time I saw those Turkish memorials of the dead, which, shaped something like our upright tombstones, are surmounted with turbans. Other graves were covered with small open structures, under which appeared the sarcophagus of the deceased. Amongst these silent abodes of undisturbed rest, I perceived several women, whose long white veils enveloping their figures, and their varied attitudes of grief and prayer, gave them the appearance of as many marble statues, placed in positions of mourning over the departed mussulmauns. The usual chadre, or great wrapping veil of the Arzeroom females differed totally from those of Persia and Bagdad, being chiefly of a sad white,

that is, with a greyish tint, fantastically marked with red, blue, or yellow, and bound with red.

Our course was N. 70° W., the road level and excellent, on a gradual descent into the middle of the valley. It is fruitful, well-watered, and at the greatest width stretches about ten miles. The mountains to the north were not very lofty, but yet formed a grateful shelter to the many villages at their base. Having marched two miles, we passed the little hamlet of Khan; a couple more brought us to that of Güz; and shortly afterwards we came to a rapid and pretty stream, which accompanied us to the village of Elija; a place called two agatches from Arzeroom. At a short distance from the village we descried the Kará-sou, which we were approaching, flowing past the mountains to the north. This is one of the western sources of the Euphrates, and even so near its fountain-head, occupies a large channel; a bridge across it, of six arches, being then very discernible. This source lies about thirty miles from where I now saw its stream, in that branch of the Tchiller mountains called the range of Auggi-Dahgler: the country about them bears the name of Keldir. Close to Elija a hot spring was pointed out to me, where I saw about fifteen or twenty boys, like as many Cupids, playing about under three or four buffaloes, who appeared to enjoy the bath as much as themselves. The valley narrowed from this place very considerably, and a little farther to the westward, almost closes to the width of the Kara-sou, which flows through it. We had continued our way along its left bank for about three miles, when we passed two villages on its opposite or northern shore; they were called Guy-opi and Tip-kere. Another mile, and we reached that of Anguerore. For a long time we had left all rural beauty behind us: not a tree

was to be seen, and scarce a vestige of cultivation on the brows of the mountains. At rather more than half-way to our purposed halting-place, (that is, about seventeen miles from Arzeroom,) we passed a large village on our right, called Alaja. During the whole march we had not seen any spot, either picturesque, or particularly cheering from vegetation, though we had so continually followed the course of the river. The only village we could descry on our left was that of Aurani amongst the mountains, at which point our road lay S. 70° W. Having proceeded a couple of miles more, we saw a building on our right, called *the Tomb*, a very conspicuous object. Five miles farther brought us to the ruined khaun of Gennis. The Kara-sou runs close to it, and also bathes the humble walls of the little village of Garra-beyuke. Still, however, all appeared comparatively sterile, till, at about a mile from our halting-place, we crossed the hills more to the south, and descending into the lower valley of the river, beheld trees and bushes covering its margin, and the fine village of Ash-kala before us. After fording the stream to its right bank, on the brink of which the village stood, we entered our quarters; sharing them, as usual, with our horses and the native fleas. We were now out of ancient Armenia, the western limit of which used to be the Kara-sou, this most north-western branch of the Euphrates; and at Ash-kala it was necessary to prepare an adequate guard, to meet the predatory dangers of the ensuing day; the natives of certain defiles we had to pass through, reported to be equally barbarous with those of the age of Herodotus or Xenophon. With great difficulty, and at a most exorbitant charge, we obtained the promise of three horsemen for the morrow; but the heads of the village laughed at the serraskier's order for more, and did not less deride

the impotent wrath of Ahmed Aga. Indeed their whole demeanour made me strongly suspect, that they had at command not only the protectors, but plunderers of the passes we were to dare next morning; and that exaction for the seeming guard, was one way of trying the value of any opportune victim. Our journey of this day is said to be nine hours from Arzeroom; but the real distance between that city, and our ruffianly menzil, is about thirty miles, and we reached it at half-past three o'clock.

November 10th. — Left Ash-kala at six o'clock this morning, with our slender escort, although it is asserted that the day's march is over the most dangerous ground lying between Tokat and the Persian frontier. The road wound along a narrow valley, intersected by occasional openings from the hills on each side. The Kara-sou takes its meandering course by our path; sometimes conducting us amongst abrupt rocky heights, at others through low and intricate thickets, and often by large detached masses of cliff backed with bushes; all being apt places for the sortie of a lurking banditti. The natives of the villages about, call these anticipated depredators, "Courds from the mountains near the lake Van!" But, as I observed before, we need not travel far amongst these passes, to be well aware that in this instance those bold robbers are slandered by more cunning thieves. At about seventeen miles from our last menzil, we reached the khaun of Shoo-ghain, built by Sultan Murad at the commencement of the most formidable part of the road; some note of its dangers, appearing in the shape of about twenty tombs, raised some yards from the gate of the khaun; and which cover the remains of as many persons killed, or who died of their wounds received in a recent affair with the free-booters. Our way lay S. 80° W.; and having breathed our animals, refreshed

ourselves, and inspected the priming of our fire-arms, we all moved forward in a pretty close phalanx; our guardian triumvirate, begging us to hold our pistols in our hands, and keep a sharp look-out in every direction. Thus, on a constant alert of eye and ear, we continued riding forward through, certainly, one of the most dismal scenes I ever beheld. Here were no mere legends of robbery and murder; the whole road was tracked with their dreadful verification, bearing distressful witness to the narratives of our conductors, while they pointed to the graves of the several travellers, some in groups, and others more solitary, whom the sanguinary heroes of their tales had laid low. One of my Tatars listened to what they said with a continually changing countenance; which symptom of a sickly courage absolutely declared it defunct, when turning his eyes to a couple of graves on the right of our road, one of the men told him they belonged to two Janissaries, his brethren, who he knew had met their fate in this defile some time before. In many places, a solitary pile of heaped-up stones marks the spot where some single traveller has fallen; and in others, four or five little mounds, or sometimes even ten or twelve in a group, shew where the contest has been more numerously fatal. In short, I believe I saw more than a hundred graves in the hollow of this valley of death. The *Hill of Blood* seems unstained innocence, when compared with what we saw, and heard, in this appalling scene. A very few months ago, one of the Tatars (or couriers) of the British embassy, and a merchant travelling under his charge, were way-laid and plundered in this vale, and only escaped with their lives by throwing themselves into the river. They remained concealed amongst its thickets till the next morning, when accident, or rather Providence, discovered them to some people travelling

that way; who, picking them up, brought them in a cart to Ash-kala, where they remained nearly two months before they were recovered from their wounds. Most of these affrays take place in the night; which is one reason for my suspecting some of the neighbouring villagers to be too generally the chief actors in the scene; and a second observation made to me, namely, that if a Tatar be the object of plunder, he almost invariably loses his life also, appears a corroborating proof of their guilt; he being too well acquainted with the persons of most of them, to be allowed to live, to tell the story of who are really the marauders of this pass. Day was with us, and we went gradually on, without any thing occurring to occasion any actual alarm; though, I believe, most of us felt a sort of suspensive pause of mind while advancing to any particularly well-adapted spot for ambuscade, lest it might be destined to add some of our party to the silent heaps around. The common method of attack, whether by night or by day, is for an ambush to fire from above, while small parties rush out from the ravines of the hills, with an advantage over travellers so surprised that may readily be guessed. Under these apprehensions, we moved on as quickly as the difficulties of the road would allow for two hours more; at the end of which time we arrived at the last path of avowed terrors, namely, a tremendous chasm, or zig-zag crack, running through the heart of the hills, which was aptly called *The Devil's Valley*, and we found it a most perilous and slippery road for our horses. This pass achieved, all our danger for the day was over; and at the moment of issuing forth, my two Tatars hallooed, and fired their pistols in great triumph. He could not be a Christian who did not feel thanksgiving to a Higher Power.

It was two o'clock when, leaving the Kara-sou winding through its vale of black deeds on our left, we began to ascend a steep path leading immediately over the mountains before us. The acclivities were not bold, but naked of verdure, with here and there a stunted fir-tree, appearing to wither amongst the quantities of loose stones which covered the surface of the heights. We were more than an hour in crossing this chain; but at the end of that time, happily descended into a cultivated little valley, lowing with cattle, and giving some promise of honest civilization with industry. An hour more, which was four o'clock, brought us to Kara-Koulak, our menzil for the night. It is called thirteen hours from Ash-kala; but I should calculate the distance to be no more than eight agatches, or thirty-six miles. Kara-Koulak is a small village containing about seventy Mahomedan families, and twenty of Armenian Christians; and as our track for to-morrow bore nearly as bad a report as that we had passed to-day, we immediately applied to the chief of this little community, for a few of his subjects to escort us through his dangerous neighbourhood; but neither persuasions, threats, nor money, could prevail on him to grant us a single man; his excuse being, what at first my Tatars did not seem to believe, that an open war was then subsisting between his people and the Courds of the southern mountains, which demanded all his strength to occasionally defend his own quarters. Even in the midst of the parley, a sudden uproar at the end of the village proved the truth of what he said, by the presence of the fact. The Courds had appeared within a few yards of the place, and all in an instant was noise and confusion; but on looking out, the expected sackers of the village were for the present, only seen driving off several flocks of sheep and buffaloes, after having set half a dozen

of their armed herdsmen to flight; some of whom, hastily entering the place with their fearful accounts, had raised this immediate commotion. The scene was a strange one to a foreigner from civilised Europe, all being panic or revenge, shrieks, lamentations, blustering, bawling, consultations, and calling to arms, without a plan either of defence or attack. But an act of retaliation was determined, and it was to take place next morning at day-break. In short, such is the foray life of these half-wild natives; from year to year invading each others borders, stealing herd for herd, striking blow for blow; and, as such expeditions seldom occur without costing the lives of some in one party or the other, the feud of blood is never allowed to cease. For instance, it was not long before I heard from good authority in the place, that a few weeks ago the men of Kara-Koulak had sallied forth into the mountain-valleys of the Courds, and being aware that the male inhabitants of two of the villages were at some distance on a similar errand, the honest gentlemen, now in such hot indignation at the driving of their own sheep, pillaged the unguarded habitations of their enemies; and, amongst other plunder, produced 500 purses, each purse containing 500 piastres to their chief; 300 of which were dispatched immediately as a present to the Pasha of Arzeroom; but it was not to be supposed that such a way of gathering their tribute, would not speedily be acknowledged by a visit in kind from the real owners of the treasure. The consequent unsettled state of our quarters, where two confused ideas prevailed, whether the arming inhabitants were likely to be the first in the next attack, or be prevented by a call to defend themselves, obliged us to look to our own prowess for protection; and accordingly we resolved to start early the following morning without farther thought of an extra guard.

Meanwhile, I made acquaintance with an old Armenian practiser of surgery and physic, who lived next door to the post-hovel that was my menzil. As a brother-Christian, he first paid me his respects, and then sent me, at several times during the evening, little presents of dried fruit, cheese, &c. I knew no way of making a return for this hospitable kindness, but by presenting him with an instrument of his profession. I had in my pocket the fellow-lancet to that which had raised so animated an emotion of joy nearly three years before, in the breast of a worthy Persian of the same faculty; and when I now put it into the hand of my good Armenian, his rapture was not less overpowering: could I have carried the whole of his little winter-store away with me, he would have bestowed all on me, in gratitude for what I had then given him. He said, that having once seen the advantage of such an instrument in the hand of a European, passing through this country, for fifteen years afterwards he had been enquiring for the same, of almost every traveller that came in his way; but being always disappointed, long before I appeared he had abandoned all hope of seeing it again. Therefore such a gift to him, at this moment, seemed like the work of enchantment. Indeed the good man's ecstasies were so on the alert, that I had my doubts whether he could go to rest without phlebotomising some of his neighbours, out of pure delight in shewing the future excellency of his practice. Here were two instances, and both by the same means, in which I found science open the heart of these otherwise uncultivated Asiatics, to disinterested rejoicing in attainments beneficial to their fellow-creatures; and the consequent reflections gave me no small pleasure, when I recollected how many of those Asiatics are now studying, not merely the sciences in Europe, but almost unconsciously imbib-

ing that higher tone of principles which can only be gained in Christendom.

November 11th. — When we paraded this morning in preparation for departure, I found my Tatars recurring to the old necessity for augmented numbers. Ahmed Aga openly declared his apprehension of being robbed; and Ismael Aga, having once suffered that calamity, was equally loath to have it repeated. The hazard of such an event, I doubt not, was sufficiently probable to make the strictest precaution necessary; but with such a couple of determined cowards under a military garb, it was never my ill luck to move before. The latter hero, it seems, while travelling the very ground we were now to traverse at this particularly dangerous juncture, had the misfortune to be attacked by two wandering mountaineers. He was completely armed, a great advantage over his wild assailants; but they managed to rob and strip him; and having tied him to a tree, beat him till tired of the sport of drubbing a Janissary. He was then left in this disgraceful plight, after sustaining the loss of five purses, three the property of the Pasha of Kars, two of his own, and with all his raiment besides, including his dagger and embossed pistols; nay, the villains even mounted themselves on his two post-horses. When the latter theft is fully committed, suspicion usually implicates the surragees or leaders of the baggage-horses; in all marauding wars, these itinerant men being generally regarded as neutrals, but either from fear, or a wish to play booty, they sometimes fall in with the Chappow, when they might have galloped off to safety with some of the laden cattle at least.

Sedak and myself stood quietly by, during the joint attempts of our two heroes to move the village and its dictator; but neither words nor piastres having more effect in the morning than at

night, a round refusal was given. It was, however, eleven o'clock before the Tatars could be so persuaded of the fruitlessness of their eloquence, as to see the necessity of marching by ourselves: but having taken courage to start, just as our last loaded beast was following their lagging steps out of the village, a little old hunch-backed man stepped forth, and offered his services to guide us through the mountains. He told us, he knew their paths well, and could lead us by ways far from the dangerous tracks we must pass, should we take the direct road. No hesitation was made in accepting the offer, and rallying our host, we commenced our career.* The course he took was winding, though on an average N. 30° W., and led through a variety of mountain-scenery; sometimes over fine pasture hills, and at others amongst naked projecting rocks, where I saw as fine specimens of iron ore, as any I found in the celebrated mines of Sweden. After journeying thus for two hours and a half, we descended into a valley so remote from common passage as to possess no road; but it was not barren of cultivation, and a few villages were scattered through it. A narrow stream, called the Lori-Sou, meanders amongst its gentle undulations, and after a course to the north-west falls into the river Sormaun or Sotma. We passed a small congregation of huts, to which our guide gave the name of Bushki, in the heart of the vale. The distance from Kara-Koulak was estimated at three hours and a half, and at about a mile farther we came to the village of Lori, which gives its title to both river and valley. We reached another village, after an hour's travel more northward, called Little Lori; but the whole vale not being more than five miles in width, we soon traversed it, and took to the mountains again. At the

* See Plate LXXXIII., and the Map.

moment of commencing our ascent, we were a little alarmed by a party of Turkish horsemen coming down upon us; but seeing our Tatars, they pulled up; else, I dare say, these gentry, like most of their adventurous brethren, would not have lost any favourable occasion for plunder. After much parley, we separated. Having proceeded some way, in approaching a narrow pass, Sedak observed the heads of several men peering over the rocks. I lost no time in pointing them out to the Tatars, who, drawing back, confessed they did not like their appearance. On this symptom, I desired Sedak to ask our little Esop, who was armed up to the teeth, to ride forward with him and myself, "to feel our way!" We did so, and the men, seeing us gallop towards them, disappeared amongst the higher parts of the ravine. Our guide, as well as ourselves, thought they had taken post there for no good purpose; and expressed his belief, that, had we not shewed something of a bold front, or that they supposed the horsemen in sight were part of our company, we might have had more difficulty in making them forsake their first station. In half an hour from Lori we passed a village called Orgi, whence we began another very arduous ascent, carrying us along the summits of an apparently endless chain of hills, most of which were partially clothed with juniper-trees and dwarf-oak. The direction of our path seemed extremely varied, but its main point was much to the northward. At four o'clock our descent commenced into a valley of similar cultivation with that of Lori; and after following its windings nearly due south, we halted just as the day closed, in a small village at the foot of a range of hills called the Alma-lee-Dagler; part of the same we had purposely avoided on account of their noted robbers. Considering the wild situation of the place, we got pretty tolerable lodging for the night, though

it is seldom a menzil for travellers. The name of the village is Bagdali, and a striking object stands about a stone's throw from it, in the shape of a high pointed hill, surmounted by a tomb. It is said to cover the remains of some illustrious personage called Jacob Abdallah. The village is estimated at six hours from Kara-Koulak.

November 12th. — Started this morning at seven o'clock, with the same horses, riding up the valley in a direction S. 70° W., and in an hour, cleared the gorge of the pass so much dreaded. From that point we galloped on to the rise of the opposite hills, where pulling up, our Tatars bade farewell to our trusty guide; and most heartily congratulated me and themselves on there being no more objects of fear, all the way to Constantinople.

On our left, we saw the village of Saddock, and near it a little river of the same name, which finds its way to the Sormaun, after having wound through the valley where our road lay, S. 70° W. At ten o'clock we opened into an extensive vale in high cultivation, whence the river turned off nearly west, while we continued our former course in a gallop. Having ridden about three miles at this pace, we passed as swiftly through the village of Chifflick, a respectable looking place, with the additional novelty of the houses boldly shewing themselves above ground! This circumstance alone imparted a life, and air of civilisation to the scene, I had been some little time a stranger to; besides, there were no works of defence about it, (nor, as we advanced, did I see any around other villages,) and that increased the freedom and cheerfulness of its appearance. Two miles further brought us to the post-house of Germelli, where we made a short halt, it being the best of eight in the same neighbourhood. For the greater part of the way we had certainly

gone at the rate of six miles an hour; the distance from Bagdali, our resting-place of the night before, being called five agatches, and we accomplished it in three hours and a half.

After a short repast of coffee and bread, we started from Germelli on fresh horses at twelve o'clock. The road lay still up the valley, which by degrees brought us into the most beautiful variety of sylvan scenery; sometimes we were riding through forests of fir and oak; and at others, ascending the equally overshadowed hills, which suddenly expanded again into richly cultivated spots. All this was rendered still more delightful, by the animation of constantly meeting buffalo-carts laden with timber, and caravans of merchandise, with travellers. At the end of twelve miles, a large tomb is seen on the left of the road. Our course now lay S. 30° W.; and at three o'clock we reached the pretty village of Shayran, distant from the last four agatches; we came in three hours, galloping almost the whole way. Here the Tatars dined; and fortunately finding no delay in getting horses, we started again at five o'clock. Our road continued through much the same forest regions as before; but with the beauty of shade, deepening into gloom as the shadows of evening drew on. About night-fall, we encountered a group of Persians on their return from England. They were the same whom Abbas Mirza had sent thither, some years ago, under the care of Colonel D'Arcy, to be instructed in various professions and mechanical works. Our interview could only be short, and they passed on. It was now perfectly dark; and soon after parting with the Anglo-Persians, we had the comfort to lose our way. From that hour till midnight, we continued wandering about in the piercing cold, turning into every direction but the right; when at last, wearied with our fruitless search amidst an endless

maze of trees, we got housed for a few hours within a wretched hovel, where we lighted a fire, and boiling a little coffee, made ourselves as comfortable as we could, till day should bring us light.

November 13th.—Sound sleep had soon beguiled me of the intermediate time, and at five this morning we left the friendly shed, to explore our way out of the forest, or rather, I should say, into the direct road. An hour's rambling brought us at length to our object, and we came forth at the point called Derbent, which is a small post of musketeers. Though now on the road, we were still surrounded by the forest, which, as we advanced N. 55° W., seemed interminable. For four hours more, we were riding through glades, thickets, and towering woods, with no tamer objects of romantic scenery to soften the landscape; but at the end of that time, we came upon the banks of a beautiful little stream called the Kara-Chai. The road lay along its margin for a considerable way, affording us much pleasure from the contrasts it presented to our late travel. Several mills were at work on the banks, and the peasantry busy about them, or employed on the green and richly cultivated slopes which stretched thence on each side to the skirts of the forest. The high chain of mountains rose on our right, which seems to barrier the Black Sea; the whole of that great line forming what is now called the Aggia-Daghler, but which, according to Strabo, were formerly known by the name of the Scydisses. The branch that marks the course of the Kara-Chai, is called that of Shub-Khanah Dagli.

We were now in ancient Cappadocia, and fast approaching a country rendered famous as the kingdom of Mithridates. At half-past eleven o'clock, we came to an immense ridge of hills,

running to the south of the above-mentioned chain, and which bears the name of Moussalim-Ovedan. A great traffic is carried on from these districts, in consequence of the quantities of alum produced from these heights; pitch also, is brought from the burning of trees in the forest, and sent, by the way of Trebizond, to Constantinople.

The descent from the Moussalim is very steep, and from the loose state of its earth, encumbered by large rolling stones, both disagreeable and dangerous. The road was also interrupted by pools of stagnant water, which forced us in many places to find a more circuitous path. What with the springs within, and the effects of thaw and rains on the surface during the early months of the year, the ground becomes so decomposed, that vast pieces of earth, some measuring many hundred yards, break away from the saturated mass beneath, and, like similar accidents on the hilly bogs of Ireland, slide down to the valley. When these frightful avalanches of earth and stones are on the move, sometimes the most fatal catastrophes occur to men and cattle. The name of the mountain is derived from a circumstance of this sort, which tradition records as having happened to a king of Trebizond, who marching along this pass during the marshy season, to invade the country westward, was suddenly buried with his whole army, by the fall of half the mountain.

The whole land from hence presented features of the grandest forms. Deep valleys, and stupendous insulated heights standing like single mountains, each one immense black rock broken into a thousand craggy steeps. Beyond these, rose others flanking the vale, pile above pile, and mingling their spiry tops with the hovering clouds. At their feet stretched a long winding valley of uncommon verdure, abundant in fine trees, and watered by

the copious stream of the impetuous Ovadmish-Chai. On one of the most conspicuous of the black insulated cliffs, we saw the fortress of Kara-Hissar. It overlooked the little town where we were to change our horses. In our approach, we crossed the river by a stone bridge of two arches supported with buttresses of the solid rock; and thence proceeded through fields and gardens, avenues of poplars, and groves of fruit-trees, the luxuriant autumnal tints of which rendered the gloomy tone of the circumjacent scenery more impressive. In our progress we gradually ascended the wide bosom of the vale, towards the north-west, where we passed the village of Tamzar, that being also the name of this sable chain of mountains; and in drawing nearer to Kara-Hissar, several well-built houses embellished the road. At half-past two o'clock we reached the town, it being called sixteen hours from Shayran, but I should say it does not exceed thirty-six miles.

The position of the fortress seems inaccessible, the rock on which it stands resembling that of the castle of Edinburgh, and nearly twice as high. It spreads entirely over the summit, but the most formidable number of its towers appear on the northern point. Beneath the western brow, and just on the slope of the rock where the declivity is less abrupt than on the other sides, the greatest part of the town is built. The houses are mostly of two stories, and stand in ranges one over the other. Two mosques, and one minaret, rise amongst them; the whole presenting a promise of internal comfort little likely to be verified within the walls. Four hundred families number their population; fifty of whom are Christian. The post-house was good, and the people civil; and I had the refreshment of a little wheaten pillau, not having eaten any thing but some small

portions of bread since the night we halted at Bagdali. We fortunately found horses ready for immediately proceeding; an advantage not to be postponed, for fear of being lost; and though starting again the same evening, by bringing us into night travelling, would deprive me of much singularly fine scenery, I could not deem it prudent to delay till morning, for that object alone; and therefore at half-past four o'clock we remounted, and left the Kara-Hissar, which name literally means the Black Castle.

Our direction was S. 45° W. on a gentle descent into a country of the wildest character; the whole consisting of endless ranges of dark stupendous mountains, hurled together in the most rugged forms of chaotic contrasts. But this august assemblage of nature's vastest materials expanded to even a terrible sublimity as we approached a higher region, where some tremendous convulsion of the earth seemed to have rent its mountain-piles with more than ordinary rage. Heights, and depths, and yawning darkness, affrighted the eye in our advance; though I thought it not improbable that the closing gloom of the evening, added to the natural blackness of the mountains, might, by confusing the outlines of objects and mingling shadows with reality, exaggerate the awful appearance before me. About an hour and a half brought us unto the plain of a very extensive valley, encircled by mountains; no mode of passing from it appearing, except through an immense chasm, apparently torn through the heart of one of them towards the south-west. In our approach, we passed a huge naked mass of rock standing in a towering pyramidal form to our left. It is called Damon-ga-ya, *the cloud-enveloped hill*, and the name will give some idea of its piercing altitude. Part of its base is washed by the main current of the great river

of the district, a branch of which, under the local name of the Ovadmish, waters the valley of Tamzar; but here it is called the Derimauny, or the Kalket-Chai; and, after a winding course through the vale of Kóyla-Hissar, during which it is augmented by many minor streams and takes the name of the Shawr-mawggi-Sou, it flows on west and north, till it pours into the Black Sea, under the new designation of the Kersawnboor, or Terma-Irmak; but of old, Thermodon, the great commercial river of Pontus. When we had quite gained the level ground near *the cloud-enveloped hill*, we forded this once celebrated stream at a point where its present current did not exceed forty feet in width; but its deep, stony bed, treble that compass, bore witness of an ampler flood at certain seasons. Not far off, I observed a bridge of several arches. From hence we speedily entered the ravine, the tortuous rocks of which, more closely confining the river, increased its depth and turbulence; and while listening to the rush and dashing of the water, we began to climb one of its craggy boundaries to the west, where all the difficulties of such a path, in such an hour, soon enveloped us. It was now become perfectly dark; hence, we could only imagine and feel our way; or now and then derive a transient guidance from a faint glimmering of the stars. We had no moon; and so weak a light, hardly gleaming on obscurity before it vanished again, seemed in fact rather to increase than lessen our perplexities; raising the stupendous objects we had to ascend, in precipitous piles to the clouds; and deepening the declivities we must attempt, into gulfs of terrific blackness. The silent stillness too, of all around, excepting the regular tread of our horses' feet up the stony way, and the distant rushing of the waters in the chasm below, gave a more awful impression to the pent roar-

ings of the latter; re-echoed as they were a hundred-fold, from the long abyss of beetling rocks under which they took their struggling course. In short, from what I could discern through the gloom, every step I rode made me the more repine at having been obliged to travel such scenery in the darkness of night; and often, I could not refrain from bursting out into exclamations of admiration and regret. Indeed I discerned enough to convince me, that what I had then lost of this branch of *mighty Taurus*, was by far the most magnificent and sublime country I could have seen during my whole eastern tour. Other circumstances besides those of sight certainly impressed this idea, and none more than the continued perils of our road; the narrow mountain-paths we pursued making me often shudder, lest one slip of the animal I rode should hurl us together into the tremendous gulfs below; a plunge of many hundred perpendicular feet. Here, I must confess, I felt my nerves vibrate, while I frequently exclaimed within myself, "How fearfully grand!" But I am sure of the fact, that we then ascended steeps, and passed along rocky ledges scarcely wide enough to admit a single horse, on the brinks of precipices so terrifically high, that, in broad day-light I should not have dared them even on foot. How our animals accomplished such paths, must ever be a wonder to me; and some too, with the heavy cases I had brought from Babylon, on their backs. Thus burthened, they scrambled over the most dangerous points, when it was so dark that nothing but some preternatural instinct seemed to guide them; and in the same way they moved with an unswerving pace along the narrowest ridges, with a wall of rock pressing one side, and the shelving path receding from their footsteps on the other. The baggage horses march in file; and what renders their progress

more extraordinary is, that they are all linked to each other by the tail and halter. I committed myself entirely to the little creature I rode, never once touching his bridle; being well aware such reliance was my only means of safety. The animal then feels confidence in himself, from finding his head perfectly free; the sensibility of which part, if improperly checked, always brings him to the ground. In this way we continued journeying the whole night; sometimes climbing the mountains as described, at others descending into the winding valleys, and pursuing our course along the edge of the river. Many deep and narrow glens opened their rocky channels into the vale, each bringing its tributary stream to this secluded wandering of the Thermodon.

November 14th.—About two o'clock this morning we quitted the banks of the river; but for a long time still heard it flowing to our left, while we began ascending the face of the last intervening mountain between us and our purposed halting-place. Its path equalled in dangers any we had yet passed, being a most frightful zig-zag, and reaching to so prodigious a height, that all the other towering piles we had lately scaled at such imminent peril, when day dawned appeared far beneath it. The progress and effect of the unfolding light over such a scene as this, is hardly to be described. It was indeed the chaser of shadows; and the terrifically dark and formless apparitions, sweeping across the lofty summits, successively flitted away amongst the black and vapoury gulfs towards the bottom of the mountains. In our march over the top of this last height, we passed the ruins of a fortress called that of Koyla-Hissar; and soon after commenced our descent into a narrow vale, but by a path even more nearly perpendicular than the zig-zag of our ascent. There was our menzil, in a village of the same name

with the old fortress; and gladly we dismounted at its little humble door at four o'clock. We had been eleven hours from Kara-Hissar; and that was exactly the distance estimated by the people of the country, but in English measurement I should call it thirty miles. For myself, I was so fatigued by the length of time we had sat on horseback, and under such additional anxieties of the night, that I felt too happy to throw myself down on a mat in one corner of the room in the post-house, to think of taking any other refreshment; so left Sedak and my Tatars to regale with pipes and coffee, while I enjoyed an almost instantaneous sleep. At six o'clock, however, the usual clarion of these places roused me. The Tatars and post-house people were quarrelling about our horses, none being to be hired for less than six piastres each; and even then they were not to be had immediately; this stage and the next having the singular privilege of taking them up from the different adjacent villages. Ahmed Aga was obliged to accede to their terms; and eleven being the number we wanted, the whole of the remainder of the day was passed amidst that dominion of dirt and confusion, a common Turkish post-house, vainly expecting every moment the arrival of our only means of escape. The motionless apathy with which the servants of the place attended to the urging of the Tatars to hasten such dilatory proceedings, was almost beyond patience to bear; and for the great turbaned head of the department himself, the very essence of proud ignorance, having got possession of the piastres, all the remonstrances and threats Ahmed Aga addressed to him, might as well have been talked to the air. He sat still, looking at both the vociferous Janissaries (for both attacked him) with the most undisturbed silent indifference; and the more they enforced the consequence of speed

to the Frangy they conducted, the more determinately obtuse seemed to be his faculties. In short, the sun rose and set for two days, before we saw any signs of the old cheat moving himself towards fulfilling his contract. Here was change to me; for had any Persian of a similar occupation presumed to treat a European traveller with the like dishonesty and insolence, the hospitable spirit of that country would have allowed a ready redress, even by the stick or whip of the offended party; but in these Turkish districts, a Frangy dare not wag a finger against an Osmanlee; and therefore, whatever his injury, must quietly submit.

With regard to the fare in the post-house, contenting myself with bread, eggs, and coffee, I did not regret detention on that score; but the Tatars were in a rage at such simple diet, and every time the meal appeared before them their wrath met it in volleys. All persons who halt at these places, under the rank of viziers, pashas, and serraskiers, whether they be masters or servants, squat down to the same board with the people of the hostel, from its proud keeper to the meanest trencher-cleaner, and mingle their fingers in the great general dish. This huge mess stands in the middle of the tray, on a low circular table usually laid out with as many pieces of bread as there are guests. The other ingredients of the breakfast are commonly thickened milk; with two plates of curdy goats' cheese, a little honey, and some grape-syrup. At mid-day, bread and dried or ripe fruit are given. At sun-set, a kind of soup, and a stew of mutton or goat's flesh, mixed with sweetened gravy and onions, and a pillau of wheat. The dishes are served in rotation, and placed in the middle of the tray; round which the eaters sit on their heels, ready with their fingers or spoons to dip into each re-

move. This is the general appearance of things at most post-houses; where a meal per day, for Tatars, travellers, and food for the horses, are ordered at a regulated price. But here, as in other places, I had seen how little these compacts are attended to; and hourly I heard the grumbling of my conductors, alike unavailing against their short commons and lengthened stay. The old tyrant of the scene, when he saw me occupied in writing during their obstreporous repast, shaking his head at me, solemnly observed, "that he knew the Frangies who came into the dominions of the Grand Seignior were all spies! Indeed, he had it from the best authority, that the king of Frangistan had told the Sultan, he was made acquainted with every city, mountain, and river in Turkey, and if he chose to come with his army, he knew the whole country better than his highness did, or all his people put together. But God is great! (added the wizard.) We have our swords and daggers, and care not what you know about us!"

Koyla-Hissar is supposed by D'Anville to have been the ancient Colonia. It is romantically situated at the extremity of an immense mountain-chasm; and its houses scattered about over the rocky sides in the most picturesque groups, mingling with the varied forms of thickly umbrageous trees. Thirty Mahomedan and five Armenian families compose its inhabitants. The mountain which bounds it to the east, as I have observed before, is nearly perpendicular. Its surface is of sandy rock, marked by a path, seemingly impracticable to even the wild goats; but there being no other means of descending from that point into the glen, by it we had been forced to find our way to this kindless menzil. I mentioned having passed the ruins of the castle called Koyla-Hissar, still standing on the summit of the

height; and since our descent I had ample leisure to view them from the base. They consist of several massy octagon and quadrangular towers; which, together with their adjoining walls, prove its former strength and consequence; and must have completely commanded this passage into the eastern country, otherwise the most accessible of any leading from the Persian frontier in this direction. This whole district is under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Trebizond. Another marine town, besides that long-celebrated port of the Black Sea, lies more to the westward on the same coast, and is called Samsoon. It is distant from our present halting-place five marches, the route being as follows:

From Koyla-Hissar to Armani, twelve hours.

From Armani to Nicksar, six hours.

From Nicksar to Harrack, six hours.

The river Kersawnboor (or Thermodon) is crossed in the road between these two latter places, by a fine bridge called that of the Unbelievers, or Kafri-kupri.

From Harrack to Laddick, is ten hours.

From Laddick to Kabback, ten hours.

From Kabback to Samsoon, eight hours.

It has been said by the ancients, that the country of the Amazons lay on this shore, comprising a vast tract called the plain of Themiscyra, between the rivers Kersawnboor or Thermodon, and the Yekil-Irmak, or Iris, which pour their waters into the gulf of Samsoon. The town of Samsoon is held in considerable respect. It contains many well-built houses, seven mosques, one Armenian church, and a population of 500 Mahomedan families, and 200 of Christians. The vicinity has long been noted for its silver and copper mines; two of which, lying between Samsoon and Kabback and near the river Saray-Gour-

Khan, are deemed of great antiquity, and called Malett and Jumbish. They have recently been opened anew. From the earliest times all these districts, to the very margin of the Euxine, have also been famous for workers in iron; and they bear the same reputation now, as when peopled by the Chalybians of Xenophon; not only manufacturing the material when imported from the Crimea, but digging it from the bowels of their own mountains. Besides, the gold and silver mines in the same region leave me no doubt of its being the country of Homer's and Strabo's Alybians.

November 16th.—This morning nine horses were mustered for our departure, but eleven having been the number required and paid for, in waiting for the remaining two the day wore so sadly away, I requested Ahmed Aga to do the best he could with those we had, and let us mount. Four were then burthened with the whole of the baggage, and the other five with ourselves. But when my conductor began the point of disbursing with his surly countryman, for those not produced, the answer he obtained was —"Go as ye are, or wait till the others be forthcoming!" Such an alternative being more likely to decrease than augment our stock, Ahmed Aga gave him a hearty *Tatar's blessing* as he threw himself into his saddle, and at the same moment we all mounted.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon before we turned our faces from the village, and began the western steep of the chasm, in a direction N. 40° W.; the immediate summit of which, having ascended, brought us into a succession of woody hills. As we advanced, the evening became exceedingly cold; and marching at a foot-pace, on account of the walking peasants who owned our horses, made us feel it the more severely. Night darkened around us; and after five hours' ride from the valley of Koyla-

Hissar, we found ourselves in the midst of a forest, the deeply black road of which brought us by degrees to a vast blazing pile, that had indeed been our inviting cynosure from a great distance. It was shadowed on one side by a party of travellers belonging to a caravan; but the fire they had then lit for a few hours' sojourn, was of size sufficient for a company of giants, being nothing less than the trunks of five or six felled trees, thrown on each other, and which being set in a blaze, flamed nearly their whole length. When we arrived we made a short halt in so comfortable a bivouac, and found no churlish welcome. It was a scene for the pencil of Salvator or Rembrandt. From this place the line of country became more obscure, from the numerous hilly undulations and their intermingling shadows; yet as we proceeded, notwithstanding the general darkness of the night, I frequently traced the glittering Thermodon on our left. Morning was pretty far advanced before we arrived at Iss-Cossar, the termination of this day's march; the distance from the last menzil being computed at fourteen hours, which I count to be thirty-six miles.

November 17th. — We remained at this really respectable village no longer than until eight o'clock this morning, when the fresh horses were brought to us. Our way from it lay north-west, over a hilly and partially cultivated country. Having gone four miles, we passed the village Armari to our left. The bold and rocky mountains we had so long been traversing, now softened into gentler forms, and almost totally clothed in woods, sloped into the rich valley of our path. After a ten miles' course through this fine country, abundant in springs, fertility and villages, we passed close to that of Alma, particularly distinguishable by me on account of its extraordinary resemblance to the

Cossack villages of the Don. The houses are all formed of the same material, and put together in the same way; but their aspects were a little different, from a necessary adaptation to a different climate. Here, they are all flat-roofed, and with each its respective colonnade or veranda. The building is raised on stone or wood foundations, pretty high from the surface of the ground, and the lower part, within, is the residence of the cattle; the raised single floor is reserved for the family. In another hour we passed the village of Bashi Chifflick, situated on a rapid stream, which flows southward into the greater river, now far from our sight. For six miles onward, our course lay through a forest tract of immense fir-trees, leading to one of our accustomed steep and winding descents; which conducted us over a stony and dangerous road, hanging on all sides with thickets of dwarf-oaks. Bad as the path was we followed our leader at a fast trot, but which career being now and then impeded by a fall of some of the baggage-horses, full an hour was consumed before we entered the hollow of the valley. By measurement, I am sure the descending sweep of this oak-covered part of the mountain would have added another six miles, to the same number we had just traversed under its fir-woods.

The scene we now entered is called the valley of Nicksar; and it presented a picture of rural prosperity and beauty perfectly Arcadian. Gently swelling ground, carpeted with verdure, groves, and sparkling rivulets; and wherever I turned my eyes, houses appeared amongst the foliage, and widely spreading vines hanging clustering on other fruit-trees. The variety of these latter, are hardly to be numbered; and the luxuriance of their growth is scarcely credible in our harsher climates. But the whole scene gave me an idea of some of the finest parts of

Switzerland; a remembrance which had never been awakened in me before, by any landscape of the East: and it may not be irrelevant to recollect here, that it was from Cerazunt, on this shore of the Euxine, that Lucullus transplanted cherry-trees into Italy; and thence, in little more than a century after, they first embellished the gardens of Great Britain. Besides its numerous rills, a beautiful full stream rolls through this loveliest valley of ancient Pontus. Two o'clock brought us to the town of Nicksar, supposed to have been once the important city of Nea-Cæsaria. Here the houses begin to change the Asiatic style of terraced roofs, for a sort of European tiling; but the solid, and extensively embattled walls and towers, with the citadel and other remains which crown the summit of a hill to the north, and overlook the present town, all proclaim its former consequence and splendour. On entering the post-house, I found it one of the best in the track; and saw, on every side, multitudes of dirty sluggards in the privileged colour of their prophet. At Kara-Hissar, I had first observed the degraded adoption of the *green* turban, the mark of the holy race, sitting upon some of the filthiest brows in sight; and now it was evident to me, that the nearer I approached the capital of the great Turkish empire, the more numerous were the tribe, the lower their rank, and the more debased their self-arrogant idleness. In Persia, the prophet's colour may be called the cloak of visionary indolence; here, it is the cap of liberty for every knavish imposition, or immoveable state of laziness. Nicksar is particularly noted for its knives, and other iron tools. Its distance from Iss-Cossar is called eight hours; we made it in six, and I should suppose over a stretch of twenty-four miles.

November 18th.—Left our menzil at eight o'clock this morn-

ing, crossing to the castelled side of the town over a bridge of a single arch, and not of very recent architecture. Our road then lay S. 20° W. through the valley, where, at the end of two miles we crossed a second bridge over the main river flowing northward, which there bears the name of the Shawr-Mawggi-sou, and into it falls the tributary stream of the Nisksar vale. We kept near to the left bank of the river for more than an hour, and then turned into a jungle glen, considerably more to the westward than any of our former courses. Thus shut up in thicket and shade, we gradually ascended for about six miles, when it opened into the expanding bosom of another richly cultivated valley. Here we halted, to breathe our horses for a few minutes, and then started in full gallop. All before and around us, as we proceeded, was field and garden, till, in about an hour (six miles), we came to the shore of a considerable river, flowing to the south-west. Its source, my companions told me, was not far distant in the mountains to the north-east; here it was called the Tokat-chai. Having joined it, we kept close to its luxuriant banks, and varied windings, on a particularly good road; while over the minor hills to the south-west, directly before us, rose the grey heights of the lofty chain of mountains, now called the Ildiz-daghler, but were the Paryadræ of the ancients. In journeying forward, we passed close to a prodigious mass of solid stone, or block of rock, standing to our right, having an excavation made in the face of it, shaped like a small door-way with an arched top. I could not get any further information respecting it, than that "it was the *big stone with the hole in it*, made, nobody knew when, by the unbelievers!"

By half past one o'clock we reached the city of Tokat, having just before forded its river. The distance we had travelled this

morning was estimated at nine hours, and I should call it about twenty-seven miles. This is a large and perfectly open town, built on the sloping skirts of two nearly insulated rocky hills, of craggy, broken and spiral forms; but which in fact belong to a chain of a similar romantic range. Houses, without number, appear crowding together at the bases of these twin minor mountains, and pressing on each other down their approximating sides, and into the intermediate valley. Mosques and minarets vary the more regular roofs of the other multitudinous buildings. The summits of the surmounting heights have a particularly shattered appearance, augmented by the ruined state of the ancient embattled walls and towers which crown their pinnacles, and embrace every bold projection. This cloud-crested fortress is supposed to have been the old Berissa, and Comana Pontica of Strabo. If I may judge of the population of the town at its feet by the apparent extent, it must be very numerous; but no one could, or would give me information on the subject; it not being improbable that the suspicion of my turbaned host of Koyla-Hissar extended hither. Tokat carries on a considerable trade in cups and other utensils of copper, its own manufacturing; there being mines in its immediate neighbourhood, and some of a very high reputation, about fifty hours distant. They lie twenty hours from the city of Too-az, which gives its name to the district of Tokat, and where their joint pasha resides. These celebrated mines produce copper, lead, and silver, and have fifty furnaces constantly at work; indeed, they principally furnish the latter metal for the mint of Constantinople.

I made a hasty sketch of the general appearance of Tokat, and its singular fortress rocks *; but I was obliged to use my

* See Plate LXXXVI.

View of Tokat.

pencil in a moment when totally unobserved, the jealousy with which a Frangy is regarded by the Turks increasing at every step towards the capital. At the north-eastern extremity of the city the river is crossed by a stone bridge of five arches; but a convenience never allowed to passengers except at seasons of thaw and violent rains, when the stream is unfordable. It was in this town our ever-memorable countryman, Henry Martyn closed his ministry on earth,—his pilgrimage of service to a distant people, who, because they were men, "he loved from afar as brothers," and dedicated the bloom of his life and faculties to recover from error. But his zeal was beyond the strength of a naturally delicate constitution; yet Providence supported him, till, his commission being performed in the gift of the Holy Scriptures to the nations of the East in their own languages, exhausted nature sunk under the apostolic labour, and in this place he was called to the rest of Heaven. He expired at Tokat, on the 16th of October 1812. His remains sleep in a grave as humble as his own meekness; but while that high pyramidal hill, marked with the mouldering ruins of heathen ages, points to the sky, every European traveller must see in it their honoured countryman's monument.

We left Tokat at four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day we entered it. Our way lay S. 70° W. and at the distance of two miles we recrossed the river; hence following the valley, rich in vineyards, gardens, and fields; I may use the latter term, for here those delightful cultivated little tracts, which give so much the idea of home comfort, were divided by regular hedgerows, in the same manner as in England. For full twenty miles we rode through this indeed "pleasant vale," keeping the Tokat-chai's bright waters to our left. It is remarkable for an

artificial hill of prodigious dimensions, at present called the Gour's Mount, but, with D'Anville, I should suppose it the celebrated Mount Stella, "given to fame," from having been the scene of Mithridates's total defeat by Pompey. Soon after passing it, we bent our course west-north-west, entering a deep chain of barren and stony hills, which led us again into a very close country, occasionally interrupted by higher detached rocky masses, starting up like mountain-giants in our way. At the foot of one of them stood our purposed menzil, the village of Turkul, reckoned nine hours from Tokat; we made it in six and a-half, the distance, I believe, twenty-seven miles. The place is large for a village, and was once the renowned city of Sebastapolis, built by Augustus Cæsar. On its commanding height still stand the ruins of its citadel. The river of Tokat flows through this narrow vale, but here takes the name of the village, being called the Turkul-chai. This localising mode of nomenclature is often the occasion of much confusion in tracing the main branches of rivers, and the stream under my hand, like most others in the East, has almost as many names as tracks of irrigation; its chief appellation, however, is the Yekil Irmak, the Iris of the ancients. It falls into the Black Sea not far east of the city of Samsoon.

November 19th. — Left our night's quarters this morning at six o'clock, keeping up the valley in the same direction as yesterday, and with the river on our left. At the end of six miles, we suddenly plunged N. 20° E., into a deep and narrow glen, gradually winding to the west for three hours, during which time our road was not only most abruptly uneven, but particularly toilsome, from having to break our way through closely interwoven thickets of low underwood, interspersed with huge impediments of rock besides. These difficulties mastered, we

reached one of the great keys of this country, a close mountain-pass called by the general name for such places in this part of Asia, Derbend. The one we now entered presents a very narrow passage, not more than a few feet across, between two perpendicular buttresses of the native rock, but evidently formed into such smooth altitude by the labour of man. A strong pair of gates might easily lock up the passage. A little cottage under the brow of its frowning cliffs, and a gallows before its very door, are now the citadel and dungeon-keep of the place. The former is garrisoned by two men, whose general occupation supplies travellers with coffee; and the latter, constituted of a couple of huge posts, with their transverse beam armed full of spikes and crooks, stands ready prepared for the instant reception of whatever thieves may be caught in its vicinity. This business is very summary; no trial being necessary, but the moment the culprit is seized he is hooked up by any convenient part of his person that first presents, and is there left to expire of want and his wounds. I enquired whether this horrible punishment often took place, and was answered—"Yes; seldom a year passing without two or three executions of the kind." I believe my entertainers have the honour of being the hangmen; the report they made carrying an air of great self-satisfaction. After marching through, I may call it, the portal of the glen, we gradually opened into a wider valley; and during our course, passed a khaun or caravansary, a style of building not very common in this part of the Turkish empire. It is estimated at half-way between Turkul and Amassia, our next halting-place. For a short time, from that point, we found a little cultured fertility; but that past, the road carried us again over a succession of hills covered with dwarf-oak woods. Two hours' travelling amongst them brought us to a second

Derbend, formed by a rent of only four feet wide in the natural mountain-wall of the rock, rising to a height of ninety feet at least. But for this mode of passage no egress would have been possible; and as it was, we found its zig-zag descent so completely dark, for a continuance of several hundred yards, from the immense depth and narrowness of the cut, that day-light appeared little more than a long grey line above our heads, and the chilling cold of the fissure made me feel rather aguish on emerging. From this defile we entered on the noble valley of Amassia, magnificent in the beauty of luxuriant gardens and groves embosoming the summer residences of the affluent of the city, and sublime from the stupendous scene on every side, of mountain and rock in all their vastest contours. From the darkened cliffs, out of which we had issued, a voluminous stream of water burst also, pouring along its declining path for some way with an echoing noise, till reaching the flat ground, it soon disappeared amongst the various irrigating channels for the nearest gardens. At a former period it had been conveyed to the city by an aqueduct cut in the winding face of the mountain, the remains of which are yet visible, nay, indeed, hardly impaired at all, for an extent of five miles at least. The people of the country attribute the work to a hero of the chissel similar to the Ferhaud of Shirene, and say it was executed by an enamoured artist to obtain the hand of a beautiful daughter of one of the kings of Amassia.

We reached the renowned capital of Cappadocia at two o'clock. The distance from our last post is estimated at twelve hours; I should call it twenty-seven miles.

The city stands in the narrowest part of the valley, and amid its boldest scenery; the immediate vicinity being wildly romantic, while all beyond was of the most tremendous character. Along

the bottom of the vale flows the Yekil-Irmak, the town spreads over both its banks, but most extensively to the north-east. On the opposite side rises a particularly magnificent pile of rock, on the nearly pyramidal summit of which lie the now mouldering towers of its ancient citadel, surmounting the caverned openings into the royal tombs, excavated in the almost inaccessible face of the hill. The place is celebrated as having been the birth-place of Strabo; and it was with an awful pleasure I seemed to tread in his steps, and compared the present appearances with his descriptions.

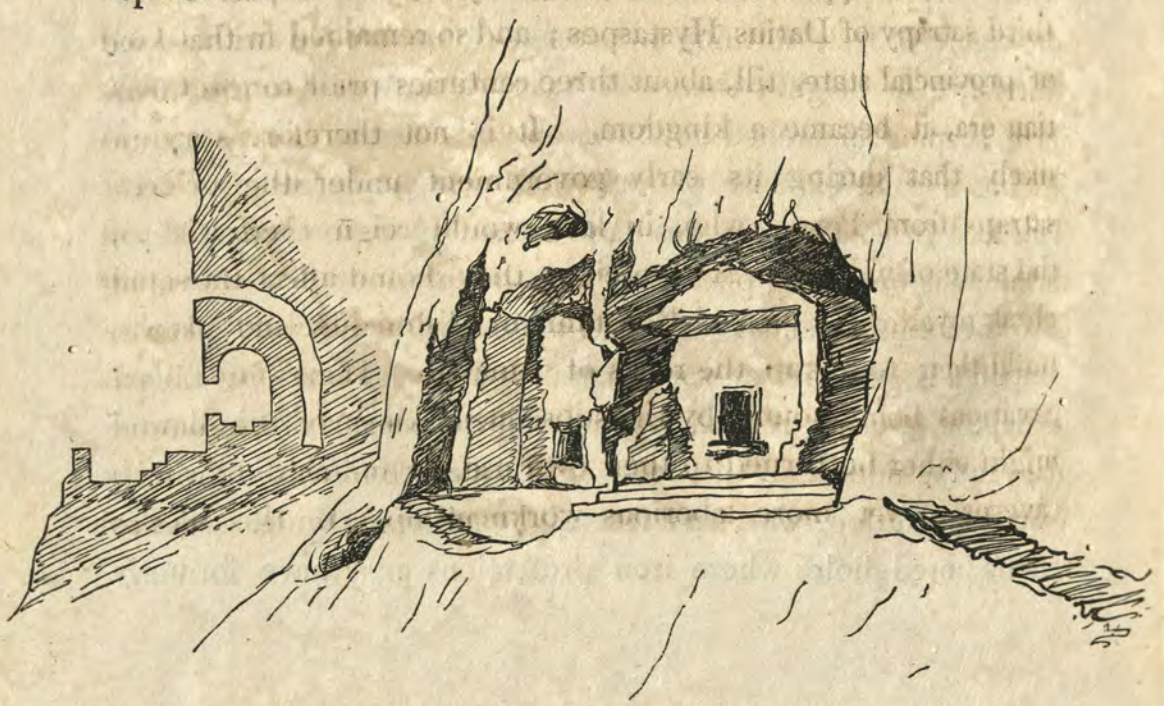
On entering the town, the first objects of interest are the ruins of a Christian church, a fine specimen of the same style in which I found the most beautiful remains of sacred architecture in Anni. Part of this superb ruin is now used as a mosque. Advancing, the streets were narrow, and so ill paved, our horses proceeded with difficulty. The houses are high, having projecting stories, so much in the manner of London before the great fire, that the attics on each side did not possess more than twelve inches between. The air, consequently, was confined, and the stench, from accumulated filth below, almost beyond bearing. Bad as the road was, under these suffocating pent-houses, we nevertheless got over the ground at a flying pace, lackeyed by the halloos of the surragees, to announce a Tatar's approach; my view, therefore, could only be transient; but my eyes clung to every object as we flew along, and on several of the old buildings I could discern Greek inscriptions, though to stop and copy them was totally out of the question. At length we reached our quarters, having ridden through part of the bazar, and from the gallery of the choppar-khanah, I had a full view of the fortress-rock and the mouths of the sepulchral

caverns, about half-way up its side. My impatience to visit them was almost as overbearing as our pace towards my point of view; and after a long, troublesome, and anxious discussion with the people about me, (for to apply to the authorities in the town would invite a positive prohibition,) I at last prevailed on a Saied, one of the holy race, through a stable satellite, to conduct me to the hill. Sedak was to be my companion, and one of the Tatars also in attendance; some sort of Osmanlee protection being necessary in this my rather adventurous enterprise. In our way we traversed several narrow stifling streets, which brought us to a bridge that crossed the river at a breadth of about 160 feet. The sides are parapeted, and also shew fragments of marble columns, one of which is delicately fluted; indeed, the whole structure of the building, its fine hewn stone, and classic architecture, give proof sufficient to me that it is one of the bridges mentioned by Strabo; and in that case it must be nearly nineteen centuries old. We passed under a gateway at its western extremity, which led directly on to the base of the fortress-hill; and immediately began ascending a steep paved road, occasionally interrupted by short flights of steps. Houses, and nuisances of various kinds tracked the narrow path on each side. I was gazed at most scrutinizingly as I passed; but, to my surprise, none of those people followed me, to explore my intentions nearer; hence we gained a higher and more open part of the Acropolis without hindrance. On that spot I found the old walls of the ancient superstructure almost reduced to their foundations; but I could clearly follow the line of the lower embattlements and towers of the fortress; also trace the groundwork of several other buildings, and amongst them, one resembling the baths, or hummums; but these latter seemed of

more recent times than the surrounding bulwarks. On this face of the mountain, the northern three of the excavated tombs present themselves; and two, likewise, are seen to the south.

Leaving my half sleeping Jannissary, to smoke under the shelter of one of the mouldering walls, we bent our way to the ruins on our left; and after scaling the steep twenty or thirty paces higher up, passed through a passage hollowed into the solid rock to the length of six or eight yards. Its entrance bore the marks of some former grated defence, holes remaining in the sides, and above and below, where the bars must have been introduced. We issued to the light from this dark avenue, upon a long ledge of the rock, about six feet in width, and hewn out of the side of the cliff, up which it led like a kind of ladder. The side next the precipice was guarded by a low parapet, left a few feet high in excavating the path-way between it and the mountain side; and where the ascent was more than commonly steep, a short flight of steps rendered it more accessible. About twenty yards thus ascending, brought us to the first sepulchral excavation, which presented the rock hewn inward to the depth of seventeen or eighteen feet, forming a passage four feet in width and thirty-five in height; thence it takes a flattened semicircular form, shaping an arched hollow twenty-five feet in compass, and leaving a solid expanse of rock with free access all round it. The face of this cavern was approached by several low steps, terminating on a long platform; and the interior again excavated into the form of a small vaulted chamber, with sufficient space to contain a large coffin or sarcophagus: that such may have been its deposit, appears from the appropriate dimensions of a hollowed place in the middle of the floor. The entrance to this is through a flat-topped door-way, five feet high and three wide. It also retains bored holes where iron protections may have formerly

been inserted. I sought in vain for inscriptions of any kind. Quitting this first track, about twenty yards farther on the rocky ledge, we entered a second in no way different from the one just described. We next visited those more to the north; and found them rather lower down in the mountain than those on the southern brow. Their ancient mode of approach seems to have been by a broad and magnificent flight of steps; and, on the whole, that range appears of most superb design; but the tomb to the extreme right is the only one that has a pediment; its portal is hewn with superior care, and remains less injured than we found the others. Its interior also is by much the most spacious; but the faces of all the tombs are so lamentably mutilated, it is impossible to conjecture even the style of their ornaments. However, some way down on the declivity of the hill, several fragments of stone, similar to that of the rock, are to be found, carved like parts of friezes and architraves; and it is not improbable that they may have assisted in forming into temple-like porticos, the fronts of these ancient sepulchres.



One of the rocky promontories, yet higher upon the same side of the river with the fortress, contains two more tombs, but dug lower in the altitude of the mountain than those we last examined in the fortress rock. One is considerably nearer the plain, and on the sides of its entrance evident traces of architectural decorations remain. Two more appear low in the mountain slope just above the city, on the opposite side of the river to that of the fortress-hill, from the commanding brow of which I was enabled to make these more distant observations. Nine completed the number that I saw, near and from afar; the time of their construction can only be guessed at, by the comparison of facts; but their whole plan proves their origin far before the era of Christianity, when so many of its persecuted disciples were forced to seek refuge in natural caves, or subterraneous asylums of very different forms. I would rather derive them from a similar taste for the like mode of entombment which prevailed in the earliest ages of Persia.

Amassia was one of the oldest and most opulent cities of Pontus or Cappadocia. This country formed a part of the third satrapy of Darius Hystaspes; and so remained in that kind of provincial state, till, about three centuries prior to the Christian era, it became a kingdom. It is not therefore very unlikely that during its early government under the princely satraps from Persia, who, in fact, would reign there with all the state of independent sovereigns, they should affect the sepulchral royalties of Nakshi-Roustam, or Talmissus, and likewise build their tombs in the rocks of Amassia. These funeral excavations being found by the subsequent kings of the country, might either be turned to their own use, or imitated by similar caverns of yet more laborious workmanship. In this view, I

should suppose the simpler style of tomb, on the southern brow of the fortress-rock, the most ancient; and that the gorgeous princes of the time of Mithridates were architects of the more northern and adorned. But his remains were denied a place in these sepulchres; Pompey sending the royal corpse to a distant grave at Sinope, while he himself played the despot in this capital; dictating, from the very hill on which we stood, to all the sovereigns of the East.

On our return from the fortress, mobs of men and boys had collected at the bridge to meet our coming back, and we were surrounded instantly. No molestation was attempted, but endless questions addressed to the Saied and the Tatar respecting my object in visiting the hill; and no assurances being able to persuade them that I had no other design than to look into the empty holes in its sides, they continued questioning, and with something of a less quiet demeanor, all the way to the post-house. There the crowd dispersed a little; but Ahmed Aga beginning to apprehend that something very disagreeably serious might ensue from having gratified my curiosity, hastened our horses; and the instant they were ready, we mounted, and set off.

It was four o'clock when we had again thrided the narrow streets at a pretty quick pace, and took our course along the edge of the river, completely overshadowed by its thickly pressing houses. In this track, we passed the outer wall of a fine mosque, dedicated to Sultan Bayazed, and soon after crossed the Yekil-Irmak over a fine bridge of seven arches. The water beneath seemed very turbid and foul, and yet is used for all domestic purposes. But the banks being steep at various points, the inhabitants are obliged to raise it for use into wooden aqueducts by means of large wheels charged with leathern

Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark Sc.

View of Amaſsia.

buckets on their outer circles. The flow of the river keeps them in constant action; and, as they move round, the regular progress throws the water they have taken up into the wooden channel placed properly to receive it. Had I been resident in Amassia, the state of the water would have made me regret the neglected situation of the pure flood from the Derbend, which once reached the city through its long mountain-channel.

In our exit from the town, a travelling merchant asked leave to join our party; and from him I learnt, through the enquiries of Sedak, that the houses amounted to 6000 at least; and in calculating four inhabitants to each house, we have an amount of 24,000, which, I should suspect, exceeds the real population by one-third. Amassia has a manufactory of silk, which rivals that of every other place in the East, and is therefore its greatest object of commerce. Our course lay N. 55° W., continuing down the valley, during which time I halted for a few minutes to take a sketch of the city and its adjacent rocks. * The vale, indeed, was a very smiling scene around us, producing great quantities of corn, which, with the harvests of other fruitful tracks more to the south, most profitably to themselves, supply the neighbouring less abundant districts.

After about half an hour's sharp riding we began ascending a mountain, so rugged and steep, that we did not master its sides and summit under three hours' hard toil. The opposite descent brought us down to a plain, where we crossed a small bridge over the then little river Sooja-toon-chai, but when it becomes an augmented stream, it ultimately falls into the Kizzil Irmak, the noted Halys of the ancients. By this time, night was drawing very heavily around; and, from the absence of the

* See Plate LXXXVII.

moon, it soon became so dark we could not see any object half a dozen yards in our front; however, happily both leaders and horses were too well accustomed to the road, to lose it under any circumstances, and Sedak and myself, thus following securely through the blackness before us, after a most dreary ride arrived at Massiwan, our purposed menzil, between ten and eleven o'clock. It is called nine hours from Amassia, but, from our mode of travelling, I should count it twenty-seven miles.

Massiwan is a large village, or rather small town, consisting of about 2000 families. It is supposed to occupy part of the ground once appropriated to the city of Theodopolis, which had been built on the site of the more ancient Euchaites. Here I found a disagreeable change in the usual style of our halting-place. In general it was at a choppar-khanah, or post-house, where I had some chance of obtaining a separate apartment; but here, our menzil was what the Tatars called a coffee-house; namely, one large room, the first sight and smell of which were more disgusting than words can paint. All its sides were furnished with broad estrades a little elevated from the floor, leaving an incommodious passage from the door, up the center of the room, to the fire-place, which consisted of a rather spacious hearth raised to nearly a level with the platform-benches, and covered with all the never-cleaned utensils for making and drinking coffee. On the benches, or rather estrades just described, are spread old mats, surmounted again by mattrasses and cushions, once of gay colours, but now entirely lost in the accumulated shade of smoke, dust, and other contaminating properties communicated by the various passengers who have sought repose upon them.

Of all styes, certainly a human stye is the most loathesome; and in justice it ought to be so, human beings alone, having it in their power to render their abodes otherwise. That dirt, how-

ever, seems the invariable companion of ignorance, has been an old remark of experience; and while travelling through various countries I have had no reason to disprove it, yet in none did I ever witness any thing so bad as one of these coffee-rooms. My usual plan, which I recommend to all others going the same road, was to find some corner on the estrade barren of mattrass or matting; or, if all were fully complemented in that way, to dislodge my selected birth of its generally too lively load, and after due sweeping, furnish the cleansed floor with my own carpet and nummud. By this means, I happily escaped any more intimate acquaintance with the animated part of the dust of its ground.

November 20th.—At the dawning of morning I found our present menzil was on a vast plain, bounded on every side by mountains; and at eight o'clock we were in our saddles, taking a course across it N. 75° W. At the expiration of three hours, we passed the large village of Hadji, noted in this country for its manufactory of stirrups. As we continued to advance, the mountains gradually seemed to approach each other, till, on turning a few degrees more to the north, we found ourselves enclosed in a gigantic pass, called the Daraki-derbend. While penetrating this romantic defile, its details reminded me of the beautiful scenes in Derbyshire, particularly those of Dove-dale, but on a more magnified scale. We slowly descended into the bosom of this rock-immured vale, by a path so steep as to be hewn at many points into steps. The passage was darkened frequently by projecting cliffs, and sometimes more perilously by large masses of detached rock, only prevented falling on our heads by the trunks of strong trees placed as their supports. Some mischievous persons having attempted to cut through

several of these wooden pillars, sufficient of their purpose had been effected, to render the prop insecure, yet the indolence of those who ought to attend to the pass, has taken no pains to replace them with others. The glen finally opened into a rich valley, clothed with fine wood, vineyards, and considerable husbandry; over which we continued our usual direction for three hours, bringing us to our next halting-place. It was then five o'clock, and we had ridden about thirty-six miles; but the distance is computed at nine hours. This town, now bearing the name Osmanjek, is supposed by D'Anville to have been the ancient Pimolis; and its situation and general appearance support the idea. The present town covers the south-western face of an enormous insulated height, standing in the midst of the valley; while its summit is crowned with the remains of an extensive fortress, very answerable to the description of Strabo, in writing of this part of Cappadocia. Several straggling dwellings are seen higher up the rock than the usual line of streets; they mingle picturesquely with the decaying towers, and are inhabited by the town's-people. The strip of road we passed along immediately previous to our entry, is the only separation between the base of the height and the edge of the river, now called Kizzil Irmak, from its thick and yellow waters; but formerly it bore the classic name of Hâlys, the well-known boundary that marked Paphlagonia to the east. It is crossed at this place by a noble stone bridge of fifteen arches, and in length upwards of 300 feet. Badjazet II. has the honour attributed to him of having been its founder, but I should think it the architecture of a much more ancient period. The whole appearance of the vale is very singular, being in parts perfectly champaign and abundantly cultivated, though near the town barren of trees,

and in parts interrupted by huge masses of steep black rock, standing apart, and rising abruptly from the plain, in nearly similar altitudes to that which sustains the town.

November 21st. — We started this morning at half-past six; and after crossing the bridge, kept along the left bank of the river in an average course nearly west, for about four hours; during which time, after a few miles ride from the town, all cultivation disappeared; and we proceeded, gradually losing the more open wilderness, till, at the end of the four hours, we entered a rocky ravine. At a quarter before ten o'clock we forded the Kizzel Irmak, and in the course of a few minutes repassed it again, the stream takes so extraordinary a bend. This was rather an inconvenience, from the rapidity of the current, which here pours along with such vehemence as to have nearly carried our animals off their legs; it was higher than their bellies. There is another, and more regular road from this, winding down the steep of a mountain just above our ravine; but Ahmed Aga preferred our present lower path, both on account of its being nearer, and at this season not so difficult as the other.

The river continued our companion to the right, and at eleven o'clock we reached the post of Hadji Humza, called a distance of eight hours; I find it about twenty-five miles. This village is situated on the slope of the mountains, prettily embosomed in trees; and possesses a little fortified division, sanctified by a slender and gilded minaret. The ruins of a bridge of only one arch, shew that the breadth of the Halys at this point, is not very formidable. Being speedily remounted at Hadji Humza, we proceeded up the valley till at the end of three miles both vale and river swept off suddenly to the north-east.

The main source of the Halys rises in the Ardgeh Daghler mountains; and after winding through a portion of ancient Phrygia and Galatia, discharges itself into the Black Sea about forty miles to the north-west of the Gulf of Samsoon. This river was once the boundary between the Lydian and Persian empires. Just where the Hadji Humza valley takes its bend, the village of Kargay appears; a considerable place, and abundant in rice plantations. Thence our road led up a fertile glen, in a course S. 60° W.; the tracts around being well-watered from the river Daly-dawraz, which, near to this spot, joins the Kizzil Irmak. We continued along its bank for an hour, then forded the stream through a very wide bed; and left it entirely on entering a very close dell, thickly overgrown with wood, which carried us, in a gradually ascending direction, rather to the northward of west. Two miles of this kind of road, finished in a more open country, and at the door of a little wooden house, where we took the refreshment of excellent coffee at two paras a cup, something equal to a farthing British. An hour's ride brought us again on the banks of the river, and into another part of the winding valley where we had left it before. This tract also, was dedicated to the culture of rice. The day was then closing, and it became quite dark before we arrived at Tosia, our place of rest. But while it was yet twilight we met a large body of Turks, who had been at Constantinople in quest of employment, and were now returning to their own homes in this part of the Grand Seignior's dominions. Many of them claimed kindred to the Prophet by their green turbans; and in passing us, some of these holy personages called to each other in loud contemptuous voices, a remark which was soon translated to me in these terms: "See what trouble yon Tatars shew in

serving those infidels! They would do better to cut their throats and be done with them!"

A Christian European might travel from the Persian Gulf to the Araxes, without hearing such an expression from any order of its natives. When they do act with hostility, it is not on account of difference in creeds, but from a spirit of plunder, equally active on a caravan of their own countrymen, as against a foreign traveller; and hence the merciless rage of fanaticism brings no exterminating principle, into their occasional attacks on road or mountain.

It was six o'clock in the evening, but absolutely dark night, when we arrived at Tosia. The distance is called nine hours, but my calculation makes it twenty-seven miles. Our menzil had now the honour of being in a city, but no marks of antiquity are in or near it. The situation is a cleft of the valley, and on the slope of two hills approaching each other in manner of what we call *combs* in England. The city is built in this hollow and on its slopes, showing amongst its crowding houses the tops of six mosques, and as many towering minarets. The population is estimated at 5000. They carry on considerable manufactories of copper vessels, green leather, and a black stuff resembling camlet.

November 22d. — Started this morning between six and seven o'clock; our course lay S. 50° W. The river flows about four miles south of the city; but the whole intermediate country is separated into well cultivated fields of rice and other grain, appearing very European by their green hedge-rows mixed with fine-grown trees. As we advanced, the valley varied in width; and gradually losing its appearance of culture, presented in its stead a beautiful bloomy surface of short herbage, like that on

our English downs; which spreading also over the sides of the adjoining mountains, gave a rich pasture to thousands of goats, whose white and silvery coats are so well known in Europe under the name of the Angora. The town from which they take that appellation, lay about fifty miles to the south of the spot where we saw them feeding; but it does not entirely monopolise the manufacture of the shawl camlet which is made from their fleeces; all the villagers, where the animals are bred, taking their share in dressing, or weaving the hair. In travelling along, we passed the flourishing village of Kochezan, besides many others on the slopes of the valleys; also a large town called Kissa. The village of Kaja-Sir was to be our post, which we reached in six hours and a half, though it is called ten; the distance I should estimate at thirty miles. This place is situated on a small hill, and does not present any particular object of notice. We were in our saddles again at two o'clock, and journeyed for some time not far from the northern bank of the river. At about five miles onward from its southern shore, stands the town of Omerli. In less than an hour from that point we quitted the stream altogether; it was become very narrow, and my conductor told me, we were not then far from its source. At six o'clock we arrived at Cara Jorem, where we halted for four hours. This place is called seven hours from the last post, but I count it only twenty miles. It was very dark when we remounted at ten o'clock, yet our guides led on at so rapid a pace that we alighted at the village of Carajular by one the next morning. The computed distance four hours, the miles twelve.

November 23d. — Here we had the comfort of finding a clean coffee-house! But the cause of such good fortune lay only in the building being new; however, no horses being to be had till mid-

day, I took advantage of such fair quarters, and lay down to sleep. By the time morning had pretty far advanced, our party were all a-stir again; and I was standing out with the rest, enjoying the clear freshness of the air, when a band belonging to my old acquaintance, Abul Hassan Khan, (then Persian ambassador in London,) approached the village. The people were on their return from England to Teheran; and with them in charge, mounted on a sorry post-horse, was the celebrated *fair Circassian!* His Excellency had purchased her at Constantinople, in his way to the west; where, I understand, both in Paris and London, she was noticed by our European ladies with much kindness; but the style in which I saw her now, produced a sad contrast to what she must then have experienced. When the poor creature in approaching, discerned my Frangy appearance, in the gladness perhaps of a grateful recollection, she was riding forward to address me; but in a moment the rough fellow, who was her conductor, laid his whip over her shoulders, with so terrible an admonition besides, that closing both her lips and her veil, she travelled on with doubtless heavy recollections. To interfere in behalf of a woman so situated, would cast a sort of contamination on her; and therefore have the effect of Don-Quixotic interruption of the boy's castigation from his master, — only redouble the stripes.

At three o'clock we obtained horses. Our course lay S. 70° W. through an undulating country of a similar pasture-surface to that described before. Not a tree broke the perfectly smooth down. When we had ridden three miles, we passed the village of Sachah, which stood rather to our left; and at the end of nine more, we arrived at the pretty little town of Chirkiss, embosomed in a fine wood, and situated near a very ample stream, crossed by a stone-bridge. The inhabitants are reputed to be 3000, and

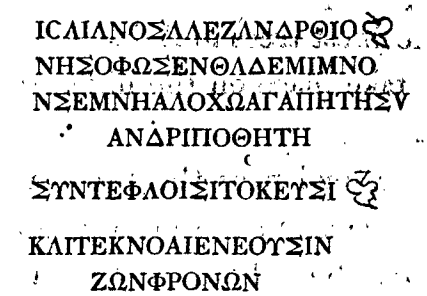
carry on a respectable trade in rock-salt, which they bring from mountains rather to the south. The honey and bread of these industrious people are also held in great celebrity, it being a custom with Tatars and travellers to stop and treat their surragées with a passing taste of these luxuries; accordingly we checked our horses, and were all regaled with the delicious viand, and plenty of coffee to boot. From this place the road continued excellent for eight miles; but about mid-way the river Chirkiss swept off to the south, and our route gradually did the same to the north; till at length we began a long and steep ascent over a rocky mountain, perfectly barren. By this time night had overtaken us, and we journeyed forward under the feeble light of a four days' moon. After attaining the extreme point of the mountain, our next achievement was to descend on the other side by a precipitous and intricate path; the difficulties of which might not have been terrible to one so used to the like, but for the dangerous darkness. Once down, we came into a woody valley, through which we heard the rapid course of a river called the Hummumloo. It rises to the south-east, in the mountains of Ala-Daghler; and after receiving the waters of the Chirkiss and the Garada in its way to the north-west, passes a village of the same name with itself, (near which we first heard it, and where it is crossed by a stone bridge of three arches,) and thence flows onward under the name of the Bartin-Sou, (being the ancient Parthenius,) into the Black Sea. This river bounded Paphlagonia to the west, and is said to have derived its name from the cheerful country through which it flows. Hummumloo, our place of halting, is called ten hours from Carajular, but I should measure the distance twenty-four miles. The village, or rather town, is in a miserable state of ruin, having been nearly destroyed a short time ago by a

rebel chief; but who paid the forfeit of his outrage, by the loss of his head.

November 24th. — We left our quarters this morning at seven o'clock, taking a direction S. 60° W., over a hilly road, sterile and bleak. At a distance of a couple of miles we passed the village of Pyandor; the river then bent south, but we continued our first course for fourteen miles farther, which we completed at a very fast rate, and stopped for coffee at one of the common vending places. From that point the road became more hilly, but varied occasionally with woods. We reached our post-house at Garidi in five hours; it is called seven from Hummumloo; the distance I should rate at twenty miles. The latter part of our road was nearly due west.

Garidi is a respectable little town; and, according to D'Anville, was the ancient Cratia or Flavianopolis. Here industry seems in great activity; large manufactories going on of copper utensils, and for tanning and staining a thick durable leather a dark red, similar to that we name Russian, in Europe. Great quantities are taken to Constantinople, to be made up into boots, and the enormous saddle-bags used by the Tatars. We were detained for horses until three o'clock, at which hour we mounted, and changed our line of march a little to the north of west. The country was grateful to the eye, being pasturage and woodlands, thickly sprinkled with flocks of the beautiful fleecy goat. In about an hour we came to a small rural vale, animated with several villages; and crossing it, saw a little lake called the Changgy Giuelly, quite in the middle of its plain. For about six miles, we kept this mass of waters in view to our right; and then entered a narrow valley. Twilight had now deepened into such a gloom that not more than the general outlines of objects were

visible, which I regretted the more, from occasionally observing several short columns not far from the road, appearing to me to be funeral monuments of the earlier ages. In this darkling way we got on about fifteen miles, when our Tatars halted at a coffee-hut, nearly opposite to one of the picturesque fountains which are so numerous in this part of the East. While they were drinking their favourite beverage, I was attracted to the water; and on observing the stones which composed the building, found them all similar short columns to those I had remarked on the road. They were shaped like the upper part of a pillar, with its capital. Having called to Ahmed Aga to bring me some blazing faggots, by their light I discovered several Greek inscriptions, only one of which I was enabled to copy.



I enquired whether these relics had been found at the spring, and was answered in the negative; they had been brought from a village not far distant, called Dainggainy, where the like stood in vast numbers. On riding an hour farther, we passed five more columnar tombs, standing close to the road; there, in the manner of its western conquerors, marking the cold repose of their long-forgotten dead. In another hour we were wrested from these meditations, by entering the extensive vale of Boli, where a scene presented itself of the most terrible sublimity; the forests

of the mountains on fire in several large tracts once. All the surrounding horizon was perfectly black, excepting at those points; and there the flames blazed up with the appearance of volcanic eruptions, which throwing a red light over objects to a vast distance, by these reflections increased the horror of the scene. The wind, besides, was roaring amongst the adjoining woods with a noise like the sea in a storm; and to its devastating fury might be ascribed the mischief I saw before me. Travellers, or wood-cutters, having lit some of the felled trees for their temporary bivouac, a sudden rising of the wind spread the flames to the adjacent branches; and the tremendous effect took place at which I gazed with so appalling an admiration. Neglect too, in not extinguishing those night-fires when the party leaves them, is often a cause of these conflagrations; and perhaps I then saw burning in cruel waste, some hundreds of the finest trees in Asia. Similar disasters, from similar carelessness, take place on the high grassy steppes to the north of the Euxine.

At various places on, and near the present road, long tracts of a Roman causeway remain; indeed vestiges of the same are very apparent almost the whole way from Amassia, shewing tracts paved with large stones laid with great exactness, and on an elevation considerably above the common ground. Soon after gaining more level country, we crossed the Boli-chai, anciently called the Bilis. It flows at a short distance south of the town of Boli, and thence takes a north-eastern winding amongst the hills, till it joins the Parthenius or Bartin-sou. We reached our menzil between ten and eleven o'clock at night; the distance called twelve hours from Garidi, but I deem it thirty-six miles.

Boli occupies the site of Hadrianopolis; but Turkish jealousy

of my object would not allow me to explore its relics farther, than what I could see in a passing glance. Thus looking about, I perceived, in many places, fragments of finely wrought marble, which must have composed mouldings and other classic ornaments. I also discerned numerous specimens of the demi-column mentioned before, rising amidst the Mahomedan tombs in the city burying-grounds. The population of the town, according to the report given me, amounts to 5000 persons, 3000 of whom are Greeks and Armenians. A few miles to the southward a mineral spring rises, which is in high repute with the Turks for its medicinal properties.

November 25th. — On issuing from our quarters this morning, the rising sun unfolded to us one of the most extensive and richest valleys I had yet seen from Thermodon to Parthenius. Cultivation spread over its whole surface, and covered the slopes of every hill projecting from the base of the mountains; the summits and sides of which were clothed entirely with forest. I cannot better describe the vale to my countrymen, than by saying it presented in one view the mingled beauties of our Devon and Somersetshire. Having ridden about five miles through this delightful country, it brought us to the bank of a rapid stream flowing to the south-west, and thence we entered the region of forest. I had traversed many tracts bearing that name, in our way hither; but I had never seen such gigantic sylvan scenery as that into which we now immerged; such seeming impenetrable depths, extending over a chain of mountains that seemed interminable. Every kind of the finest trees were here, and of every age and growth, in thickets, or in glades; rising up into the most towering heights, and with stems of corresponding magnitude. From this bounteous treasury of nature,

doubtless the navies of Mithridates were built, which so long disputed the power of Rome on the Pontic sea; and from the same, the Grand Seignior now draws all his stores of timber and pitch for the construction of his fleets; which may be said to grow from age to age, in this dark world of exhaustless forest; while its underwood exhibits the fabled scene of Tasso's enchanted wood, evergreen laurel, myrtle and box, with a variety of other beautiful shrubs of a similar character, mingling their aromatic branches: and as the season had been uncommonly mild, I had the gratification of finding all in rich verdure, even to the foliage of the trees being not more than slightly tinged with the hues of autumn. Three hours at least were expended, before we got through the quarter of the forest which lay in our route; for besides the length of way, we found the path in many places nearly covered in by the quick shoots of the undergrowth; but the paved road continuing with us, was an unerring guide. On leaving the woodland, we came out on a fine level country, of which our horses, taking prompt advantage, galloped on to Doozchee, the place of regular halt. They reached it, after a journey altogether of six hours (commonly called twelve), without any apparent fatigue. The distance, I suppose, twenty-four miles. I had some leisure, while my Tatars were regaling themselves, to look about me; the village being at present too poor a place to care much about the observation of a stranger, one way or other. That it has not always been so, is evident, from numerous fragments of fine marble, some plain, but others bearing traces of the beautiful chissel of Greece or Rome: and just before the door of the post-house, a particularly striking specimen appears in the form of its well. On examining it, I found a circular mass of white marble, most probably the base of some immense column,

or pedestal, but here hollowed within for the purpose of surrounding the mouth of the well. Its outside bears traces of having been sculptured into festoons of entwining ivy, united with knots of ribband, and held by winged boys. The water raised through this marble cylinder is thrown into a large sarcophagus of the same material, but which is totally without ornament. Besides these memorials of the classic past, I saw numbers of the funeral columns, but all without inscriptions, amongst the tombs of the "rude forefathers" of the present occupiers of this little spot of ancient Bithynia.

At half-past three o'clock we mounted fresh horses and set forth, taking a course westward over the remainder of the plain we had half crossed in the morning; it seemed well tilled, and apparently very productive. Having ridden eight miles, we forded the river Mandaris, and almost immediately after re-entered the wooded hills. Here another scene of forest grandeur awaited us. From the time of our quitting Doozchee the clouds had been gathering before us in heavy black masses, from which rapid flashes of lightning occasionally burst forth; but by the time we got fairly into the woods, night was then become perfectly dark, and a motionless stillness rested on every object. To see or even feel our way in this black solitude seemed impossible, yet we were cautiously proceeding, when, in one moment of time, the thunder began to roll, and the rain to pour down in torrents. Our horses instinctively halted for shelter under some branching elms in one of the glades, through which we happened then to be passing; but they had hardly taken their station, before we were dislodged again, by a sudden zig-zag shoot of lightning that struck some trees not far from us. We had seen them erect in the flash, but their fall we only heard; so sudden was the

blazing stroke, so profoundly dark the instantaneous change; and so horrible was the crash, and the clap of thunder that accompanied it, both men and horses took fright, setting off they knew not whither; though not without the sad entanglement of the poor animals who carried the baggage, and a few falls of our own beasts over the uneven and saturated ground. How we arrived, it is not easy to describe, but at ten o'clock we entered our menzil at Kandag, drenched to the skin. The distance from Doozchee is called eleven hours, but I should calculate it twenty-five miles.

November 26th. — This appears a large and flourishing village; at least as far as I could judge in the brief time from our entrance to our exit, for at four o'clock this morning we started again; still riding for some hours in the dark, and feeling our way through woods, or occasionally crossing narrow tracts of plain. At the termination of twenty miles we came to the banks of the river. Saccaria, the ancient Sangarius, where we halted at a lone house, to see if we could obtain a few eggs and some bread. From thence we immediately crossed the stream by a wooden bridge, so insecure as to threaten a fracture somewhere at every step; but its fragile structure may be supposed, since it is obliged to be annually re-erected after the mountain floods. The Saccaria takes its rise far to the south-east, and after many windings arrives at the point of this bridge, whence it pours on to the north-east, having been augmented by a stream from the Lake of Sabanja, till taking a bend rather to the north-west, it flows into the Black Sea not far from the promontory of Karbeh, the ancient Calpe. The whole undulating sweep of this coast of the Euxine, from the gulf of Samsoon, is full of objects of interest; Heraclea now Ereckli, Sinope, &c.

Having crossed the river, we rode along its banks for six miles, at which point we took a course N. 60° W., leaving the Saccaria to our left. Our road lay over a fine down-like plain, which brought us in about an hour to the south-eastern shore of the Lake Sabanja. The quarter we approached was romantically varied by high projecting cliffs and trees; sometimes the bold rock shot forward without any covering; at others, beautiful groves crowned its summit, or spread themselves down the cliffs, till their roots could no longer derive nourishment from the sand or shingles. The lake is completely circled by mountains, some of which, and those to the north particularly, exhibit the most sterile and rugged crags, starting up from the very verge of the water. It is said to be three hours and a-half in length, that is, ten miles; and in width two. We rode along its southern margin for six miles, enjoying the most lovely scenery in a very fine morning, till we approached the picturesque little town of Sabanja, close to its banks. We had descried it at a short distance, by a particularly elegant minaret rising from amidst the luxuriant wood which shaded the houses from our immediate view. At half-past ten we halted at our menzil; the distance is called eleven hours from Kandag; the miles, I should say, are thirty. Here are numerous broken marble remains, from ancient dwellings or temples. Some are built into the walls of modern houses; and while the people were reloading our horses, I copied two Greek inscriptions, from marble fragments close to the post-house.

ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΣ
ΔΟΙΔΑΣΟΥ
Ζ ΗΣ ΕΓΗ
ΜΗ
ΧΑΙΡΕΙΕ

. . . . . ΗΣ
ΑΡΙ . . ΛΛΑΜΕΤΕΔΟΥ
ΙΙΔΙΩΝΟΛΒΩΝΚΗΣΑ
ΜΕΝΟΣΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ
ΦΥΛΑΡΧΗΣΑΣΦΥΛΗ
ΙΟ . . Γ . . ΔΟΝΙΑΔΟ

At eleven o'clock we left our umbrageous menzil, and with it the shores of the lake, our course then lying N. 70° W. In our travel forward we were accompanied by so many rural objects of husbandry and horticulture, that I stop here to notice again the form of the Asiatic cart, and the gradual changes it underwent in its progress westward. I have remarked its unwieldy construction, where used in the vale country on the frontiers of Persia: from thence it gradually assumes a more manageable form; but first it takes a lighter fabric only, wearing still the clumsy shape and solid wheels seen in the plain of Salmos. When we reached Tosia, that part of the vehicle was rendered less cumbersome by hollowing the wheel, and attaching it by a rude kind of spoke. Travelling farther, we found two more wheels added; and by the time we reached Boli, we saw the strong, yet light, regularly built waggon. In our way thence we overtook trains of the most powerful of these machines; they belonged to government, and were transporting large timber trees, many so weighty as to require a draught of sixteen buffaloes. From our late menzil we saw the lighter sort of waggons proceed, laden with apples, onions, and other vegetables for the Ottoman capital. Indeed we afterwards overtook others on the same route, in trains of ten, twenty, and thirty. The front feet of the buffaloes are shod with iron, with the shoe made in two parts to fit the exact shape of the foot; the animal is thrown down on its side while this necessary defence is fixed to his hoof.

The style of country we passed over, after leaving the lake, was a noble plain, rich in the highest cultivation, with the forest mountains standing to our left at a distance of nearly two miles. While drawing near the town of Is Nikmid, ancient Nicomedia, where we purposed closing our day's march, the view it presented

was eminently striking. Its extent appeared to cover the united undulations of a double-bosomed hill, gradually sloping down to the shores of the Nicomedian Gulf; while its lofty multiplicity of houses, rising range above range, together with its numerous mosques and towering minarets, tinged by the golden rays of a most brilliant descending sun, seemed fair notice we were approaching one of the most majestic cities of the East. We arrived at four o'clock. The distance from our last post being six hours, that is, about 18 miles. Our Tatars led the way into a respectable-looking coffee-house, the painted decorations on its walls showing our near neighbourhood to Constantinople. We were soon regaled with a feast of fine fish, a kind of mackarel, that abounds at this season in these seas. It resembles a good trout in size, and for flavour exceeds any fish of its sort on our shores. Grapes, and apples, and other fruit, were set before us in abundance. Indeed, the former are in such plenty the natives distil from them a white spirit, not unlike in taste to the vadky of the Russians, or the arrack of the Azerbijan Armenians. It was far from unpleasant, and neither my Tatars, nor the rest of our party were backward in pouring its libations after a most welcome dinner.

The name, Is Nikmid, or Izmitt, is a corruption of Nicomedia; the city having been so called from its founder, Nicomedes the son of Prussias, one of the early Bithynian monarchs. Its noble situation made it a favourite residence of subsequent princes, whether native or conquerors; several of the Roman emperors having honoured it with their sojourn, and particularly Dioclesian, who, desirous that it should rival even Rome in splendour, adorned it with temples, palaces, and theatres. It cannot be doubted that foundations, at least, of such magnificent

erections might yet be traced, would the Turkish authorities in the town allow of the search; though the loftier ruins of them all, have long ago been swept away by violence, the mouldering of time, and the convulsions of nature. The present population is computed at about 25,000, including Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Its commerce consists chiefly in corn, wool, silk, and cotton, which the merchants have the advantage of exporting from their own doors, the city standing at the head of a gulf opening into the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora. The numerous beautiful little bays which encircle this "fairest sea of the East," are not more embellishing to the coast than convenient for the home traffic of its inhabitants, almost all being studded with small marine towns, and often the remains of others more august and ancient. Not far from the double hill of Nicomedia, the relics of Astacus may be traced, which, according to Strabo, had given the name of Astacenus to the gulf. It runs inland between two peninsulas; that to the north being bounded by the Euxine and the Bosphorus, and the other to the south, by the Propontis and bay of Mondania. The latter shoot of land forms part of modern Anatolia, and being very mountainous, presents a magnificent contrast to the softer undulating hills of the opposite tract.

November 25th. — We left Is Nikmid at four o'clock this morning, holding our march along the northern peninsula, and near the winding shore of the Nicomedian gulf to our left. As morning broke, and the sun rose, the scene glowed and sparkled with beauty; a rich empurpled blush covering the nearer objects, while his bright rays, darting across the waves, lit the mountain-tops to so vast a distance westward, that I believed I even could discern the towering head of Kass-dagh, or Mount Ida. Our road

sometimes led so close to the rolling-in of the sea, we were covered with its spray; a salute rather animating than disagreeable, from an element no Englishman can recognise after a long absence, without feeling he is touching home. This face of the coast is occasionally marked by steep and bold rocks, or hills gently sweeping down to its beach, sometimes tinted with only a scanty verdure, but most often luxuriously clothed with shrubs of every leaf and hue, intermingled with fruit-trees, vineyards, and groves of cypress. At eight o'clock we reached a little village called Herikah, on the edge of the water; and not far off, we observed the ruins of a fortress on its nearest height. In a stable of the coffee-house where we halted, I found the wooden beams which supported the roof, resting on several white marble capitals; all were sadly mutilated, but sufficient remained to shew they had been of the bastard Corinthian order. From hence we began to ascend the higher ground on our right, and in a direction more to the north of west than any we had for some time taken. The complexion of the sky changed as we advanced, and also the aspect of the country; a few miles bringing us amongst barren hills, where the clouds, which had been collecting during the latter part of our march, opened on us in an incessant pour of rain. Through this thick veil of waters, we made our way to the town of Gaybaissa, estimated at nine hours from Is Nikmid; and, though then only one stage from Constantinople, I could not prevail on myself to go forward with the same obscurity between me, and all I might view in a clear atmosphere from this place to the ancient capital of the eastern Cæsars. Hence, as the weather seemed decidedly wet for the remainder of the day, I determined on staying where I was till the next morning; hoping by that time the rain would be all

fallen, and that seeing the glories of Istambool, as it is called by the Turks, lit up by a brilliant sun, I should finish my travels in Asia as I had begun them, under his cheering rays. Gaybaissa marks the site of Lybissa, near which town Hannibal was buried; and though the present place holds a considerable consequence, I could find nobody who knew any thing about the illustrious remains which had once given it celebrity. In vain I inquired whether there were not some traditionary accounts of the grave of some *great unbeliever*, which might lead me to his tumulus, or the marble relics of his tomb; the second death of ignorance enveloped it entirely. I was shewn, indeed, three colossal sarcophagi, used as water-troughs, the largest of which was curiously marked on the sides with a figure resembling the cross-crosslet of heraldry. An extensive burying-ground lies to the southward of the town, which I traversed in every direction, but no trace of an antique funeral mound could be discovered.

November 26th. — The dawn of this morning answered my expectations of yesterday. We started at six o'clock, and when the sun rose, it was without a cloud. Our road lay along a part of the shore which could not boast any trees of its own; but beyond, that is, out into the gulf to the south-west, the view was rendered interesting by the islands which rose from its bosom, green, and variously studded with villages, old religious houses, or the ruins of ancient military works. These are at present styled the Princes Islands, but were formerly called those of Nisa and Demonessi. Amongst the mouldering edifices just named, were those of several nunneries dedicated to the princesses of the imperial family, who had preferred a life of holy seclusion to the splendours of a royal marriage. Having pro-

ceeded five miles, we passed the village of Gouzla, standing to our left on a promontory overhanging the sea. The termination of seven more brought us to Kandack, another little collection of marine habitations lying close to the water. Three additional miles led us through Kartal, whence I despatched a man to apprise Sir Robert Liston, our ambassador at Constantinople, of my arrival; and to request the consul-general to make some arrangement for immediately passing my baggage without inspection, into the English quarters. As we approached Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of the Ottoman capital, we found ourselves in the midst of its vast burying-ground; a sad region of mortality, spreading right and left, and before us, to an extent only bounded to the eye by far-stretching woods of cypress, overshadowing tombs without count, and graves of generation upon generation, from that of the child who was buried to-day, to the clay of the patriarch gathered to his fathers, centuries ago. The marble memorials over these dark chambers of the dead, rise even closer together than the thickly planted trees which form their gloomy canopies. This avenue to a capital which, notwithstanding its splendour, is considered the very city of the plague, was not calculated to inspire a European traveller with the most comfortable anticipations, particularly when every report he met, gave notice that the sometimes slumbering malady was then raging with more than customary fury; indeed, the number of green graves we passed, as well as hundreds of others gaping to receive their melancholy deposits, too truly proclaimed the direful mortality into which we were marching. Nearer to Scutari, the lines of the cemetery were here and there interrupted by masons' yards, displaying tomb-stones of every size, shape, and decoration; and in multitudes answerable to the demand

likely to be made in perpetuating the memories of the higher ranks. Workmen were busily employed in their respective manufactures. Some of them are richly carved and gilt, or painted with various colours. Each grave possesses two, one at the head, and the other at the foot; the first, a square shaft, usually rising to about four feet, surmounted by a turban, the form and varied tints of which announce the degree or employment of the deceased. A tablet beneath contains an appropriate inscription, and generally from the koran. A long slab covers the body, presenting the extraordinary appearance of being perforated with holes, through which the most beautiful and fragrant flowers blow, and scatter their leaves on the stone beneath.

The suburb of Scutari is of great extent, stretching an immense way along the shore of the Bosphorus, and immediately opposite to Pera, it occupies the site of Chrysopolis. Near the western opening, we find a village called Kadi-Kiuy, marking the situation of ancient Chalcedon. We reached Scutari at one o'clock, plunging at once into its narrow, crowded, and plague-infested streets, which gradually brought us to the water's edge; there a refreshing breeze bade us welcome; and the capital of the Constantines rose indeed before us, spreading over the opposite range of hills with an amplitude of grandeur, hardly to be described. We soon procured a boat to waft us over; and at a short distance from the shore passed a high rock, surmounted by a tower, called that of Leander. We rowed direct to the custom-house, but thanks to His Excellency, and Mr. Cartwright, our Consul-General, I had no occasion either to leave our little barque, or to send my baggage to the dangerous receptacle; and in two hours after entering Scutari, I found myself within the walls of the British palace. Sir Robert and

Lady Liston had been long expecting me. Till we met, I was personally unknown to them; but the warmth of their reception, and their unwearied kindnesses while under their roof, demand a gratitude words can never express. A man must travel far, have endured dangers, privations, inhospitalities, and indeed, known "the wants of a stranger," to understand emotions like these. But I should be wanting in common honesty of heart, could any idea of misapprehension by those who sit at home, naturally enjoying without thought the common interchange of mutual hospitalities, prevent me thus publicly acknowledging my obligations to the philanthropy of that able minister, and most amiable of men. The plague did indeed rage with so much inveteracy, that thousands had already fallen its victims; and so many hundreds were dying daily, I was detained his guest, not merely for days, but weeks; and hence the impressions of general gratefulness could not but be deepened into those of individual friendship.

With regard to the city, in the Pera suburb of which I was then penned up, its descriptions have been so numerous I do not attempt repeating the details, or adding to the stock, excepting where some particular remains of its ancient splendour chanced to present a new, or a comparatively little noticed object. Constantinople is in latitude 41° 1′, longitude 28° 53′ E.

From the succession of hills on which it rises, the general view is rendered most amazingly majestic and superb; while the swelling domes of the mosques, and their white slender minarets, singularly contrast and enliven the dark groups of cypress, that would seem to rival them in height, as they grow up promiscuously amongst the various buildings of the city. If the coup d'œil of the now Mahomedan metropolis be so striking from

these objects, what must it have been in the time of its emperors, when palaces, triumphal arches, columns, obelisks, theatres, temples, and churches, formed its unrivalled splendour! We know, that in order to complete the seat of the eastern empire, the conquered cities of Greece were robbed of their most beautiful specimens of art; so that the works of Phidias, Praxiteles, and all the celebrated sculptors of that classic country, as well as every other object that might render the capital more renowned, were transplanted to within its walls. Constantine, when fixing on the site of his new city, that it might rival Rome in all things, covered seven hills far beyond the bounds of ancient Byzantium, with the line of its intended limits.

While the plague continued its ravages, entering the city itself being out of the question, Mr. Elliot, a gentleman attached to the British embassy, was so obliging as to accompany me in a little excursion round its walls. Having descended the hill on which the suburb of Pera stands, and arrived at the mouth of the northern branch of the Bosphorus, that divides this tract from Constantinople, we got into one of the gaily gilded skiffs, (whose pointed forms are but the ancient galleys of Greece in miniature,) and desired to be rowed along the eastern face of the town. The day was beautiful, and every object partook its splendour. The Seraiel or Seraglio, occupies the whole site of what was once Byzantium, and is built at the north-east point of the city. It is protected on all sides by strong walls and towers, while two of its sides are additionally defended by the waters of the Strait; which here encircle, indeed, one of the most luxuriant and glittering gardens of pleasure imagination could paint; golden palaces and variegated kiosks rising, as if in fairy-land, amidst rows of dark cypresses and bending

willows. After passing under their pretty latticed galleries, we reached an abode of a different kind; the prison of the Seven Towers; an edifice where misery alone awaits its inmates. This gloomy castle is evidently a remains of the original fortifications of the city. When I say original, I do not mean that the whole is of the age of Constantine; but as the science of war underwent so few material changes, until the invention of gunpowder, the style of fortifying places necessarily remained in much the same stationary state; therefore I do not conceive that the old mural defences of this city, so easily traceable round its whole extent, differ in almost any respect from the plan of their first founder. The prison just mentioned forms the south-west angle of the town; and its walls and towers present a very distinguished object from a distance, being considerably higher than the general line of fortification. The battlements of the latter are surmounted by lofty cone-shaped masses, more like dove-cotes than bastions. The line of defence to the west, which was certainly its most vulnerable side, is strengthened by a triple pile of works, with the addition of a spacious ditch. The first range of wall is low, and merely battlemented. The second is much higher, and protected at intervals with small square towers. The third is exceedingly lofty, with towers of corresponding magnitude, in square or octagon shapes. On this side of the city, the remains of several fine gates strike the eye; particularly one, that nearest to the Propontis, and which I think may probably be the Porta Aurea of Theodosius, so celebrated for comprising in its form and decorations, all the magnificence of the triumphal arch. It took its appellation, Aurea, from the golden ornaments that enriched it; and not only near the spot I mean, but close to it, lie the

most exquisite fragments of finely sculptured columns, friezes, &c. At present, five gates lead out of the city, most of which are modern, and of poor architecture; whilst the once magnificent portals of the emperors, are each flanked by a couple of formidable square towers. Having gone entirely round the walls of the city, we found ourselves after our very interesting walk, on that bank of the Bosphorus which is immediately opposite to the Pera shore, where we had embarked. The ancient defence on this quarter, is so interwoven with the houses, and neglected besides, that it seems almost absolutely to have disappeared; presenting instead, a long irregular line of private dwellings, public offices, warehouses, and other buildings necessary to the ceaseless commerce and intercourse that ever animates this busy little sea. From morning until night, the water is covered with vessels of various descriptions, besides thousands of boats, passing in every direction to all parts of the Bosphorus. When we re-embarked, in crossing the port, (the golden horn of the ancients,) we had a fine view of the Turkish fleet, now in ordinary, (about 20 ships of the line,) moored under the walls of the palace of the captain pasha, a large straggling building, white and inelegant. We relanded not far from whence we set out, in the suburb of Galata, formerly an establishment of the old Genoese republicans, and fostered by the Greek emperors; but, betraying their benefactors, and in fact, themselves, their disgraceful intrigues at last precipitated Constantinople into the hands of the Turks. This calamity happened about the middle of the fifteenth century; Greece soon fell under the sword of the same conqueror; and it is probable, that had not Providence interposed the Venetian fleet between Mahomed the Great, and his progress westward, that all Italy too might have been forced

to acknowledge the power of the Crescent. Many of the towers, and much of the walls of this ancient citadel of a foreign colony, are still standing; and even now, the lofty keep of Galata is one of the commanding objects of the city. It is upwards of 100 feet in height, presenting from its summit one of the finest views in the world. After passing near it, we mounted the hill, and entered an extensive burying-ground, terminating only at the walls of the British palace of embassy. These depositaries for the dead are the favourite promenades for the living; and parties are daily made for the pleasure of walking in them, with as much indifference as if the airing were in Hyde Park or the Tuilleries. In fact, there are no other walks in or about Constantinople; and in the hot months, the thick and impervious groves of the cypress-trees must render them inviting, provided the universal effect of the sun's heat at that season does not so influence the remains buried below, as to contaminate the air; a circumstance I should think very likely to take place then; for even at this time, I can perceive a sour damp smell pervading their avenues.

November 30th. — It was now the last day of November, and the weather yet balmy as autumn. Indeed, it was to the prolonged warmth and softness of the atmosphere that such unusual continuance and severity of the plague were attributed, so mild a season not having been remembered for many years. While it lasted, however, His Excellency wished to shew me Beyukderry, a village on the European side of the Bosphorus, not many miles from the Black Sea, and the summer-residence of most of the foreign ministers. Accordingly, at an early hour this morning we got into the ambassador's barge, and commenced one of the most delightful aquatic excursions I could possibly have made;

the climate, the scene, exhibiting such perfect beauty; and the associations connected with every feature of that beauty, being like the expression of "joys that are past" on a lovely countenance, by deepening the interest, doubled its charms. In our progress up the Bosphorus, the European side displayed an almost uninterrupted chain of buildings, stretching to within a few miles of our destination. They were interspersed with palaces belonging to the Sultan, others the property of a sister of the late sovereign, and various costly mansions the summer-residences of opulent persons, but Turks and Christians. These country houses of the monarch are usually white, gaily painted in arabesque heightened with gold. Those of his Ottoman subjects, are generally a dusky red; while the Armenians, however wealthy they may be, are obliged to live within gloomy walls, black as coffins. The fine verdant back-grounds, giving relief to these variegated edifices, present terraced gardens rising even to the very tops of the hills; whose gracefully undulating line, thus clothed in fruits and flowers, breaks occasionally into beautiful little vales, then swelling again, runs on till it joins the romantic wildness of the Cyanean rocks. Beyukderry lies in the most luxuriant of these vales, possessing a particularly picturesque wooded scenery covering each side of its valley, and crossed by a magnificent aqueduct. Groves also, of the most umbrageous plane-trees, give shelter to hundreds of coffee-drinking parties; who resort hither in the summer to be rural, and sit, senseless as the tulips they resemble, in erect rows, chewing their opium, or smoking the hookar. But this valley has another character of renown: it was here, they tell me, that Geoffrey of Bouillon so long lay encamped with his crusaders.

After a row of two hours, we landed in the beautiful bay of

the valley, at the house of the Marquis de Rivière, the French ambassador to the Porte. His pleasant abode was one of the many belonging to foreign residents which adorn the enchanting shore. I then ascended. Most of those personages were yet there; the prevalence of the plague on one hand, and the continuance of delightful weather on the other, detaining them from their winter-palaces in Pera. Having gazed about to my satisfaction, on this their summer *menzil*, in "as fair a paradise as deck'd Mahomed's dream;" and taken our leave of the circle, who had the taste fully to enjoy it, we re-embarked, to return to the British quarters. At that point we were about four miles from the mouth of the Euxine, and twenty to the Scutari verge of the Bosphorus. I have already expressed my admiration of the European shore of the strait; but when we compare it with the diversified beauty and grandeur of the Asiatic coast, it becomes tame and monotonous. There, we see hills and forests, rocks and fortresses; some near the water's edge, others at a distance crowning the boldest heights. In some parts we descried groves and villages; in others palaces also of the Grand Seignior, vineyards, and gardens. Beyond, stretch the more mountainous hills; and one of the highest is pointed out by name as *the Giant's Bed*; no doubt the *Bed of Hercules*, of classic writers. Lower down we see successive ancient sites of renown, mingled with other old though comparatively modern foundations. One, towards the mouth of the canal, is very striking, being the ruins of a Genoese fortress; the style of its miltary architecture showing its date amongst the Greek emperors. At that time it must have formed an impregnable defence; but since the introduction of gunpowder, and its attendant modes of attack, these walls and towers having proved

of little use, works more suitable to the present system of warfare have been constructed near it, in the erection of a considerable battery of heavy guns *à fleur d'eau.* Baron de Tott was the engineer. These two fortifications, ancient and modern, are answered on the European side by castles, supposed to stand on the same ground which had sustained the temple of Jupiter Serapis; while this Genoese old fortress on the Asiatic bank is said to cover the remains of the corresponding temple of Jupiter Urius. About mid-way between this latter and Scutari, and at the commencement of a bay, we find some particularly clear fountains, held in peculiar veneration by the Greeks. They lie near a pretty village, embosomed in trees; also are not far from another very extensive stronghold, called the Old Castle of Asia, and known to be the work of the early emperors. It commands the narrowest part of the strait; and that is supposed to have been the point whence Darius threw his bridge of boats across, in his Scythian expedition. Another fortress, of the same era, answers it on the opposite bank, called the Castle of Europe. This last is now used as the exterminating dungeon of many hundreds. I was shewn the little water-gate, under which, having once passed inwards, no one has ever been seen to return. These sanguinary towers of suspicion and silent murders, could not but throw a gloomy shade over the smiling waves of the Bosphorus.

December. — The plague not decreasing, I remained in close quarters with my hospitable entertainers; shut out, indeed, from the city itself, but yet within sight, as well as hearing, of the disasters to which treachery, as well as fatalism, amongst some of its inhabitants subjects the rest. In short, the conflagrations which take place in Constantinople are almost as noted as its

plague; and during my residence in the British palace I beheld one of these horrid fires. It burst forth at the dead of the night in the middle of the city, and blazed with a tremendously extending light over the darkness. Like most other accidents of the kind, this had been the act of the incensed Janissaries; that being the usual way they take to show their displeasure against the Sultan. He had lately offended the whole body, by having ordered four of their brethren to be strangled; and thus lighting a funeral pyre to their manes, the survivors gave the ordinary hint to their otherwise despotic sovereign, that his guards could avenge as well as protect. His Sublime Highness did not require a second reminder, but immediately appeased their fury by banishing their Aga, to whom he had committed the execution which had so enraged them, and completely made his peace by appointing a commander more agreeable to their wishes. The city being built chiefly of wood, renders these fires, whether by casualty or premeditation, much more destructive than when such disasters take place where brick or stone are the principal materials of a town. The present conflagration, which they call *trifling*, burnt down five hundred houses! Such an event happening in our western Europe, is generally the effect of accident; and that term is used here too, for the cause of this calamity: but then the plague is called *an accident*; which word seems to import the same to a Turk, as that of *doom*,—a *fatality* that must come, and being out of human foresight to prevent, is also beyond human power to stop in its career. By this paralizing sort of superstition, some faculties are little better than everlasting sleepers in the minds of these Ottoman sons of blind destiny. However, that all are not so submissive to the passing events of the day, we see in the lighters of these fires; and on

enquiry, I learnt the cause of the wrath which had applied the brand.

It appears that the executed Janissaries had suffered under the royal sentence, in consequence of having publicly censured the *higher power* for some recent and extreme severities against an unhappy Armenian family, old inhabitants of the capital. These people were called Dooz-Oogli, and having been industrious and prosperous, in the course of time became so rich as to attract the attention of the Sultan; who, in consequence, was pleased to appoint four brothers, the heads of the family, to the direction of his mint. An unfortunate distinction for them; for some while afterwards 1,000,000 of piastres were pronounced deficient, and the gold of the coinage considerably debased. On this result the four brothers, who were living in elegance and comfort with their respective families, were immediately seized, and as immediately punished; two were beheaded at the gate of the Seraglio, and two hanged from the windows of their own houses. In the same hour all their known relations, men, women, and children, were dragged from their houses, and cast into the loathsome dungeons of the Seven Towers. At this last act a few Janissaries were heard to murmur, and for such manly compassion they lost their lives. But the vengeance of His Ottoman Majesty against the connections of these guilty, or slandered Armenians, is not yet satiated. He has made atonement to his guards for the deaths of their comrades, but the executions in the families of the Dooz-Oogli, and the sums amassed from the sale of their property, amounting to double the wealth of the alleged defaulted monies, have not yet been deemed sufficient; in short, persecution in every form is going

on against the Armenians of the city; all appearing to share the imputed guilt, with the religion of the original offenders.

The corps of Janissaries was first instituted by Sulieman the Magnificent, as a kind of regular force, intended to oppose the better disciplined troops of Europe, then doubly formidable from their practised use of fire arms. At first, the newly established corps was most vehemently disapproved by the general prejudice against every species of innovation; but the firmness and power of the monarch soon fixed it decidedly as the standing army of the empire. Its force is immense, when heartily directed against one object; and the consequence is, it knows its power, and for many generations has held the deposition of ministers, the lives of the sovereigns, and even the gift of succession, at the command of its simultaneous movement. But in proportion as this influence has become exorbitant over circumstances at home, the corps, as a military force, appears to have lost the awe of its name abroad; and indeed it is not improbable, that, from the various callings of its constituent parts, the least of which is the duty of a soldier, the disorder of its multitudes would at any time make the conquest of all the Turks possess in Europe the affair of only a few days. The common men of the Janissaries are composed of almost every trade in Constantinople, such as grocers, pastry-cooks, water-carriers, coffee-venders, boatmen, porters, &c. besides renegadoes, and other more respectable recruits. Those who have businesses, follow them in the city as actively as if they had never had any thing to do with a kettle, but to put in their flesh-hooks and eat out of it; while their less industrious brethren congregate together in the vast barracks prepared for them by their sublime master, but whence they often sally with something of the overawing spirit of the old

prætorian guard. But the standard round which they rally in the absolute field of battle, is their kettle. For an Orta to lose that culinary ensign, would entail an almost indelible disgrace upon every man of the regiment; consequently the regimental kettle is guarded with the strictest care, and on all occasions receives similar honours to that we pay our colours. In the reign of the late Sultan Selim, he tried to establish a different order of military; and by their superior tactics, hoped gradually to discountenance and supersede the Janissaries, both in their military occupations and political influence. This new force was called the Nizam-i-Gedid; several regiments of which were organized and clothed in the European style, and afterwards shewed their superiority over the old system, in many places, but more particularly at the siege of St. Jean D'Acre against the French. However, the ancient power of the Janissaries was yet too strong to be attempted with impunity; and this first trial towards it, by means of what they called *Christian innovations*, nearly cost all the new levies their lives, and certainly shortened the days of their enterprising Sultan.

Time wore away with me, but not the plague out of the city; and fearing I should after all be obliged to leave even its neighbourhood without having been once within its walls, unless I might dare passing them as things were, I urged my wishes to Sir Robert Liston, who at last thought I might venture with circumspection. Accordingly, accompanied by himself, and attended by several Janissaries to keep off the Turks; some of whom might chance to be infected by the plague, and few of whom are backward in such cases to rub against a Frangy, and so give him a touch of their quality. These precautions being taken, we descended to the shore of Galata, and again crossing

the Golden Horn, landed in the city some hundred yards north of the palace of the Grand Seignior. I found the streets excessively narrow, dirty, and crowded, but was so fortunate as not to meet any ocular evidence of the cruel malady that was ravaging their houses. Indeed, the busy multitude before us, made one almost forget the enemy which moved invisibly amongst them; while the very circumstance of their thus carelessly herding together, under all moveable stages of the disease, spread the infection, and caused the death of thousands. In our progress we passed, at different points, the high turreted walls of the Seraglio, to an extent of four miles; also its several gates, opening into the city, and bearing frowning testimony of the conqueror's hand, Mahomed II., which had placed them there. One faces the celebrated church of Santa Sophia; but I could only view its huge shapeless bulk from without, which appeared buried in buttresses: the present Sultan has excluded all Christians from passing its threshold. When seen from a distance, its attendant minarets rather lighten its ponderous effect; yet of all the mosques in Constantinople, it offers the least theme for admiration, whilst those of Sultan Ahmed Selim, and Bajazet, rise with every architectural grace of united elegance and grandeur. But, as I said before, all these things have been too fully described by former travellers, for me to do more than merely mention objects as I pass.

My kind conductor took me into the great court of buildings dedicated to business of state, the grand entrance to which gives its name to the Empire, — that of the Sublime Porte; and like the chief gate of the palaces in Persia, there called the Der-i-Khanah, it represents the hall of justice, and of royal audience. The place of judgment, where the Vizier presides, is a fine

saloon; and higher up, in one corner, I observed a sort of lanthorn-shaped gallery, where the Sultan frequently sits unseen, to be an eye-witness of the proceedings below. Over the cushion of judgment, a sentence from the Koran is written; so that the transgressor who stands before it, must read the exhortation whenever he lifts up his head. It runs thus:—

"O! true Believers, you must always obey those who have the command over you."

And on the opposite wall, the vizier has his lesson too:

"Remember when you judge, judge with justice."

How far this is allowed to be obeyed by the administrators of justice in this capital, may be guessed at from the anecdote I have just given respecting the unhappy families of the Dooz-oogli. In repassing the Seraglio-gate, my attention was drawn to a large and splendid octagon fountain, standing to its left. It is formed of clear white marble, richly sculptured in arabesque complex patterns of wreathing leaves, tendrils, &c. many of which are gilded, and interspersed with lines from the Koran. From hence we followed the intricate windings of several streets, till, after rising a gentle ascent, I found myself on an open spot; the *Al Maidan* of the city, once the Hippodrome of the emperors. It is now compressed to less than a quarter of a mile in length, and about half that space in width; a scanty strip indeed, when compared with its former expanse, containing a stately circus of more than 400 paces in length, 100 across, and adorned with statues and obelisks. On one side of the Maidan, and separated from it by an iron railing, stands the mosque of Sultan Ahmed; and on the opposite side, amongst a range of houses and the openings of streets, appear two gloomy structures, one like a prison, the other was an old Christian church, but both

are now transformed into a menagerie for the Sultan's wild beasts; and not far from it, occupying one corner of the Maidan, stands another solemn-looking edifice. It is built on an artificial elevation, formed by successive ranges of arches, the work of the emperors, to serve the double purpose of bringing that part level with the Hippodrome to support some of its attendant buildings, and to contain one of the great cisterns of the city. The structure in question has a monastic appearance, and the part which resembles a cloister is dedicated to the reception of Osmanlee lunatics. These wretched beings are loaded with heavy chains, and confined in neglected, therefore, loathsome cells, open to the eye of the passenger, but secured in front with bars of iron. I was glad to see no more than four maniacs in this comfortless place. In Persia, madness is rare; but here, I am told, the malady is common. I soon turned from the melancholy spectacle, to the few relics of antiquity yet marking the ground of the Hippodrome. They consist of three. The first, standing in the center of the spot, is the Egyptian obelisk brought from Thebes, and placed here by order of Theodosius the Elder. It is formed of a single block of reddish granite, in length something between fifty and sixty feet, and covered with hieroglyphics. Its base rests on four brass balls, which raise it clear from a pedestal of white marble, measuring about six feet in height. This addition to the old Egyptian mass, has its four sides also sculptured, but in a manner that reflects little credit on the artist, or the imperial taste which allowed it to stand. One side represents the emperor and his family seated together, and attended by his court and guards, viewing the games in the Hippodrome; all these persons are huddled in one confused group, without distinction or proportion. On the corresponding

side, his majesty is pourtrayed receiving presents from some of the neighbouring states. On the third he is standing up between two persons, and holds in his hands the victor's wreaths. Attendants are ranged behind him; others also in a line beneath. This side is far the best executed. Below the bas-relief is an inscription; three lines only are now visible, the rest being buried in the earth; but Mr. Cartwright, (who possesses many beautiful specimens of Grecian antiquity, medals, &c.) was so obliging as to favour me with a full copy of this.

DIFFICILIS QVONDAM . DOMINIS . PARERE . SVPERBIS.
IVSSVS . ET . EXTINCTIS . PALMANI . PORTARE . TYRANNIS.
OMNIA . THEODOSIO . CEDVNT : SOBOLIQVE . PERENNI.
TERDENIS . SIC . VICTIS . EGO . DOMITVSQVE . DIEBVS.
IVDICI . SVB . PROCLO . SVPERAS . ELATVS . AD . AVRAS.

On the corresponding tablet belonging to the bas-relief is the following in Greek, also partly obscured by the accumulated ground below.

ΚΙΟΝΑ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΛΕΥΡΟΝ . ΛΕΙ . ΚΘΟΝΙ . ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ . ΑΧΘΟϹ .
ΜΟΥΝΟϹ . ΑΝΑϹΤΗΣΑΙ ; ΘΕΥΔΟϹΙΟϹ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ .
ΤΟΛΜΗϹΑϹ ΠΡΟΚΛΟϹ ΕΠΕΚΕΚΛΕΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟϹΟϹ ΕϹΗ .
ΚΙΩΝ ΗΕΛΙΟΙϹ ΕΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΥΟ .

On the lower compartments on the other two sides, instead of of inscriptions, are additional bas-reliefs; and on that towards the west, we find a representation of the games, of the obelisk, and the goal. On the eastern side, the lower part of which is totally buried up by the earth, Sir Robert Liston told me might be seen a commemoration of the machinery by which the Egyptian relic had been raised.

About forty feet from the obelisk, stands the famous brazen column of twisted serpents. At present not a head nor a neck

remains of the several creatures, to distinguish their interlacing bodies. The height now projecting out of the encroaching ground, measures about twelve feet; the circumference may with ease be embraced. Where time had worn the brass away, I could perceive the column was filled with a hard white substance, like lime. This apparently choking-up substance can hardly have been there from the first formation of the pillar; else, where are we to find room for the internal channels, whence flowed the triple beverage in honour of the god, when it decorated the temple at Delphos?

Several feet beyond this serpent-column, rises a very lofty pillar, once entirely cased in plates of gilded metal, from which it received the name of the *brazen pillar*. From top to bottom of the present remains, numberless holes are seen all over the surface, which formerly received the rivets of the now vanished plates. Its present state is so tottering, and so little thought is taken about rendering it more secure, that a short time must level it with the ground; a subject of particular regret, since it is considered the ancient goal of the games.

We next visited one of the vast cisterns of the city, called that of *The thousand and one pillars*. It it said to have been the work of Philoxenus. The depth is immense, and its narrow arched roof rests on three hundred columns, distant from each other about eight feet. They stand in long ranges, crowned by unshapely capitals possessing no ornament whatever. The quantity of water this reservoir could hold might form a little lake; at present it is turned to a different purpose, being, in fact, a manufactory, filled by hundreds of thread-spinners and their wheels. Pipes, placed near the bottom of this great tank, formerly conveyed its waters to the various streets in its vicinity, where

appropriate fountains received the deposit, ready for the inhabitants, who came to fill their buckets.

We proceeded thence, to what is now called the *Burnt Pillar;* but on arriving at the spot, I could perceive nothing on it, or near it, that could explain so extraordinary an appellation. Its first appearance struck me with a disagreeable impression, from the shape of its pedestal, which looks like the bottom of a water-decanter; a form very different from the usual grace and proportion of Grecian relics of the kind; and, on enquiry, I found this preposterous base to so noble a shaft, had been the workmanship of the Turks; who had thus disgraced themselves by deforming one of the finest monuments in their capital, in the alteration they made of its original shape. The column which rises from it, is of red porphyry, and divided into successive parts, now numbering six. The five lower ones are each of one solid piece, distinguished from each other by thick projecting wreaths of closely woven ivy, the sculpture of which is admirable. The upper division is white, and raised in courses of marble; round the second of which a Greek inscription is visible, but at so great a height it seemed scarcely possible to read it. According to Gibbon, this beautiful pillar does not stand now at half its original elevation; he describes its pedestal as twenty feet high: "the column," he adds, "was composed of ten pieces of porphyry, each ten feet in height, and thirty-three in circumference. On the summit of all stood a colossal statue of Apollo. It was of bronze, and attributed to Phidias." By this computation, its original elevation from the base of the pedestal must have been 120 feet. What at present remains of the porphyry shaft rises to a height of fifty feet. Its white marble addition appears of more modern date; but at what period it may have replaced

the last five stages of porphyry, I do not pretend to say; though it is not improbable that, after the terrible earthquake which occurred at Constantinople, A. D. 1150, when, we understand that Manuel Comnenus repaired this column, he might apply the prodigious iron braces which strengthen it; and also raise the marble superstructure, from the point where it is likely the column may have broken off during the convulsion of the elements, overturning itself, with the famous statue of Apollo on its summit; to which later ages had given the mortal name of Constantine. The situation of this magnificent relic of antiquity is said to mark the centre of the ancient forum, on one of the seven hills of the ancient city.

My curiosity was next excited, by the aqueduct of Valens, the arches of which are seen stretching over the loftiest houses of the town. This, together with the *Burnt Pillar* and the huge heavy pile of *Santa Sophia*, are all the old imperial remains that rise pre-eminent amongst the minarets of the Turks. Returning homewards, we passed through a part of the crowned bazar, and the Egyptian market. In the latter nothing is sold but medicines, and gums of every kind; as if the fabric of mummies were still the object of its traffic. From hence we soon passed to our point of re-embarkation, and crossed to Pera. In rowing along, although the exterior of the city and suburbs have rather a gloomy appearance as far as regards the aspect of the houses, yet the forms of the chimneys are so elegant and striking, I could not refrain from sketching some of them on the spot. Sir Robert Liston first remarked their peculiarity to me; as, indeed, his taste was awake to every note-worthy object, from the greatest to the least.

In perambulating the streets, could I have done it without being on the watch against contact with the multitudes we met, I might have been greatly amused by the masquerade appearance of the whole. The variety of costumes almost amounted to the ridiculous; and particularly the turbans, which in size are sometimes carried to such a pitch as to convey the idea of being intended for caricatures of each other. The Janissaries do not content themselves with appearing so many Turkish Atlases, bearing huge effigies of the world upon their heads, but they must place them in those sorts of positions on their pates, as

if balancing the incumbent weight with difficulty. A set of persons called Bostangees, properly a corps of gardeners for the Seraglio, present a most ludicrous costume. They have two employments besides that of horticulture; first, guarding the person of the sovereign; second, seizing criminals, and dragging them to justice. But their beacon-heads, when seen from afar, ought to be sufficient warning to the latter objects to keep out of their way; their caps being constructed of scarlet cloth, rising high in a cylindrical form, then suddenly making an acute angle to the front or rear, like the machine called *a cow* on our refractory chimneys. The dress of these men is richly embroidered, and covered on the breast with lumps of embossed silver. Their daggers, or yaltagars, are also very splendid. The Armenians are distinguished by their turban, which is of a pear-form, and made of black fur; the Jews, again, are designated by the cap peculiar to themselves.

But one of the most extraordinary sights that I saw while in Constantinople and its environs, was a convent of dancing Dervises, of the order of Mevlevey. Their devotions are performed publicly, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and their mosques are the only ones open to Christians. That which I visited was not far distant from the English palace; and, accompanied by one of the dragomans of our embassy and Sedak Beg, with a couple of Janissaries in attendance, I witnessed the most singular solemnity. The mosque is not very large; but of an octagon form, with a railed-off circle in the middle at some distance from the wall; between which railing and the wall the spectators stand, and within the circle the devotional evolutions are performed. A gallery appears above, divided into partitions for the women; a recess for the Sultan; and a compartment for

the musicians. On entering, we found the Dervises seated round the inner side of the circle; their shiek also was present, a venerable personage, habited in a long green robe. His head was enveloped in a high cap, wound round with a shawl, both of the same colour with his robe. The whole brotherhood wore the same coiffure; and each were enveloped in the large surtout mantle common to the Turks, but of the most sombre hues. All looked most devoutly to the earth. We had not been long gazing at the silent group, when the music began from the gallery. The strains were beautiful, proceeding from a peculiarly formed set of flutes, and accompanied by a corded instrument in base. These slow sounds continued for half an hour, when suddenly a small drum was struck, and the whole band of Dervises instantly bowed their heads to the ground. They then rose at once, and began a slow measured pace, following each other round the circle, to the solemn sounds of the music. As they alternately came opposite to a certain pillar, on which was written a prayer to the founder of the order, each made a most profound obeisance, then whisked round like lightning on one foot, and instantly dropped into the solemn pace thus momentarily interrupted. This manœuvre was certainly something ridiculous; but the attentive silence, united with the melancholy tones of the instruments, checked my first propensity to laugh; and afterwards I saw no inconsiderable degree of beauty in the regularity of the movements. Three circles of this first style of evolution, were trodden; and at the end of the third, each Dervise kissed the hand of the shiek as he passed him, who, in return, appeared to give his benediction. This done, in an instant, their outer robes were thrown off, and the whole fraternity were seen in short jackets, and long petticoats, (all of the

darkest hues,) and wrapping their arms across their breasts, they commenced, one after the other, in regular rotation, to whirl round with great velocity; seeming never to quit the spot on which they began, while in fact all were at once imperceptily describing the circle with an ease and a gravity that constituted the harmonious beauty of the whole. Their eyes were always fixed on the ground. The strain of solemn music varied after some time, when the devout party all extending their arms to the right and left, and holding them rather raised, continued their rotary motion, but in the most rapid whirls. The slower notes suddenly recurring, the ceremony closed by another triple solemn tour; when the whole company, in a silent and measured pace, quitted the mosque.

This order of devotees is comfortably lodged in religious asylums similar to Christian monasteries, and is considered the most respectable of the Dervise sects. This I had just seen is deemed moderate in discipline; for there are others who carry the rotary motion to such an excess as to fall down senseless, and many who cut themselves with sharp instruments. Again, there is a brotherhood of bawling Dervises, who cease neither day nor night making the most hideous noises.

Winter was now drawing its snow-clouds over the mountains north of this splendid city of "lengthened summer suns;" and before the whole scene should put off its brightness, I proposed an excursion to Belgrade, a place so exquisitely described by the brilliant pen of our countrywoman, Lady Mary Wortley Montague. Accompanied by Mr. Elliot, my Persian, and a Janissary, I set forth, heartily enjoying the prospect of our ride. We passed over the now bleak hills northward of Pera, whence I had a fine view of the city, the double channels of the Bosphorus,

and the gulf of Nicomedia, with the distant mountains of Asia. Having proceeded a few miles, we descended into a sheltered valley, celebrated for the number and vernal beauty of its springs; to visit *Les Eaux Douces*, being deemed a delightful excursion, by all the Franks of Constantinople. This is also a favourite retreat of the Grand Seignior; he having a summer-palace here, enbosomed in trees, with the delicious accompaniment of gardens, fountains, various streams, and little pleasure-houses, all inclosed within an extensive iron railing. We crossed the rivulet, now called the *Ket-Khanah-Sou*, but anciently the Barbyzes. It is augmented, a little lower down, by the *Ali-Bey-Kiey-Sou*, anciently the Cydaris, which flows through a fine vale from the north-east; and when united, they flow together into the old *Golden Horn*. From the abundant waters of these valleys, they possess an unceasing verdure, of every varied hue, from that of the rich mossy greens, to those of an emerald brightness full of light and freshness. All the country beyond them, owing to the rarity of rain during the late summer, is comparatively burnt up and colourless; hence these humid scenes appeared in redoubled charms. Pursuing our way up the vale of Cydaris, we passed its chief village, at a distance, I should think, of six miles from Pera, and where we came in sight of a magnificent aqueduct, embracing the vale from side to side. It was the work of Justinian. In looking at such an object, we cannot but acknowledge the act of a man deserving to be an emperor, of one worthy to command men, since he so well knew how to dedicate his power to their service. The appearance of this vast structure differs in some measure from the usual simplicity in which we find these ancient water-courses; and this singularity arises from the irregular spans of its arches. A double tier, of four in width,

constituting the body of the aqueduct, the two in the centre being of wide compass, while those on either side are narrow and rounded. Several, indeed, on the upper range, have pointed summits; which I should ascribe to the repairs of a later age, and probably by the Sultan Solyman. The aqueduct stands to an elevation of full one hundred feet, and presents a solidity and character truly magnificent. Its buttresses are of a peculiar construction; while the inclined and angular way in which they seem to melt into the steep face of the structure, consolidates the whole to the eye, into one vast and harmonious mass. But I regret to add, that the venerable and picturesque appearance of so grand a monument of antiquity is almost entirely destroyed by the barbarous addition of a coat of white-wash, with which the bad taste of the Turks have covered it. Indeed, this wretched obliteration of the mellowing tints of time, which spread the most magic hues over the natural as well as artificial landscape, now plasters almost every ancient work, great and small, within the vicinity of Constantinople.

From hence we soon entered a more thickly wooded country; in fact, a commencement of the immense trackless forests which fringe the shores of the Black Sea. This was the region of subterraneous water-courses; and all underground, wherever we went, and to a great extent in the neighbourhood, they vein the earth in a variety of admirably-constructed canals; shewing occasional openings, something in the form of wells, protected by stone building, and altogether much on the same principle as the kanaughts of Persia. The whole communicate by their hidden channels, with tanks, reservoirs, aqueducts, &c., all leading to the great vortex of consumption, the city. From Constantinople being entirely dependent on the free circulation of water

in these canals, for that necessary of life, an idea some years ago possessed a few hoary heads in the Grand Seignior's councils that at some future time a foreign enemy may seize the sources of their fountains, and by that means reduce the city to surrender. On Sultan Selim's vain attempt to establish his corps of Nizam-i-Gedid, or European-organized troops, who, amongst other duties, had that of remaining in military post over the springs of those canals, Tshelebi-Effendi, one of the chief dignitaries of the Ottoman empire, wrote a treatise on the subject, explanatory of his royal master's reasons for these innovations. He was an old man between eighty and ninety, who had passed much of his life in Europe, and therefore might have been respected as a probable judge of its political views. Under such impressions, he writes to this effect of these canals, in the parabolical character of a traiterous Rayah, counselling the late empress of Russia how to become mistress of the Ottoman capital: —

"None of the Ottoman troops (the Janissaries) are ready to take the field; those of Anatolia are employed in cultivating the land, and smoking their pipes; such as inhabit Constantinople, are either buried in carrying on various trades, or at least know nothing of good discipline. Were they to assemble in troops with the greatest possible expedition, it would require a month for that purpose. Behold, the water used for drinking in so great a city, comes from certain reservoirs situated beyond it. (These reservoirs lie amongst the hills and woods between the Black Sea and Propontis, in fact, the forests of Belgrade and Domouzderry.) Your majesty need only dispatch from the Crimea all the vessels there, large and small, filled with troops, and disembark them suddenly in the district that contains the reservoirs. On the water being stopped, the consequence will

be a great tumult at Constantinople, and the news everywhere spread of the enemy having not only done it, but that he is marching forward in great force to attack the city. The troops in the town, (that is, the Janissaries,) instead of marching to oppose him, will first pillage all in their way, and then fly with the booty; while the inhabitants, overwhelmed with dismay, and reduced to extremity by the want of water, must submit themselves to the authors of the stratagem."

The Turkish counsellor goes on to say, in his narrative, "that the first step to be taken to avert such destruction was to plant a military post at no great distance from the reservoirs; but that the new-levied troops, instead of engaging in trade, should remain day and night in their quarters, applying themselves daily to military exercises, &c., necessary for immediate service." But this veteran sage counselled in vain against the invetérate prejudices of his countrymen on one side, and their selfish views on the other. Regular military discipline was abandoned, almost as soon as brought to any effect in the new corps of the Nizam-i-Gedid; and of those who had pretended to save their country in spite of itself, some paid for their presumption with their lives; while others live, most probably, to see the tyrannical obstinacy of their opponents precipitate its fate.

Having left the noble pile of Justinian, and proceeded about a couple of miles, we came to another structure of the same kind, called the Long Aqueduct, composed also of a double range of arches; this, together with a second running across a valley more to the south, are attributed to the early sultans. The latter is of an angular form, and stands higher than any I had yet seen. But at this distance from Constantinople, the native colour of the stone was suffered to remain; which, blending with

the deep hues of weather stains, gave relief to the rich drapery of spreading ivies that hung in masses from pier to pier; and by thus yielding to nature, this remote valley, with its green canopied aqueduct, presented a much more romantic and striking object, than the really nobler structure of Justinian. The finest point of view is to the south of the pile, where the stream of the Ket-khanah is crossed by a wild little wooden bridge; shewing, in its rustic construction, a picturesque contrast to the magnificent symmetry of its gigantic neighbour. From hence we passed through the village of Burgos, estimated at five miles from Belgrade; and at about a mile further, having previously rode under the centre-arch of a small aqueduct called that of the Pasha-Kieuy, found ourselves in the thick of the forest. In winding along its umbrageous road, our Janissary led us to the new Bendt; the most beautiful style of embankment that can be conceived, being literally a prodigiously massy wall of the finest white marble, so constructed as to act as a barrier to the waters from above; and confining them within its boundaries in the form of a small lake, lets them forth, as occasion requires, to supply the subterraneous canals, tanks, &c. The front of this vast reservoir is simple and grand, presenting something the appearance of the gate of a fortress. When the accumulation of water within becomes overcharged, certain openings in the upper part of a little parapet are left unclosed, through which the superabundance immediately rushes, and spreading itself over the Bendt, rolls down the face of the structure towards the ground. At that time the picture it presents must be particularly beautiful; the then gauzy stream of the transparent waters veiling the spotless marble, must appear little short of realising

to the eye of an accidental traveller, the spectacle described in eastern tales of some genii palace.

At no great distance from this first wonder, we arrived at a second, constructed of the same material, and called the Bendt of Belgrade. Its confined waters extend a considerable way, being bounded by the forest until it almost touches the celebrated village to which we were journeying. On reaching it, I was much pleased with the romantic seclusion of its situation, embosomed in woods, and watered by the most translucent springs. Winter was now tingeing every object; but in the more genial season, the rides in this neighbourhood must command every rural, romantic, and picturesque beauty; and from the higher hills, at the distance of a couple of miles eastward from the village, I am told that a fine view may be seen of the Black Sea. In the lovely little glen, beneath the wooden habitations which literally constitute the village, the well-known fountain presents itself, which the charming pencil of Lady Mary Wortley Montague has rendered a classic scene to British eyes.

In returning from Belgrade, the objects remarked in approaching, not only appeared in a different point of view, but with additional features of interest. The Bendt, and aqueduct of Pasha-Kieuy in particular, the same seen from the villas at Beyukderry, mingled with peculiar effect in the deepening shadows of the evening; while the distant Bosphorus, visible through the opening hills, and backed by the mountain of Hercules on the Asiatic side in full reflection of the descending sun, formed a glorious horizon to the picture. Three miles beyond, closes all that is worthy of attention, until the eye again meets the expanded view of the capital. On entering the narrow streets of Pera, we were obliged to draw on one side, to make

way for a party of Janissaries, leading a train of dogs belonging to the Sultan. These animals were of an enormous size, in form like our bull-dogs, and very fierce. They are kept for baiting wild beasts, a favourite amusement with their royal master, and were held by strong chains, each between two conductors, while the path was cleared before them with as much insolent command as if the Grand Seignior himself were coming.

January 1820. — In the course of the three months, the ravages of the plague have been estimated at 80,000 deaths; but by this time its violence had so considerably abated, both in the capital, and amongst the villages towards the Balcan mountains, it became no longer necessary to defer my departure from the shores of the Bosphorus. As a preliminary, I paid a farewell visit for two or three days to my diplomatic friends in the beautiful vale of Beyukderry; but took up my temporary residence with His Ex. Baron Strogonoff, the Russian envoy. Few spots could be more congenial to the retrospective taste of a man of letters, and particularly to one who studies antiquity in its histories and other remains, chiefly with a view to deduce future good from past greatness; to make the experience of ages gone by be the schoolmaster of those to come; in short, wherever he goes, to unite the man of letters with the politician, the politician with the philanthropist, and devotedness to the honour of his country with them all. Indeed, I shall long remember the last delightful hours spent in that Arcadian valley; the tints of Autumn still seeming to linger on its sheltered woods, and a soft sun to light the waves of the Bosphorus, while gently laving the yet verdant southern shore of the beautiful little bay that skirted the mansions of my friends. The names of their Excellencies, the Marquis de Rivière, the Count Ludolf, the Internuncio

Count Lutzoph, and also those of their amiable families, must ever rise in my mind with the images of this shore; peopling its banks with the fairest, and the kindest forms. Having bidden them adieu, I returned to the British palace in Pera to receive my credentials for final departure; namely, a firman for horses to the Turkish frontier, another to custom-house people, passports, &c.; also dispatches from the English ambassador at the Porte, to Mr. Cassmajor, our minister at St. Petersburgh. And having got all together, the hour of separation drew near. I shook hands with my valuable friend, Mr. Cartwright, our consul-general, to whose prompt services, on many occasions, I owe so much. To my unweariedly kind host and hostess, I could only repeat a gratitude which every British traveller, who visits that country while they are its residents, must well know how to share. When I bade farewell to Sedak Beg, my faithful Persian, it was as if I had severed a limb; he had so long been "the staff of my rest," in all my journeyings and dangers; but we parted, — I trust, to meet again.

January 30th. — This morning, at ten o'clock, attended by my Russian, and a Janissary belonging to the embassy of Bucharest, I finally turned my back on hospitable Pera; but instead of crossing *the Golden Horn*, and traversing the city, went round by the valley of Les Eaux Douces. Having gained the hills to the westward, and passed their treeless summits, a ride of a few miles brought us to the mosque and kiosk (summer palace) of Dowd Pasha. From that spot I took a last look of Constantinople, its lofty minarets having long appeared amongst the hills. Our road continued along the coast of the sea of Marmora, over the country of the ancient Thracians, now called Rumelia. At two o'clock we reached the village of Kouchouck-chek-maza, calcu-

lated at four hours' distance from the capital. At five o'clock we came to Beyuk-chek-maza. Both these villages are situated near branches of the sea, now inclosed within the land by embankments, and forming lakes similar to the Lymans gained in like manner from the Black Sea. At eight o'clock we halted for the night in the village of Bahadass, situated, like the preceding, on the shore.

January 31st. — The Janissary who had accompanied me from Constantinople, I found a much more intelligent and serviceable person than either of the Tatars who had been my conductors thither. This man was called Mustapha, and spoke English tolerably, with several other languages. We renewed our journey at half past six o'clock this morning, and in the course of two hours reached Silviera, a town close to the sea. It possesses some picturesque objects, in the remains of an ancient fortress, and two mouldering old churches; but a gay mosque and minaret announce its present masters, while the country around is covered with vineyards, from which the Greeks make a pleasant wine, not unlike the *vin du pays* of Germany. On the road we met a kind of carriage called an Araba, much used by the people of Constantinople in country excursions. It resembles our light four-wheeled waggon, having a kind of awning over it, hung with curtains to exclude the heat or cold. The bodies of these vehicles are often carved, painted, and gilt, in a tasteful style. They are commonly drawn by four buffaloes or oxen, gaily caparisoned, with metal ornaments in the form of stars, suns, &c. on their foreheads. From the outer sides of their yokes rise a couple of long elastic twigs that cross each other over the heads of the beasts, from which hang tassels and fringes of various colours. Indeed the whole together of the equipage

is rather handsome, and may be regarded as peculiar to this side of the Bosphorus.

At three o'clock we arrived at Chorlou. This was a place of more consequence, before the dispute between the late Sultan Selim and his pashas of these districts, at which time the town received considerable injury. These Turkish nobles were not only hostile to the new plan of organizing the troops, but so notoriously in league with the formidable banditti of the country, (to which mode of life the peasantry rather addicted themselves, than to seek subsistence by quiet cultivation of its soil,) it was impossible to travel in that direction without an escort nearly equal to a little army. Hence, indeed, they had good reason to be alarmed at an innovation likely to hold their undisciplined, though desperate people, in any degree of subjection. Adrianople took part with the insurgents; but being reduced by the Turkish commander of the Nizam-i-Gedid, he brought into the town, about fourteen hundred of the rebellious freebooters, whom, as a great stretch of mercy, he allowed to live till the fast of Ramazan. In fact, till he had leisure to be present at their deaths; for immediately on the commencement of its days of abstinence and prayer, the word was given, and he witnessed the horrid scene from the open side of his saloon, where from forty to fifty of the unfortunate wretches met their fate each day. These executions were performed by two men only; and the condemned being drawn up in a line were mowed down regularly as they stood, from its one end to the other, till the scymetars of the executioners met in the middle. Mustapha told me, he knew one of those men, who had declared to him, that nothing could equal his fatigue after the whole was completed; seven hundred having fallen by his arm in the course of the thirty days.

February 1st. — We left Chorlou at five o'clock this morning. It is called ten hours' distance from where we had halted for the night. Our road now lay over a bleak and uneven steppe, with hardly any appearance of cultivation, but at various distances marked with tumuli. We reached the outskirts of the village of Carash-teran at nine o'clock. About a mile from it, Mustapha had shown me the place where Mr. Wood, an English traveller, and his attendant Janissary, had been robbed and murdered during the rebellion before mentioned. It is distinguishable at once by a solitary tree, which stands by the side of the hollow of the valley where the road crosses it, and to which the travellers were bound, and there assassinated: Mr. Wood's servant escaped to tell the tale, after having been several times fired at. A small heap of stones marks the spot which covers their remains. It is close to a pool of water, in which the lonely tree is reflected. At twelve o'clock, we reached the little town of Abourgos, which boasts four or five mosques, and a fine show of vineyards. A good deal of the fruit is fabricated into wine by the Christians resident in the place; and drunk pretty freely by the Mahomedans. We halted for an hour or two, and then pursued our way. I found the country still bleak, till after a ride of three hours beyond Abourgos, we gradually advanced into wooded scenery. It continued increasing into fine timber and thicket the whole way to Kara-clissia; at which place we arrived by half-past six o'clock, a distance of nine hours from Chorlou.

February 2d. — Left our quarters at half-past six o'clock this morning, the country hilly and wooded; but here the fine weather abandoned us, and we marched forward under a storm of wind, snow, and sleet. After four hours we passed the village of Kanora, and soon after reached that of Faky, inhabited chiefly

by Bulgarian Christians, emigrants from the opposite side of the Balcan mountains. The whole of the country, from the northern shore of the sea of Marmora, to the southern base of these heights bears the name of Roumili; and was the ancient Thrace. We took up our quarters in the house of a peasant, which presented the delightful novelty of perfect cleanliness, smiling welcome, and a blazing fire. The last was particularly agreeable, after our long wetting ride. The wife of our host spread the earthen floor with coarse rugs, placing cushions also, in the Turkish fashion, for us to sit upon; and then set before us an excellent pillau of wheat, with two or three dishes chiefly composed of grease and honey. The dress of these Bulgarian emigrants differed only from that of the male Turkish peasantry, by a black skin cap, in shape like those worn in the Ukraine. They are not allowed by the Turkish government to carry knives or daggers, hence their only means of occasional defence are a stick or club. The men are robust, and the women buxom, but have no pretensions to beauty.

February 3d. — We started this morning at six o'clock; the weather still severe. The road lay, as before, over woody hills, with partial cultivation. In three hours we reached the village of Karapoonar, near which we caught a view of the Black Sea and the Bay of Abourgos, distant about four miles to the eastward. Five hours and a half more brought us to the small town of Idooss, at the foot of the Balcan mountains. It possesses four mosques with their attendant minarets, which, in fact, rise from extensive ruins; the place having been nearly destroyed twelve years ago by the insurgent banditti. At five o'clock we remounted; and, re-entering the woods, proceeded up a gradual and uneven ascent for two hours. About that time the night

became so dark, cold and tempestuous, we were obliged to seek refuge in a small village inhabited by Bulgarians, not much out of the road. It too had suffered in the late warfare; but had risen again from its ashes, presenting to us all the humble comforts of the industrious and kind-hearted peasantry which possessed it. The owner of one of the cottages, on hearing the halloos of our surragees through the darkness, came out from his little door to offer us shelter.

February 4th. — Having the mountains to cross, and the storm being something abated, we left our quarters at three o'clock, though no ray from moon or star lit our way. Still ascending amongst thicket and broken ground, the path became more difficult with its increasing steepness at every step; and in proportion as we gained the brow of the mountain-chain, the trees expanded to a gigantic magnitude, nearly equal to those of the forest of Boli. This magnificent sylvan range stretches across from the western shore of the Black Sea to the eastern confines of Greece. It is now called the Balcan Mountains, but was the celebrated Mount Hemus of the ancients, which divided Thrace from Mæsia, now Roumili and Bulgaria. The northern face of the mountains, at the point we traversed their summit, was extremely rough, and in many parts so dangerously precipitous, we took full six hours in gaining the valley below. Our halt there was very short, merely taking a little refreshment in the populous village of Changea, which stands near a stream watering this first rather considerable place in Bulgaria. The snow lay deep in many tracks. The road hence led us through minor woods, and several finely-cultivated valleys; through the most extensive of which flows the Kamin-chai, and which we crossed by a rickety float near the village Yangy-Kuiey. At

one o'clock in the day we arrived at Prewady, a respectable town, but situated in a deep and narrow glen, barren of culture, from side to side of which the houses stretch themselves. The heights which press them in rise gradually to a ledge of singularly projecting cliffs, on the summit of which spreads an extensive mountain plain. At half past three o'clock, our horses being ready, we started again; mounting the south-western side of the valley, just above the town. Having accomplished the ascent, we found ourselves on the wide expanse of country just mentioned, bleak and shelterless, but yet cultivated as far as the eye could reach. The air was piercing cold, the wind blowing sharp and strong from the north; and thus we journeyed till dark, when fearing to lose our way, we halted for a few hours at a small village.

February 5th. — The sky being clearer, and therefore the moon having some power to lighten the long, almost traceless road, we set forward at three o'clock this morning; and after an hour's travel, again got amongst woods and valleys, passing several villages, till we reached the town of Shoumla. This is a large place, and being called the capital of Bulgaria, had the honour of withstanding the attacks of the Russians in 1812. The inhabitants are chiefly Mahomedans; as are indeed the principal population of the towns throughout the whole country, but a suburb is annexed to Shoumla, where its Christian people reside. Sultan Selim made the wise arrangement of drawing all his Bulgarian Turkish subjects into the towns; and while he filled the vacated villages with the Christian natives, he strictly forbade his more especial people, molesting these indefatigable bees, in making honey for the whole hive. But he was far from oppressing their industry, rather rewarding it by peculiar pro-

tections and privileges. We quitted this thriving town by ten o'clock; the surrounding country presenting charming pictures of fertility and village comfort. Four hours' riding brought us to that of Arnaut-Kieuy, still bearing the dilapidated marks of the last warfare; and at five o'clock we reached the town of Lascarad (or Razarad,) once the seat of a celebrated pasha, whom Sultan Selim had previously sent into Europe to study its arts and manners; and the good effects of his observations are yet very apparent in the district he governed. When this nobleman heard of the dethronement of his sovereign by the rebellious Janissaries, he assembled an army, and marched to Constantinople. Having posted his troops to command every avenue to the town, he was on the eve of executing his purpose, the rescue of his benefactor, when some fatal circumstance induced him to enter the walls, accompanied by only a few armed men. He was surprised, and surrounded by the enraged Janissaries; but fighting his way through them, towards one of the imperial buildings which held part of the royal treasure, he threw himself into it, and with his brave followers prepared to stand a siege. The incensed enemy attempted by every force and stratagem to storm his stronghold, and at last so far effected their purpose as to scale its sides, when some hundreds gaining the top, began to unroof it, hoping, by that means, to get possession of their victim, and drag him forth to public revenge. But he had already found means of escaping their judgment for ever. A barrel of gunpowder had accidentally been left in the tower, and firing his pistols into it, the explosion at once blew up himself, and his brave followers, happy to share his fate; and 300 of the sanguinary wretches, just descending to put their threats in execution. His body was afterwards found, and in pitiful malice

dragged through the streets of the city; but a more ample vengeance was immediately taken on the life of the sovereign he had perished in attempting to save. It is said, that in the midst of the tumults about the exploded tower, the successor of the betrayed monarch rushed to his prison to dispatch him, but that Selim defended himself manfully with his sword, till a eunuch coming behind him, stabbed him to the heart. Thus terminated the earthly existence of a prince, whose wise and patriotic intentions merited the gratitude of the very people who we here find embrued their hands in his blood; cutting off from themselves not merely a gentler master than they had known for many reigns, but one who had devised perhaps the only plan which could much longer hold them in possession of their homes and country. To him Constantinople owes its arsenal; also a great improvement in the construction of its ships of war; besides a printing press at Scutari, and various other excellent institutions. But all are now rapidly sinking into neglect. The present Sultan having, in the first instance, put to death or removed every powerful Turk who had been instrumental in forwarding his predecessor's Frangy innovations; and being in every way absurd and fanatical, both with regard to politics and religion, little hope can be entertained that Turkey, under him, is likely to rise higher in the scale of civilised nations.

February 6th. — We left Lascarad at two o'clock this morning, the weather having become fair, but still very cold during the darker hours. Having marched seven hours, we passed the village of Toorlak and Pizanza. From this last the country became quite level, and appeared universally buried in snow. Sledges, drawn by buffaloes or oxen, and laden with various articles of traffic, such as hay, leather, bees-wax, &c. covered

the roads. I now felt myself indeed approaching the north, and at one o'clock, by a gently descending path, reached the city of Roustchouk. There I had my first view of the Danube, it being built on the southern shore of that mighty stream "of a thousand battles."

Roustchouk appears a considerable place, but we only skirted its western suburb, my object being an immediate passage of the river. That was the point of embarkation, and there I saw an almost interminable line of little vessels laid up for the winter; the navigation of the stream ceasing about November, while in the severer months the water is generally completely frozen. In March, they are usually afloat again. During the warfare of 1812, the Russians had possession of this city, and on leaving it they destroyed the fortifications; but the Grand Seignior is leisurely replacing them with the modern works of bastions, &c. In stopping for embarkation, we stood up under one of the ancient ruined towers, where I had an impressive view of the "swift-rolling Danube," and hired a large boat for twenty piastres, or eight rulies, a Turkish gold coin, worth about thirteen pence. From the long continuance of the mild weather, Winter having only begun to shew herself, the stream was yet clear of ice; and having put every thing on board, in less than half an hour we arrived at the town of Georga on the opposite bank. We were now in Valachia, and here the Grand Seignior's firman ceased; this country, with Moldavia, its adjoining principality, being provinces of the Turk, but under certain privileges, guaranteed by Russia, which, amongst other exemptions, frees them from this kind of impost.

These two principalities composed the greatest part of the ancient Dacia, and are bounded to the north-west by the Austrian

provinces of Temesvar, Transylvania, and Bucovina, and from the Russian empire by the river Prout or Pruth. The Danube separates them from the more completely Turkish government of Bulgaria. The Dacians, originally a Scythian people, were a simple and warlike race, living and fighting under their native princes, till finally subdued to the Roman arms by the Emperor Trajan. That conqueror, instead of demolishing cities, enlarged and augmented them; encreasing the population of the country by colonies from the west, who brought the arts of Rome to the new dominions of its emperor. Towards the end of the fourth century this province embraced the Christian religion, and almost ever since it has been the leading faith of its people. In the thirteenth century the then existing independent princes of Valachia and Moldavia assumed the Slavonic title of Voïvode, which means supreme prince; but in less than two hundred years afterwards, in an unsuccessful war with the Turks, Valachia was subdued by the Sultan Bajazet, and from that time became tributary to the Porte. It, as well as Moldavia, which fell under the same yoke, made frequent attempts to shake it off; but with various degrees of success, which shall be alluded to hereafter; meanwhile I return to my route.

My Turkish firman expiring on the other side of the Danube, Mustapha procured me a new order from the chief officer of the prince of Valachia, resident at Georga, for similar facilities to the termination of his authority; but the first regular post being at nearly two hours' distance, we were obliged to content ourselves with commencing our present journey at our own bargaining, in two arabas, each drawn by four horses. The expence of posting from any post of the frontier towards Boucharest, the capital of the principality, is always paid on arriving there;

and the charge for going forward also deposited in the same place, before starting. Seated in our curtained waggon, we set forth over a perfectly flat and uninteresting country, occasionally marked by a few huts, exhibiting no inconsiderable hints of discomfort within, from the dirt and dilapidated appearance of all without. At five o'clock we reached the post, which is called Ordaja, or Daya. Happy we were in approaching it, during the frozen season; for had a hot sun been there, to draw "its reeking honours" about us, we should have been glad to have left our senses of smelling on the other side of the Danube. However, the people were extremely civil; a striking contrast to our hosts of Roumili. The carriages are light, the driver sitting on the near-wheel horse, and go at a prodigious rate. Our second post was called Kara-Keer, distant four hours. At the third, named Kopsham, we changed our wheels for traineaux, the snow lying very deep; and soon after we crossed a bridge of boats over the river Argish, that flows into the Danube. I halted no where, except to change our carriages; nor would it have been desirable, the post-houses being all so disgustingly filthy. From Kopsham we were only six hours in arriving at Boucharest, which city we reached at seven o'clock in the morning.

February 7th. — We drove directly to the house of Mr. Fleshhaken de Hacknau, the Austrian Consul, who also acts for Great Britain. I brought letters from Sir Robert Liston and Count Lutzoph, and was received with answering hospitality.

This city stands on a tract of low marshy ground, on the northern bank of the river Doumbowitza. A few centuries ago, a poor little village called Bouchar, was all of the name which stood here; Tirgovist being at that time the capital of Valachia; and certainly, by all descriptions, the salubrity of its situation,

on one side a beautiful chain of hills, and on the other a fine plain, deserved a nobler rival than this wretchedly unwholesome spot. The Voïvode, Constantine Bessarabba, for what reason cannot easily be guessed, transferred his seat of government hither about the year 1698, and it has remained the capital ever since. Besides the natural exhalations from the morass of its situation acting pestilentially in the narrow confined streets, the mischief is doubled by their being laid down with planks of wood instead of pavement, which covering alike the swampy earth, and often blocked-up common sewers, rot of themselves, and permit evaporation to escape, highly destructive to the health of the city. The houses are in general lofty, but dingy without and within; while those of the boyars, or nobles, like the palaces of Moscow, stand in spacious courts.

The reigning prince, Alexander Sutzo, was appointed by the Porte, November 1818, to succeed Prince Caradja; both Greeks by birth, the viceroy governors of these provinces having for nearly a century been chosen entirely from that nation. Constantine Mavrocordato, the first voïvode, or hospodar of a Greek name, had been sent thither from Constantinople, about the middle of the eighteenth century; and exerting himself in a manner worthy the ancient country of his birth, to educate the people committed to his charge, he introduced amongst those to whom his establishment had imparted the knowledge of letters, numerous copies of the Old and New Testament in the general language of the country. But all Greek candidates for this foreign government, were not as worthy of the trust; and the Grand Seignior, taking advantage of their riches and ambition, sold the honour to the highest bidder; but not in perpetuity for life, only in lease for seven years; which the avarice of succes-

sive Sultans has as constantly infringed, displacing one possessor for another, by all possible means of tyranny and oppression. In the course of time, when successful war on the part of Russia, empowered that empire to dictate its terms of peace with the Porte, in generous compassion to the state of these two provinces, she exacted certain conditions in their favour from the Grand Seignior; and amongst others a positive engagement that no hospodar should be called from either, (except for proved treason,) under the specified seven years.*

Copy of certain articles concerning the Principalities of Valachia and Moldavia, in the Treaty, signed at Kainargik, July 10. 1775, *between Russia and the Porte.*

The court of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte the whole province of Bessarabia, with its fortified places, viz. Akkerman, Thillia, Ismail, Bender, and the other towns and villages within that province; as well as the principalities of Valachia and Moldavia, with the fortresses, capitals, towns, and villages belonging to them.

The Sublime Porte, in taking possession of them, solemnly engages to observe the following conditions, without the least deviation:

1st, To acknowledge and maintain the constitutions of the two principalities, the established customs, rank, dignities, property, and churches of the two nations, without any exception whatever: to give them total amnesty and pardon conformably to the 1st article of the general treaty: to leave unmolested all such persons as have not remained faithful to the Ottoman interest; to admit them to their former ranks, and to restore to them any property and possessions they had previous to the war.

2d, To oppose no sort of difficulty, to the free exercise of the Christian religion in the said principalities, nor to the repair or construction of churches and other buildings.

3d, To restore to the Monasteries in the neighbourhood of Ibrail, Ilotim, and Bender, all the property belonging to them, and which had, contrary to justice, been taken from them.

4th, To acknowledge and bear all due regard to the ecclesiastical order.

5th, To permit those families and individuals who have any desire of retiring to Russia, or elsewhere, to depart freely with their moveable property, and to allow them a year's time previous to such departure, that they may settle their affairs in the country.

6th, To renounce entirely the payment of old accounts, for whatever relates to former contributions.

7th, To claim no tribute from the inhabitants of the said province and principa-

But various circumstances have at times encouraged the Porte to the most scandalous breaches of every guaranteed privilege of the two principalities; and in consequence the terror of the Russian eagle has often done more than hover in threatened vengeance. After one of these contests, a plenipotentiary from Constantinople came to Boucharest, (in the year 1812,) and purchased peace for his *Sublime Master*, by ceding the eastern, and finest part of Moldavia to Russia; thus yielding to that power a very commanding look-out over the conduct of both principalities. About this time, Prince Charles Callimachi came as hospodar into that moiety of Moldavia which remained to the Turk, and Prince Yanco Caradja was honoured with the same

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lities, for the space of time that they have been occupied by the Russians; and in consideration of the losses and sufferings sustained by them on account of the war, to claim no sort of tribute from them for the space of two years after the date of the treaty.

8th, The Porte engages to show every regard and humanity to the inhabitants of the said countries, at and after the expiration of the term mentioned in the 7th article, relative to the tribute and taxes which they shall then be called upon to pay, and will neither suffer nor permit any pasha or other person, to oppress and molest them after the payment of the ordinary tribute, and also to allow them the free and entire exercise of the privileges they enjoyed during the reign of Sultan Mahmet IV., father to the present Sultan. And the Porte shall permit the hospodars of Valachia and Moldavia to have one or more public agents to reside at Constantinople, Greeks by nation or religion, who shall have to transact the affairs of the princes; and not only consents to acknowledge and treat with them, but also promises to observe in them the privileges due to persons who have public rights and interests, and are not under the control of power.

The Sublime Porte also acknowledges and admits; that the Russian Ministers residing at Constantinople shall have the right of interfering in behalf of the affairs of the two principalities above mentioned, and engages to pay every regard to their representations.*

* The treaty of Yassi signed in 1792 binds the Porte to consult the Russian ambassador on the choice of hospodars, and to appoint none but such as are approved of, or recommended by the embassy. It contains also the stipulation of their remaining seven years at the head of the principalities. — Wilkinson's Account of Valachia, &c.

This gentleman's work on the subject is full of valuable information to all interested in that part of the world.

office for Valachia. Russia still guaranteed their unmolested continuance in government for the due term of seven years; and though the security of the Porte's even nominal dominion over these provinces depends almost entirely on the fidelity of its adherence to treaties with that power, yet Prince Caradja so doubted Turkish wisdom in this respect, that at the end of six years he seems to have conceived some dread of being prematurely summoned to Constantinople. The consequence to be anticipated, was some excuse to rid him of his head and his riches; and therefore making the best possible use of both, he determined to lose no time in withdrawing beyond the reach of the Turkish arm. To this effect, he privately called some of the principal boyars together, and informing them he had good reasons for knowing that his life was in danger while he remained within the power of his enemies at Constantinople; he resigned the government into the hands of the native lords; and immediately afterwards left the principality with his whole family. Kronstadt, in Transylvania, was his first halting-place; but he soon moved thence, to the quiet and perfect security of Switzerland. When the boyars announced his abdication to the Porte, they accompanied it with a petition to the Sultan, that "he would no longer appoint Greeks to govern Valachia, but confide the administration to the members of their divan or council, who would engage to maintain any tributary conditions he would think proper to prescribe them." The Ottoman cabinet, however, did not accord with these wishes; and Prince Alexander Sutzo was dispatched to be their new lord. Mr. Wilkinson, who has so ably studied the political dispositions of these countries during his residence in Valachia as British Consul, considers this noble Greek as a prince whose enlightened

and well-thinking mind will incline him, in every respect, to acquit himself of his charge, to the best that such untoward circumstances will permit. But the harassing and ruinous system still maintained in these principalities, from the oppression and neglect of their Supreme Master, and the various influences of his minister, hardly leaves power in the hands of a viceroy to fasten the affections of a people to him, who cannot but meet him with the natural aversion due to a stranger thrust upon them. And then again, that viceroy, being little better than a slave of the Porte, is always in dread of its arbitrary will, whether he act well or ill; consequently the Sultan has often witnessed the effects of the dread in which the Greeks in his service, hold his probably excited suspicion, cupidity, or caprice; also how assuredly the short-sighted policies of his equally avaricious ministers tend to alienate the spirit of allegiance in the provinces attached to his empire. In proof of this, he has found many occasions of seeing the readiness with which they embrace every opportunity of loosening their yoke, and throwing themselves into the arms of the first nation which approaches Turkey with hostility by the way of their countries. It may seem something of exaggeration, to a perfectly European mind, this constant insisting on the almost universal avarice amongst Mussulmen, and its as certain ruinous effects; but ignorance is certainly the ground of all;—ignorance from the throne to the hovel; and gold being alike the temptation to destroy a man or a people, or to buy them forbearance and protection for a while, it is hardly to be wondered at, that during the existence of so blind a state of things, gold should be the universal god. Rome never would have been mistress of the world, if contempt of riches had not been deemed honourable amongst its greatest citizens.

The day after my arrival at the Valachian capital, the consul, my obliging host, accompanied me to the palace of His Highness Prince Sutzo, who received me with the usual courtesies; and during the conference, coffee, pipes, and sweetmeats were served, with gold-embroidered napkins. Although this prince is scarcely fifty years of age, his beard is white as snow, and his countenance furrowed with the deepest wrinkles; in short, anxiety, apprehension, and seated care, mark every line. So much for ambition, with a bowstring round its neck! His palace was dark, and ill assorted with his dignity; excepting indeed, crowds of servants of every description, and long trains of Arnaut guards. But his dress was in the most gorgeous Turkish taste, all excepting his cap, and that, like those worn by his Valachian subjects, was of black fur, resembling in shape the head-dress of a dragoman of the Porte.

Having conversed with His Highness about an hour, we took our leave; and on quitting the saloon, to my infinite surprise I

found myself suddenly seized by the arms and shoulders. To look round was hardly possible, I was so immediately pressed upon by the multitude of his gaudy attendants, who literally hustled me all the way to the great entrance of the palace, so pinioned and lifted up, I could neither raise my cap to my head, nor feel the pavement under my feet. At a loss to conjecture the meaning of this extraordinary mode of exit, I at last thought it probable that such might be the ceremony of hurrying a stranger to pay his respects to the Princess; but had I been issuing from a Turkish audience, the suddenness and firmness with which I was grasped, might have caused me some other apprehensions; but after a while, instead of finding a scymetar at my head, or myself at the feet of a fair lady, I saw the Valachian state-coach drawn up at the gate: the door was open, into which I was instantly thrust, with as little attention to the safety of my legs and arms, as if my conductors were cramming a bundle of faggots into an oven. The Consul, in following me from the presence, had been made sensible, by a similar *impressment*, of the honour intended us; and also knowing the main spring of so active a proceeding, no sooner took his seat by my side, than paying the *backshish* or expected douceur to our escort, the whole party flew away, like a covey of carrion-crows with each his morsel in his mouth; leaving none of their fraternity near us, excepting one poor ragged fellow, who ran before the splendid equipage, something in the manner of our link-boys, but carrying his flame aloft in a sort of iron cage, resembling a fire-beacon of old. We thus returned in state to the consulate residence, and this high attendance closed the honours of our visit.

The same evening I accompanied my host to a ball and concert given by one of the principal boyars, (otherwise nobles,)

of the town. I was curious to see this eastern assembly, where Turk, Greek, and Frangy mingled together in our lively European dances; of which, I am told the ladies and gentlemen of Valachia are remarkably fond. They acquired the taste while the Russians were in possession of the province, and the gentler sex at the same time affected the fashions of more western Europe. At seven o'clock we reached the place of rendezvous, a large saloon, at the upper end of which the ladies sat in rows; amongst whom were the sister and daughter of Prince Sutzo. Four of his sons were also present. The rest of the company was composed of boyars of the first class, and all the strangers in public agency from various parts of Europe. The concert consisted of professional violin-players, occasionally accompanied by amateur performers; but the guests in general paid so little attention to this part of the entertainment, they employed themselves in adjoining rooms, playing cards, smoking pipes, and drinking punch, which they certainly did with sufficient spirit. While thus diverting themselves, I amused myself in silently sketching some of their figures. The general costume was Turkish, and of every-coloured brocade, embroidered, and befurred; so far all was well, till the huge Valachian cap turned the whole to the ridiculous. It is of a pumpkin form, nearly three feet in circumference, and of an equally enormous height. The material, a grey silvery Bucharian lamb-skin, with a tassel at the top, to assist the wearer in taking it off when he means to salute an acquaintance. This little appendage is green with every person, excepting the royal family, and they have it white. The cap of the lower orders is of the same shape, but not quite so large; and a square cushion covered with dark cloth is its enormous crest; in fact all these people appear so top-heavy it

is painful to look at them, after the first risible impression of the absurd passes away.

The Valachian men, of all ranks, are remarkably handsome; fair-complexioned, fine features, and an expression of countenance peculiarly mild. I am told their abilities are good, and their aptitude for acquiring languages nearly equal to that of the Russians. But with the mere words of a language, the study appears to cease, the circumstances of the country being such as to check liberal pursuits of almost every kind. There are some exceptions; but those being few, little present good can be done by so small a number, who feel to have tasted the forbidden fruit, only to expose to themselves the nakedness in which they dwell. The women are extremely pretty, affable, and lively; and having entirely laid aside their national costume, looked like an assembly of Parisian belles. In due time the concert was over; which, as a part of the entertainment, might as well have been left out; not a note having been heard, from the incessant talking of the company, the crying of ten or a dozen

children of different ages in the arms of as many gabbling maid-servants, and the shuffling about of some forty or fifty Arnauts and male attendants, who occupied half the lower end of the saloon, and never were quiet one minute. But the ball began, and all was noise of another kind. The impatient dancers were on the floor in a moment. The huge caps of the boyars were thrown off; their splendid pelisses followed the same fate; and each former inhabitant of such panoply of vast magnificence, appeared suddenly by the side of his intended partner, in a smart tasty jacket of red, grey, or other colours, fancifully embroidered. This tighter vest gracefully fitting the shape, did not mingle ill with the more flowing drapery of the skirt below, which was bound round the middle by a splendid shawl; neither was any part of this easy dress discordant with the elastic movements of the dance. But the remainder was not quite in such youthful harmony. Every man had a shaven head, on which he wore a little red skull-cap, exposing much of the bald scalp behind and before, also "his fair large ears;" which, with the addition of mustachios and beards of every tint and bristle, give the whole group so odd an appearance, that when they capered in quadrilles and cotillions, or shuffled down the English country-dance, or whirled in all the dizzy velocity of the waltz, nothing could picture a more grotesque scene. Asiatic heads, Italian figurante bodies, Austrian, English, and other simply coated foreign residents, with the ladies all attired in Parisian or Russian modes, could not but present a constantly moving spectacle, so like the masquerade figures in a magic lanthorn, I can never recollect them without a smile. Besides the novel importation of the dances I have just mentioned, we had some specimens from Greece, and others of the native Valachian. The latter

was a mere moving circle of both sexes side by side, clapping their hands occasionally, and now and then making a slow pirouëtte, in time with the music; which by degrees increased in quickness, till the whole company danced, jumped, whirled and clapped their hands, like as many lunatics. This finished the national fête; and I must say, I never saw a society of people enjoy an entertainment of the sort with so much *bon cœur*. Our refreshments were profuse, being in every shape of ices, bon-bons, cakes, lemonades, fruits, punch, &c. and offered incessantly. At midnight the festivity was over.

Boucharest affords nothing in the form of manufactures, or, in fact, any works of mechanical industry; excepting the shops of a few German coachmakers; who are kept in constant employment, since it has become a fashion that no person pretending to any respectability can appear in the streets on foot. Indeed the number of carriages are so great, it is sometimes almost impossible to get along, it being a winter-diversion to drive up and down the town. In summer, they take a course of six or seven hundred in a string, to a pretty open scene called Hellestoo, about a mile from the city. Though I have not been able to trace any work of consequence employing the natives of the place, there is a very pretty one of a minor sort that particularly engaged my attention; a kind of rosary, which they make of dried rose-leaves formed into a paste, then moulded into beads, and afterwards stained a perfect black. They are light and beautiful, and retain their scent for a long time. The population of Boucharest is estimated at nearly 50,000 inhabitants; amongst whom are a multitude of gipseys as domestic slaves. Mr. Wilkinson describes their numbers in both principalities, to amount to 150,000 souls; and though the period of their first coming into

the country is not exactly known, he supposes "it may date with the irruption of the gipseys from Germany in the fifteenth century." They are mentioned in some archives found in the convents of Valachia, &c. and which were evidently written about that period. Being in a state of slavery, seems a peculiarity in these provinces attached to them; and we find them described as consisting of two classes: one the property of government, the other of private individuals; but when they are sold from master to master, it is not in open market, but by contracts at home. Some are constantly employed in domestic, or other services, to their respective owners; and others are allowed to pick up their precarious bread, by wandering about the country, provided they bind themselves never to leave it. For this half-liberty, they pay annually forty piastres each man. With regard to the character they hold, it is even worse than with us; the name of *gipsey* being considered the most opprobrious epithet of contempt, something even more degrading than that of thief.

The chief produce of the two provinces is grain, which the Turkish government will not allow to be exported on any pretence whatever, but absorbs as much as it pleases into the granaries of Constantinople. A Turkish measure of wheat is equal to our English bushel; and I am told that nearly two millions of measures are sent annually to the Porte, as part of the tribute due from the two principalities; also three hundred thousand head of sheep, with a proportionate number of oxen and horses. But being paid in lieu of money, they are rated by the receiver at only one-fourth of the value each commodity would bring in a public market. The capabilities in a commercial point of view, both with regard to situation and power of produce, which these

provinces possess, are great; but at present can only be mentioned with regret that such advantages from nature should in a manner be blocked up at their spring-head, or drawn only into one thankless channel, by a power too proudly ignorant ever to understand even the selfish benefit of reigning upon liberal principles. In fact there are very few articles of traffic the Porte allow to be freely exported from either of these principalities; and in this scanty list we find as follows, sheep's wool and hare-skins. The fine timbers of the country are completely monopolized by the Grand Seignior. That of Moldavia is of the best oak, and well calculated for the construction of vessels. The chief objects of importation are, coffee, rum, Greek wines, sugar, and spices; and the great port of their entrance is that at Galatz, a town situated on the Danube, about sixty miles from the Black Sea. Our judicious Consul describes it so well, I need hardly do more than repeat his words, while all who throw their eyes on its relative situation, must see the consequence of such a port in the hands of a power capable of appreciating its advantages.

" Galatz is in Moldavia, but nearly touches the frontier of Valachia. It is situated at the beginning of the broadest and deepest part of the Danube. The river is so far navigable for ships not exceeding 300 tons burthen. Its principal entrance from the sea is not very easy to make, owing to the islands which divide it into three channels, two of which are shallow and dangerous. But ships bound hither take pilots on board, and with this precaution few accidents occur, particularly in the fine season. The navigation of the Danube closes in the month of November; and in very severe winters even this part of the river is completely frozen over for five or six weeks. In the

month of March ships begin to make their appearance again; and as they have not the inconvenience of a tide against them, they come up close to the wharfs, and there remain till their business is finished. Galatz is the great market for the produce of the two principalities, and accordingly is well stocked from them both. It is chiefly inhabited by commercial men, who, notwithstanding the rigour of the prohibitive measures, often find the means of exporting wheat and other contraband articles; but their principal trade is that of importation;" which articles, such as coffee, sugar, &c. are transported thence, throughout the provinces, and even to Bucovina, Transylvania, and other districts round. "Most of the merchants carrying on trade in Valachia and Moldavia are natives or Greeks. Some have been naturalized in Russia or Austria, and receive protection from these powers; an advantage which is of no small consequence to their affairs, (it yielding them the necessary security.) In fact the natural richness, and the various resources of these two principalities are such, that if they could enjoy the important advantages of a regular government and a wise administration, under which industry and agriculture should receive their due encouragement; the trade of exports laid open, the commercial intercourse with foreign nations set upon a proper footing, and finally the mines explored; they would in a short time become the most flourishing and most populous provinces of Europe. The harbour of Galatz would soon stand in rivalship with all the ports of the Black Sea, not excepting Odessa. In short, nature seems to have furnished them with every possible means of becoming prosperous; but men have ever proved themselves the determined enemies of their prosperity."

February 10th. — Having taken my leave of their Highnesses of Valachia, and the friendly Consuls-general of Austria and of Russia, His Ex. Mons. de Pin, and Mr. Flëshaken, both of whom furnished me with every facility in their power towards the comfortable completion of my journey, I set forth this morning at an early hour, in a Polish britchka lent to me by the latter. The influence of the sun was now become so strong as to melt the upper surface of the snow in most places, and in many dissolve it altogether, in consequence of which I found the roads deep and muddy. A few posts from Boucharest, we crossed the Yalmonitza river; and at the sixth post arrived at the town of Buzen or Bouzio, where we passed another rapid stream bearing the name of the town. Two posts thence, we crossed the Rimnik, celebrated on account of the victory on its banks which gave the title of Rimniksky to General Suwarroff. He there defeated the Turks; but it has since received a melancholy association with his family, the only son of the Russian veteran having lost his life in crossing its stream about twelve years ago. We now passed it on the ice. Another post brought us to Focksham, the last town on this side of Valachia. Here I changed Prince Sutzo's orders for horses, for one signed by his Highness of Moldavia; and in less than a quarter of a mile reached the shore of the Seret, the first river in that principality; it was of great width and rapidity, and falls into the Danube not far from Galatz. We crossed it in a large boat, which contained both horses and carriage; and thence proceeded twelve posts ere we came in sight of Yassy, the capital of the province. The snow increased in depth at every stage more northward; and the cold, during the nights, would not be less than from 16 to

18 degrees of Reaumur. The country was every where too wintry, to give any inducement for stopping; therefore pressing forward with no inconsiderable impatience to reach our comfortable bourn, we halted neither day nor night, till we arrived at Yassy at 10 o'clock on the third morning after leaving Boucharest.

February 13th. — I drove directly to the house of Mons. de Raab the Austrian Consul-general, who instantly gave me quarters, there being no inn in this capital. Boucharest had been equally wanting in that convenience. Yassi is a fine town; standing on uneven ground, part on the side of a hill, and the rest along the valley. The surrounding country is beautifully undulating, wooded, and towards the vicinity of the town enriched with gardens and vineyards. Of course, from the season of the year, I only saw the skeleton of all this beauty; which, when revived by the Spring, and clothed again with the green leaf and the blossom, must equal any vernal scene on this shore of the Euxine.

Until within these hundred years, the voïvodes, or governors, of these two provinces were elected from their native princes; but about the same time the Porte found an opportunity of changing that part of their constitution, by a double act of tyranny, which took place on the following occasion. Valachia had been made tributary to the Turks, so far back as the middle of the fifteenth century, by the conquering arms of Mahomed II. But it was not till a hundred years afterwards that Moldavia allowed any interference of the Porte in its concerns, and that was during the reign of Solyman I., to whom the boyars made a merit of necessity, and sought his protection by way of avoiding his attacks. Both countries, however, continued under their native lords, till the close of the seventeenth century, when Sultan Ahmed shewed symptoms of suspecting the fidelity of Constan-

tine Bessarabba, Voïvode of Valachia; to avert which the Valachian prince gave large presents of money, jewels, &c. to the Grand Seignior and his ministers. But unhappily their magnificence infused into the mind of His Sublime Highness an idea of immense riches easy to be transferred to his own treasury, and a plan was soon after formed for becoming their master. Our Consul-general is my authority for the particulars. In 1714, at the beginning of April, it being Passion-week, when the attention of the Valachians was entirely devolved to the long ceremonies of the fast of the Greek Church, a Capigee-Bashi of the Sultan arrived at Boucharest with a train of a hundred men. He sent word to the Voïvode he was on his way to another place, on pressing business of the state; but that he should pay his respects to him next morning for a few minutes. Accordingly he went to the palace at the time specified, and on entering the private apartment of the Voïvode, who stood up to receive him, the treacherous visitor placed a black scarf on his shoulder, conformably to the then custom of announcing his deposition to any person of high authority under the Turkish government. The Valachian prince was confounded; but the moment he recovered his presence of mind, he burst into indignant expressions against such a return for all the services he had performed for the Porte. The Capigee placed a guard over his person, and proceeded to the divan or council-chamber, where he read a firman, which contained the decree of Bessarabba's deposition, declaring him a traitor, and ordering him and his family to answer for themselves at Constantinople. After this ceremony the Turkish emissary secured the property of the state, and the Voïvode's private treasures besides. The terrified inhabitants of the city stood trembling by, viewing these acts of violence, and

not making the slightest effort to rescue their native prince from the hands of his too probable executioners. Two days after this event a stranger was thrust upon them in the person of Stephen Cantacuzene, the first Greek sent from the Fannar of Constantinople to rule in Valachia. Meanwhile the Capigee-Bashi carried away Bessarabba, his wife, four sons, three daughters, and a grandson, prisoners to the Turkish capital, and on reaching it they were closely confined in the dungeons of the Seven Towers. The Valachian Prince's treasures not being found so immense as were expected, his sons were put to the torture three successive days, to force them to say where their father had hidden the supposed greater part; and to make sure of the fullest information the unhappy parent was compelled to witness the torments of his children, in order to induce him to stop their augmentation by his own confession on the spot. But as these princes had really nothing to confess, the Sultan became so exasperated at the apparent obstinacy of the sufferers, that he ordered them to be finally executed in his own presence. The prisoners were then carried out into a square before the windows of the Seraglio. The four sons were first beheaded one after the other, and the decapitation of the father closed the cruel scene. When the Sultan withdrew, the five heads were put upon spikes and carried about the streets of Constantinople. The bodies were thrown into the sea; but some Christian boatmen lay in wait to pick them up unobserved, who conveying them to a Greek monastery in the little island of Halcky in the Propontis, saw the father and his sons put all together in one humble grave. The princess, with her daughters and infant grandson, were exiled to Cuttaya, in Asia Minor; but the family being afterwards permitted to return to Valachia, a descendant of Bessarabba is yet

considered one of the first boyars of the principality. About the same time that a Greek prince succeeded to the unfortunate voïvode of that name in Valachia, one of the same nation assumed the reins of government here at Yassy. The name of this person was Nicholas Mavrocordato. His father had been state-interpreter at the Ottoman court; and by his ambitious intrigues, first introduced the system of educating Greek nobles in the Fannar of Constantinople for the government of these provinces. From that time the princes, or hospodars, (first called by the latter title by the Russians, from their word *gospodin* or lord,) have been appointed by *beratt*, the imperial diploma of the Sultan. Slaves to the Porte, it may be believed that the people, under such nominal sovereigns, could only be more oppressed; and not until Russia interfered by right of conquest in behalf of the groaning natives, were either prince or people secure of their property or lives a moment. The hospodars not only hold the rank of princes themselves, but their sons; but in the next generation it ceases. A wise regulation, which, (like our own with regard to the sons of the younger branches of our highest nobility,) replaces them in the degree of common gentry, instead of multiplying portionless titles without end; so often a matter of distress, and therefore of infinite regret, in other countries of Europe.

The present hospodar of Moldavia has only been appointed a very few months, and is of the same family with his highness of Valachia. This prince is called Michael Gregoire Sutzo. He is a young man, not more than two-and-thirty, extremely handsome, and elegant in his manners. He speaks French with admirable fluency, and, I understand, has a well-stored mind, in many respects honourable to his Greek original. Mons. de

Raab presented me to him the day after my arrival; when, certainly, all I heard from his lips answered the account I had received: what he spoke was delivered with an ease, and a spontaneous depth of remark on most subjects which admitted it, that gave me a high idea of his talents, while my admiration was excited by the graceful carelessness of the manner. Every thing, at his court seems in a more polished and splendid style than is found in that of his kinsman of Valachia. The palace is spacious and well built, and its apartments fitted up in unison. The attendants were not less multitudinous than those of Boucharest. The ceremony of reception was similar; and the same *present* expected at departing, though without the previous hustle into the state-carriage. The boyars of this city live in a degree of luxury and splendour hardly to be exceeded in any capital of Europe. Their balls and parties, with the jewelled dresses of the ladies, are beyond imagination; while the gaming which goes forward at the tables, in boston, whist, ombre, faro, &c., keep up a constant interchange of gold and debts of honour. The evening after my arrival, I was invited to one of these assemblies at the house of the Logothett, or great chancellor, Constantine Balsh, a boyar of one of the first families in the province. The prince and his whole family were present, seated on a *divan* at the upper end of the saloon. His Highness did me the honour of placing me by his side; and from that commanding point of sight, I had a full view of all the beauty and splendour the company presented. The ladies, as fair as their sisters of Valachia, were dressed in a similar Parisian mode; but the materials of shawls, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, for costliness and magnificence, could not have been equalled on the other side of the Carpathian mountains. The feasting part

of the entertainment was in a corresponding taste; coffee, ices, orgeat, in short, every refreshment that Asiatic, French, or Italian ingenuity could devise, was proffered during the dancing and cards. At twelve o'clock, an equally sumptuous supper was spread in the large saloon of the hall; and there I found, amongst every profusion of eatables, temples and running fountains, the waters of which were kept constantly flowing by means of a concealed machinery, while the tiny tanks into which they played were animated by numbers of little live fish sporting in the twinkling stream. The lights from the chandeliers produced this glittering effect on the water. But these were not the only fairy decorations; bowers, parterres of flowers, and a variety of other whimsical conceits, chequered the immense length and breadth of the table. The reigning family were seated at the upper end, and as I still held my place by the prince, I had the advantage of seeing all these "cunningly devised ornaments" in their prime point of view. The master of the fête, together with his lady, were in constant movement around, attending on their guests; a hospitable custom of simple times, not long ago retained in Russia. At two o'clock, the dancing recommenced, and so we continued till the dawn of day.

The prosperity of some years before, may perhaps account in some degree for the superior splendour of Yassy, when compared to that of Boucharest, and that arose from its proximity to the Austrian and Russian dominions. It appears, that while these two provinces were held by Russia, they furnished both corn and cattle, including horses, not only to that power, but to Austria; and Moldavia, particularly, made those traffics most abundantly. The consequence was, a great influx of wealth. But on Russia making peace with the Turk, and evacuating these provinces,

at least all west of the Prout, the doors of this commerce were closed; and, though now living in all the splendour of their lately acquired taste and departing means, the nobility, finding no markets for the produce of their estates, have overflowing granaries, rotting for want of consumption, and their plains eaten up by an over-stock of cattle. Indeed, I heard them daily sigh, and wishing for any change of circumstances that would make them again masters of their own property. In fact, I was not always left to guess what those circumstances were, they so earnestly invoked Heaven to recall.

Yassy is a well-built city, intermingled with gardens and planted courts; which, in the usual style of these eastern towns, much extend its dimensions, and add greatly to its pleasantness, and air of consequence. It possesses between sixty and seventy churches, and the metropolitan one is a very imposing structure. It is dedicated to St. Stephen. Within, all is gloom and painted legends of saints, male and female, while it boasts one particular shrine of great notoriety,—that of a holy virgin called Para-Skiva; whose remains are inclosed in a silver coffin, and worshipped by trains of pilgrims, coming every year to invoke her influence. Not far distant from the saint's tomb, appears one of black marble, bearing an inscription which informs the reader that beneath its simple slab lie the inurned bowels of the great Prince Potemkin; he who had brought the empire of his imperial mistress to the borders of the Black Sea. The principalities have each their metropolite. That of Valachia is in the gift of the prince, or hospodar of the province, as are also the other bishoprics; and he derives income from a share in the revenues of these clergy. But the metropolite of Moldavia is elected by the native nobility, though he pays part of his receipts to the

prince, in the same manner with the sister-state. Both principalities abound in monasteries, founded as in Catholic countries, by the donations of pious boyars in former times. Yassy, at the time of my visit, could hardly boast a population beyond 25,000 souls, the plague having made such ravages amongst them during four months before my arrival. Indeed, it had only been declared over at the time I set out from Constantinople.

I now subjoin a list of posts, from that capital to this place:

	Hours.
From Constantinople to Kouchouck-chek-maza	3
Beyuk chek-maza	3
Bahadass	4
Silviera	2
Chorlou	8
Carash-teran	6
Abourgos	4
Kara-clissia	6
Kanora	6
Faky	6
Karapoonar	4
Kool-Ali	3
Idooss	5
Changea	8
Prewady	6
Shoumla	8
Lascarad	9
Toorlak	6
Pizanza	2
Roustchouk	4
Total	106

DANUBE.

	Hours.
Georga to Daya	2
Kara-keer	4
Kopsham	4
Boucharest	6
Total	16

VALACHIA.

From Boucharest to Shindrilita	2
Morilitza	2
Ursilieni or Oursilchini	2
Marginini	2
Kalmatsoj	2
Bouzio, and cross a river	3
Kilnieu	3
Rimnik, cross a river	3
Turgo-cuculi	3
Focksham, large town	3
Total	25

MOLDAVIA.

Cross the Seret. — Seret, or Sereth	3
Tekuch	2
Gora-periskiff	2
Para-Skiva	3
Birlat	2
Lashan Toora	2
Dolalina	2
	16

	Hours.
Brought over	16
Vashny - - - -	5
Telejna - - - - -	2
Ousisisht - - - - -	2
Bordi - - - -	2
Yassy - - - - -	2
Total	29

February 17th. — Having dispatched my Janissary back to Constantinople, and taken leave of all the kind and splendid hospitalities of Yassy, I departed thence this morning at eight o'clock. The roads were now but thinly covered with snow; yet sufficient remaining to form a track for my traineau, I preferred that mode of travelling to any other. The face of the country, all the way to Potoshan, is hilly and open; scarce a tree appearing amongst the numerous villages which tracked the high or low lands. At five o'clock we reached the town I have just named, a respectable looking place, consisting of about a thousand houses, with eight or ten religious edifices. The plague has so reduced its inhabitants, that hardly one-half of the original population remains. I took up my quarters for the night under the roof of Mr. Gorgiar, the Austrian agent.

February 18th. — At seven this morning I started again, and in six hours reached Marmonitza the last village in the Turkish territory, it being close to the Austrian barrier of Bucovina. Here my former passports were given up; and after changing horses, I passed the boundary under an escort of two dragoons, glad to find myself again in Christendom.

In less than ten minutes we traversed the frozen waters of the Prout, and in ten more were inclosed within the pallisadoes of the quarantine. Mr. De Raab had apprised the director of my coming, so that I soon got into pretty comfortable quarters, and by the civilities of that gentleman, had as few of the fumigating ceremonies, &c. pressed upon me as were consistent with fidelity to the ordeal. I did not find here "a dish of mushrooms growing fresh under my bed, from the damp, and dilapidation of my apartment;" they order these things better in Austria, and I had ample store of all I wanted, without making my chamber a garden. Indeed, all my friends at Constantinople, who had passed these different borders, had recommended me rather to enter our home territories by the Austrian quarantine of Bucovina, than proceed by Mohiloff on the old Russian frontier.

The Posts from Yassy, in Valachia, to Tchernovitz, the first Austrian Town after quitting the Quarantine.

	Posts.	Hours.	
Yassy to Larga or Sorka	1	2	Moldavia.
Shipoty	1	2	
Storashti	1	2	
Potoshan	1	2	
Dorokay	1½	3½	
Hartza	1½	3	
Frontier — Marmonitza to Quarantine village Boyan	½	½	Bucovina.
Tchernovitz	1	2	
Total	8½	17	

When the plague was at its height in the Turkish dominions, the term of detention, and daily smoking with brimstone, &c. at Boyan, was thirty-three days; but since its abating, the time of probation has been gradually reduced to fifteen. I was allowed to proceed several days short of this term, on account of my papers of health being sent to the authority granting such permission; and on the 27th of February, I again set forward, towards Tchernovitz, which we reached in a couple of hours This is a considerable town, and being a frontier-station is always well supplied with an Austrian garrison; at present it was under double guard, to repel all intercourse between the inhabitants of the province, and those of the Turkish principality during the violence of the late plague. Being obliged to remain till my passports were inspected, and countersigned by the officer commanding the head of the police, I was not able to proceed till next day.

February 28th.—This morning, by day-break, we were off again. The snow gradually disappeared from the country as we advanced, displaying in parts the broad brown faces of the hills, studded with villages, as were the valleys below. Jews are numerous in this district; and indeed I found them pretty thickly sown throughout all the provinces on both sides of the Danube. The posts of this day were as follows:

	Posts.	Hours.
Tchernovitz to Snayatin -	2	4
Quasdice - - -	2	4
Chosimir - - -	1½	3
Glomaez - - -	1	2
Stanislovo - - -	3	5
Total	9½	18

Stanislovo is the capital of that part of Galicia which bears the name of Bucovini, but presents no very imposing appearance. I arrived at midnight; and, after knocking in vain at the post-house for nearly three hours, was glad to find shelter in a Jewish inn until morning. Here, the snow being quite gone, I was obliged to quit my traineau for a Polish brichka, (a kind of small carriage,) to convey me to Lemberg; and thus closely packed, baggage and servant, proceeded at an early hour towards the Galician metropolis.

The following are the intervening posts.

	Posts.	Hours.	
From Stanislovo to Haliez	2	4	
Burstin - -	1½	3	
Keinemititz - -	1	2	
Strelieze - -	1½	3	halted three hours.
Babraka - -	1	2	
Dawidoff - -	1	2	
Lemberg - -	1	2	
Total	9	18	

Total from Tchernovitz to Lemberg 18½ posts—36 hours.

March 1st. — We reached Lemberg at four o'clock this day. I found it a fine city, bearing every appearance of a great European capital; having wide streets, stately churches, noble houses, with the still more splendid hotels of the Polish nobility. The inns are likewise on a large scale, both as to expence and dimensions, but I must do them the justice to say they are full of adequate comforts. I halted in one of them three days, to

recruit a little after the fatigue of journeying so many nights and days; and during my stay, the hospitable attentions with which the veteran governor of the province, His Highness Prince Henry of Reuss Plauen, daily honoured me, added another link to my chain of grateful remembrances.

From Lemberg, I speedily passed on to the Russian frontier, and crossing it at Dombrovitza, again threw myself into a traineau, which brought me back to St. Petersburgh on the fourteenth of March 1820, after an absence of nearly three years.

NOTE

Respecting JAMES CLAUDIUS RICH, *Esq., late British Resident at Bagdad, who died at Shiraz, October 5th,* 1821.

St. Petersburgh, March 22d, 1822.

UNDER a probability that the latter pages of his Travels may yet be in the press when this reaches England, the author indulges the just dictates of a sorrow in which so many share, to pay his tribute of regret to the memory of Rich: a man whose luminous mind, and prompt benevolence, enlightened and smoothed the way of all travellers who came within the sphere of his influence; while the faithful fulfilment of every duty as a diplomatic agent, fully equalled that of his general philanthropy. His mastery in science, and the depth of his erudition in every subject connected with antiquity, are well known to all who sought those pursuits in the East; while the pleasures of his converse, and the value of his friendship in guiding to their objects, can only be appreciated by those who have walked by such a light, and now mourn its deprivation.

The progress of the fatal disorder that led to the death of so estimable a man, cannot be more impressively described than in the following extract from the last letter the author received from him. It was dated Mousul, December 8th, 1820.

"I scarcely know how to begin a letter to you after so very long a silence; I can hardly recollect when, or whence I wrote to you last, but I am sure that the last letter (or perhaps even the two last) which passed between us was from you, not to you.

I confess this not without some feeling of shame; not, indeed, at the cause, for that was involuntary on my part, but being conscious that before you can learn the cause of the interruption in our correspondence, you must have condemned me over and over again. I shall proceed therefore, without more preface, to give you a slight sketch of my adventures, which will, I hope, prove a sufficient justification.

"Suppose, then, that my health not being in a remarkably good condition, was finally overturned by the extraordinary hot summer of 1819*: from the August of which year I began to decline most alarmingly, both in body and spirits, so much so, that I soon became incapable either of sitting on my horse, or attending to the slightest business; my life really was a burthen to me. The cold of the winter did not bring me its usual comfort; and the utmost I could do, after sundry remedies and exertions not worth recording, was to patch myself up sufficiently to begin some small excursions on a favourite project, *i. e.* surveying. These I found both amused and benefited me, and I gradually extended my circles up to Courdistan, where I had resolved to pass this summer, as the only chance of restoring the health both of Mrs. Rich and myself; for Mrs. Rich was nearly as ill as I was. The travelling, change of scene and of air, were quite successful. We resided in different parts of Courdistan till the latter end of October, when we came here; and here we have been ever since. When we shall return to Bagdad I scarcely yet know myself, but I suppose we shall be in the old residence again on the new year.

It was in December 1818 the author parted from Mr. Rich at Bagdad, being the winter immediately preceding that extraordinary and fatal summer.

"My principal employment and amusement was, as you may imagine, surveying. Indeed, I may almost say astronomy kept me alive. I went through, and even resided in some of the wildest parts of Courdistan, and nothing can exceed the kindness and hospitality I experienced from those worthy savages. I carried my researches as far as Sina and Banna. Every where I observed with my sextant, and have enough to fill a tolerable volume. From Bagdad to Sulimania I partly followed your route, &c.

"You will grieve for the fate of our poor friend, Belino, who is no more! When we were at Sina, I gave him leave to carry his long cherished project of copying the *Gunj Namhal* into effect. He accordingly went to Hamadan, where he caught the fever. Before he had perfected his design he rejoined us at Sulimania very ill. He soon got better, however, under the care of Mr. Bell, and came on with us here without any difficulty; but not long after our arrival he grew very weak, and seemed to fall into a state of despondency, from which it was impossible to rouse him. He wasted away rapidly, and in a few days breathed his last. Poor fellow! he was a most excellent young man, and would, had his life been spared, have greatly distinguished himself by his rare acquirements. If there be any thing which can render such an event more than usually afflicting, it is its taking place in such a solitary situation, where we were all so much bound together."

Our lamented Belino, whose too faithfully performed promises to myself, respecting the inscriptions at Hamadan and Be-Sitoon, were thus broken off in the midst of his labours, had, however, the comfort of dying in the arms of watchful tenderness; but a harder fate met the inestimable friend who thus regretted his

premature decease. Mr. Rich, having returned to Bagdad, left that insalubrious city again in May 1821, on a journey towards the east, accompanied by Mrs. Rich; but as the Summer advanced, she was obliged to quit him on account of her health, for India; and at Bushire they separated. This friend of all who had ever approached him, was then in a manner alone; and on the fifth of October in the same year, having been attacked by the cholera morbus, he breathed his last in the city of Shiraz. The loss to domestic affection, and to friendship, is irremediable; but some compensation may yet be made to the world at large, if the learned person, his near kinsman, into whose hands doubtless Mr. Rich's literary papers must fall, will in due time give them to the public.

R. K. P.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

ROUTE

FROM BUSHIRE ON THE PERSIAN GULF, TO TEHERAN, TABREEZ, ERIVAN, AND TIFLIS.

Given to the Author by Major Monteith, of the Madras Engineers, at first starting from Tabriz, southward. Noted from actual Measurement.

Fars, or Persis.	British Miles.	Furlongs.	Feet.	Farsangs.
Bushire to				
Ali Kanjy	16	0	0	4
Burazgoon	24	4	0	4
Dalaky	13	6	0	3
Konar Takta	14	4	0	3½
Komarige	9	0	0	3
Kazaroon	20	4	0	5
Abdui	13	4	0	3
Dasht-i-Argin	17	4	0	4½
Khan Zanian	12	0	0	3
Bagh-i-Jehan, or *Shiraz*	28	0	0	7
Zergan	17	5	40	4
Persepolis, or *Tackt-i-Jemsheed*	16	1	133	4
Sewan	16	7	0	4
Kemin	16	6	64	4
Mourg-Aub	17	6	115	4
Gazian	20	1	80	5
Daly Nazir	15	6	175	4
Eglet	27	4	0	7
Abadah	20	3	0	5
Shulgistan	20	4	0	5
Irak Ajem.				
Yezdikhast	20	3	120	5
Mexiobeggy	23	4	100	6
Koomisha	15	6	18	4
Mayar	19	1	0	5
Ispanek	23	3	0	6
Ispahan	7	4	20	2
Guz	15	3	8	4
Moorchikord	18	0	0	5
Aga Kamel-pa-ine	15	3	0	4
Aga Kamel-bala	13	0	0	3½
Kooroud	15	0	0	4
Guebrabad	10	0	0	3
Kashan	16	0	0	4
Nasirabad	10	1	0	3

Irak Ajem, continued.	British Miles.	Furlongs.	Feet.	Farsangs.
Sin Sin	10	0	0	3
Pasangur	21	0	0	5
Kom	16	0	0	4
Pool-i-Doulak	14	0	0	3½
Houze Sultan	24	0	0	6
Kaziz	11	0	0	3
Teheran	13	0	0	3½
Kamal-abad	36	2	55	9
Suffer-Kadjar	29	4	140	7½
Casvin	31	6	0	8
Seahdalin	22	4	20	6
Abhar	31	7	140	8
Sultania	33	1	120	9
Armaganah	24	4	6	6
Ackund	27	4	110	7
Azerbijan.				
Mianna	26	5	175	7
Turcoman-Chai	23	3	0	6
Tickmadash	28	1	200	7
Siedabad	27	5	80	7
Tabriz	19	1	160	5

Azerbijan, continued.	British Miles.	Furlongs.	Feet.	Farsangs.
Sofian	25	0	0	6
Marande	18	0	0	5
Gurgur	32	0	0	9
Nackshivan	30	0	0	8
Hoig	18	0	0	5
Sharoor	15	0	0	4
Sadarak	14	4	0	4
Devaloo	13	4	0	3
Gurney, or Ardashir	18	4	0	4
Erivan	9	0	0	3
Eitch-mai-Adzen	13	2	138	3
Hashtarrick	11	5	0	3
Chickekloo	14	0	0	3
Bashabaram	17	6	0	5
Georgia.				
Hummumloo	13	1	0	0
Kara-Klissa	13	6	0	0
Lori	9	2	37	0
Sadak-loo	40	4	180	0
Alget	17	7	0	0
Tyflis	21	0	0	0

ROUTE

FROM ERIVAN TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

Azerbijan. Erivan to	Hours, or Farsangs, or Agatches.
Eitch-mai-Adzen	3
Kerim Arkli	3
Hadji Baram-loo	7
Turkish Frontier.	
Nackshivan	3
Kars	7
Jocr-ira-louk	5
Mazengutt	12
Hassan Kala	10
Arzeroum	5
Ash Kala	9
Kara-Koulak	8
Bagdali	6
Germelli	5
Shayran	4
Kara Hissar	16
Koily Hissar	11
Iss Cassar	11
Nicksar	8
Tokat	9
Tookaï	9
Amassia	12
Massirran	9
Ossmanjik	9
Hadji Humza	8
Tossia	9
Coja Sir	10
Cara Joram	7
Cara Jalar	4
Hummumloo	10
Garady	5
Boli	12
Dooz-chai	12
Khandag	11
Izmitt, or Is Nikmid	6
Lybissa	9
Scutari / Constantinople	9
Caravan-hours, total	301

NOTE ON BABYLON.

Memorandum to Antiquarians, of the Relics from Babylon, &c. presented by the Author to the British, Edinburgh, and Dublin Museums, &c.

TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

No. 1 The head of an arrow, found at Babylon.

2. A white powder lying between each layer of mud bricks at Al Hymer, near Babylon. Its nature is explained in page 395. of the second volume of the Travels.
3. Fragment of a Babylonian brick, to which is attached a part of the lime cement, bearing a deep impression of the reeds commonly found lying between the layers of bricks.
4. A specimen of bitumen from Birs Nimrood, or the Tower of Babel.
5. Another specimen of bitumen from Babylon, in which are the impressions of the reeds which usually lie between the bricks.
6. Specimen of the cement, to which the remains of bricks adhere on both its sides. Its freshness is very remarkable. It was brought from that part of the ruins called the Kasr or Palace.
7. The centre part of a brick; being one of the very few specimens of the sort found at Babylon. It has the impression of a dog, and some of the ancient Assyrian characters. This was taken from the ruins of the Kasr. It is mentioned in page 395. of the second volume.
8. Fragment of a Babylonian brick with ancient Assyrian characters on its surface.
9. A small fragment of a Babylonian brick, with cuneiform characters on its surface, filled with bitumen. A curious specimen.
10. A Babylonian lamp, found in the ruins of the Kasr at Babylon.
11. A large fragment of a clay cylinder, thickly impressed with cuneiform characters, found at Babylon. A copy of this is given in Plate LXXVIII., in the second volume of the Travels.
12. A specimen of the reeds found between the bricks at Babylon. Their fresh appearance is wonderful.

13. A brick of the largest size. It was found at Al Hymer. It is covered with cuneiform characters in ten lines, the greatest number of lines yet discovered in any Babylonian ruin. This brick is described in Plate LXXVII., mark (a). It is preserved in a deal box, for fear of falling to pieces, having been fractured in travelling.
14. A specimen of the marble of which Persepolis is built. The author had it engraved in the three characters, — Cuneiform, Greek, and Persian, importing the city's three names, — Istaker, Persepolis, Tackt-i-Jemsheed.
15. A piece of the rock of Nackshi-Roustam, or Mountain of Sepulchres.
16. A sacred cake from Meschid Ali, formed of the earth near the tomb of the saint.

To the Edinburgh and Dublin Museums, smaller specimens of all these Babylonian relics, were presented. Others are also deposited in the Imperial Museum at St. Petersburgh.

MEDICAL MEMORANDA.

On the Author's first setting out for Persia, a Medical Friend obliged him with a few Memoranda for filling, and properly applying the contents of his Medicine Chest; which notes having been highly serviceable to himself, he subjoins them here for the use of other Travellers.

1. *Ammonia Preparata; Ammoniæ Carbonas.*

Salt of hartshorn; 5 to 10 grs. in water: it is a cordial and stimulant.

2. *Antimonium Tartarisatum.*

Emetic tartar; 3 or 4 grs. dissolved in 4 oz. of water, and two table-spoonsful given every quarter of an hour till it operate: it opens the bowels at the same time.

Calomel; Hydrargyri Submurias.

5 to 10 grs. in a little sugar or jelly, or made into a pill with bread-flour, &c.

Cerussa Acetata; Acetas Plumbi.

Sugar of lead: one drachm of sugar of lead, one tea-spoonful of vinegar, one ditto of brandy, and one pint of water, make goulard water.

5. *Extract. Colocynthidis Comp.*

Compound extract of colocynth; purgative; a full dose 20 or 30 grs., but it is better in smaller ones, as 6 or 8, joined with 3 to 5 grs. of calomel.

6. *Opium Purificatum.*

From ½ gr. to 1 gr. is reckoned equal to 20 drops of laudanum.

7. *Opii Tinctura.*

Laudanum from 20 drops upwards: if given in too small a dose it creates fever and restlessness; and, therefore, if the first dose produces no calmness in 1½ to 2 hours, an additional quantity should be given. It is almost always better to join with it some antimonial powder (2 to 4 grs.), or emetic tartar (¼ gr.), or ipecacuanha (2 or 3 grs.), or in a common saline draught.

8. *Pulv. Antimonialis.*

Antimonial powder; a febrifuge and sudorific, keeping the bowels rather open at the same time. Dose, 3 to 6 grs., in sugar or jelly, or in a pill, and repeated several times a-day. — N.B. It is not soluble in water.

9. *Pulv. Doveri.*

Dover's powder; sudorific; from 10 to 12 grs. mixed in water: no drink to be taken for a little while after, as it may produce sickness. Ten grains contain one of opium.

10. *Ipecacuanha.*

Dose, 15 to 20 grs. for an emetic; it rather binds the bowels, after vomiting.

11. *Pulvis Rhei.*

Rhubarb; 15 to 30 grs. in water; it binds after its primary operation is over.

12. *Spir. Lavendula Compos.*

Compound spirit of lavender; a cordial; from 10 to 60 drops on sugar or in water.

13. *Sulphas Zinci.*

White vitriol, a strong astringent; 15 to 20 grs., dissolved in water, forms a speedy and almost instantaneous vomit. — N.B. A very safe one.

14. *Emplastrum Adhæsivum.*

Sticking plaster; to be spread as thin as possible on linen with a hot knife.

15. *Emplast. Cantharidum; Emplastrum Lyttæ.*

Blistering plaster; to be spread on coarse paper or leather.

16. *Aperient Pills.*

Calomel ℈v (5 scru.); rhubarb, extr. colocynth., each ℈viij (8 scru.); ginger, or cinnamon, ʒi (1 dram); hard soap ʒii (2 drams); syrup enough to make a mass of proper consistence; to be made into pills of 5 grs. each. — N.B. Instead of the compound extract of colocynth, aloes may be used, or the quantity of rhubarb increased.

17. *Opodeldoc.*

Soap 1 oz., strong spirits 3 oz., camphor ½ oz., oil of rosemary ½ oz., mixed; instead of the camphor and rosemary any strong essential oil may be used, as oil of turpentine.

18. *Simple Ointment.*

Oil four or five parts, bees' wax one part, melted together.

19. *Stimulating Ointment*

Is made, by adding to the same, camphor, turpentine, myrrh, or any of the warm gums.

20. *Drying Ointment*

Is made by adding some white vitriol, well pounded, or sugar of lead, &c.

21. *Spirit of Mindererus; Liquor Acetatis Ammoniæ —*

Is vinegar and salt of hartshorn, saturated with each other, so that no effervescence takes place in adding fresh quantities of either.

22. *Anodyne Draught.*

Spirit of mindererus 2 drachms to 4, laudanum 25 to 40 drops, and a little water; if given in fever to procure sleep, it is generally necessary to continue its use to the end of the disease: with spirit of mindererus 1 oz., or emetic tartar $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of a grain, it generally proves sudorific.

Charcoal powder is sometimes useful in dysentery, 20 grs. or 30, either alone or joined with some lemon-juice. Charcoal is good for purifying water; it also corrects meat beginning to spoil.

23. *Castor Oil.*

Dose, from 1 to 4 table-spoonsful in coffee, in peppermint, or other aromatic water, to be given in cases of colic, inflammation of the bowels, or whenever a quick operation is wanted.

24. *Camphor.*

Dose, 3 to 10 or 15 grs. repeated several times a-day: it is a powerful cordial, stimulant, and antispasmodic in typhus fevers, or other diseases of debility. It is not soluble in water, and is therefore best given in pills. In order to bring it to a powder it must be first sprinkled with a few drops of spirits of wine, or any strong spirits: it may be mixed with water, by previously rubbing the powder with mucilage of gum arabic, or emulsion of almonds. Camphorated spirits are useful in rubbing to assuage pains; and when mixed in powder with ointments, it is good for rubbing upon chronic indolent swellings.

25. *Paregoric Elixir*

Is merely opium, camphor, and essential oil; and is useful in colds. Dose, 30 drops to 2 drachms. It is very good where there is a short and tickling cough, and then it may be taken merely in water; or better as follows: mucilage, syrup, each 4 oz., paregoric elixir $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; a little to be sipped frequently.

26. *Prepared Salt of Wormwood (or of Tartar); Carbonas Potassæ.*

For making the effervescent draught, under the head of Fever; or a very good cooling-mixture: of this salt take 1 dram, and of lemon-juice or vinegar $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz., when the

effervescence has ceased, add peppermint-water 4 oz.; administer 1 or 2 spoonsful of this every 2 hours.

27. *Concrete Lemon Acid; Acidum Citricum.*

A substitute for lemon-juice; 1 scruple of this to 25 grs. of salt of tartar.

28. *Essence of Peppermint.*

Very useful in flatulent colic; also a good addition to purgatives of rhubarb, or in aperient pills, &c.

29. *Yellow Basilicon.*

Ointment; stimulating and drawing.

30. *Turner's Cerate.*

Healing, and rather drying.

31. *Opodeldoc.*

Mem. — When sores or wounds are filled up, and only want skinning over, lime-water produces this effect. It is made by merely putting burnt lime into water. The clear liquor only is to be used: it is spoiled by exposure to the air.

Take common injection apparatus; but the pipes white metal. Also have good lancets, scissars, &c.

Fever.

In fever it is in general best to begin by an emetic (No. 2.) especially if there be a loathing at the stomach; follow this up by a brisk purge (No. 11.); if the vomit produce pain, or cramps at the stomach, give 15 or 20 drops of laudanum, with 10 or 15 drops of spirit of lavender (No. 12.); if the pulse be very strong, great head-ache, face or eyes very red, bleed to 10 oz., or 15, or 24, according to the violence of the symptoms and the strength of the patient: if the skin be very hot and dry, and great thirst, dash a bucket of cold water or two over the whole body, drying it well immediately; this may be repeated twice or thrice a-day. In case this treatment does not cut short the disease at once, it will most probably run its full regular course. Great attention must be paid to moderate the fever and keep up the strength of the patient: the first is done by giving all kinds of cooling drinks, lemonade, vinegar, cream of tartar; giving also ripe acid fruits, &c. &c. For medicines, small doses of antimonials; viz. 2 grs. of antimonial powder 3 or 4 times a-day, (be cautious at the same time to use nothing in which is cream of tartar,) or emetic tartar 1½ grs. in 8 oz. of water; 1 oz. to be given every 3 or 4 hours; if it brings on sickness, every 6 or more; or spirit of mindererus 2 or 3 drachms, with as much water, every 2, 3,

or 4 hours: should the patient continue to vomit, dissolve 10 grs. of salt of hartshorn (No. 1.), or 20 grs. of salt of tartar, in a little water, to this add 5 drops of laudanum, and then add to this ½ oz. of lemon-juice, and let it be swallowed whilst in a state of effervescence: if it continues, lay a blister on the pit of the stomach. The strength of the patient is to be supported by light diet, wine, and bark, towards the close of the disease. The first giving of wine and bark, must be carefully watched and if it increases the fever, it must be stopped or given in still smaller doses. Bark, 10 grs. or upwards, with a little of some aromatic, (powdered ginger,) if it brings on a purging give a few drops of laudanum with each dose; after the fever is somewhat abated and there is no sleep, give an anodyne (No. 22.) draught at night; which in general must be repeated every night (when once begun) till the disease is at an end.

Saline Draught.

Typhus, or Nervous Fever.

In this disorder, as the weakness is generally great from the beginning, after the first few days, commence cautiously with cordials, bark, wine, and nourishing diet, when the heat of the skin is great, use the cold affusion, or spunge the body *well with water and vinegar.*

Intermittent Fever, or Ague.

The bowels to be cleared first by one or two purgatives, and then the bark to be given: it is most effectual when given in as large doses as the stomach will bear, not less than two drachms; some aromatic joined with it makes it still lighter on the stomach. It should be begun immediately after the termination of a fit, and continued during the intermission, but not taken during the fit: frequently a strong stimulant, taken just when the first approaches of the fit are perceived, will cut it short; as salt of hartshorn 5, or even 10 grs., water 1 oz., laudanum 20 drops, or a glass of strong spirits, plain or with pepper, &c. The place of bark may be supplied by any of the bitters, viz. willow bark, the rind of the horse-chesnut, or of the pomegranate. When intermittent is obstinate, small doses of calomel from 1 to 2 grs. must be taken every day; also 2 or 3 doses daily of strong bitters. If the calomel affects the mouth, it must be given up for a few days. An emetic given when the fit is just coming on frequently stops it; and this may be repeated several times; — white vitriol a good emetic. (No. 13.)

Dysentery.

In dysentery there is fever, frequent stools of mucous stuff, or blood, with great straining: an emetic of ipecacuanha, after the lapse of 10 or 12 hours a small dose of rhubarb, which must be repeated whenever there is much straining or evacuation of mucus or blood. Between these are to be interposed Dover's powders 5 or 10 grs. 3 or 4 times a day, with a larger dose at night, bathing also the feet, or in-

stead of the Dover's powder, ipecacuanha 2 or 3 grs. repeated in the same way, or 1 or 2 grs. of calomel, with from ½ to 1 gr. of opium, once or twice a day or oftener, till the mouth becomes slightly affected; it is especially good in old cases: whenever griping or sickness follow, or a stoppage of the purging, give a dose of physic immediately; when the straining and irritation of the lower part of the bowels is very great, a glyster of 4 oz. of rice-water-gruel, &c., with 60 or 80 drops of laudanum or 3 grs. of opium twice a-day; when the violence of the disease is gone, and it seems to be kept up merely by weakness of the bowels, use some slight astringent, as a weak decoction of the oak-bark galls, of the elm, of the rind of the pomegranate, and bitters. The diet must be light and sparing; avoiding vegetables and acid fruits, drinks, &c. using rice-flour: the mineral acids are good in drink.

Diarrhœa.

Give plenty of gruel, rice-water, &c. with a dose or two of rhubarb, which will generally carry off the offending matter quickly; and then a dose or two of Dover's powders, or calomel with opium, bathing the feet in warm water. The astringents mentioned above. An open state of the bowels, if it does not go too far, is a good thing in a warm climate.

Cholera Morbus

Is when the evacuations are both upwards and downwards with great prostration of strength, cramps, &c., and it is most frequently caused by exposure to cold and moisture in the night during warm weather. The first thing to be done, is to dilute by rice-water-gruel, thin soup, &c., and then give two table-spoonsful of the following mixture every ½ hour, 1 hour, or 2 or 3 hours, according to the emergency of the symptoms: — laudanum 80 drops, compound spirits of lavender 60 drops, water 6 oz.; — or take compound extract of colocynth 15 grs., opium 3 grs., divide into five pills, two of them to be given at once, and one afterwards, every hour till the vomiting ceases: as costiveness is apt to follow, especially when the mixture is used, give afterwards (the next day) a small dose of rhubarb, and repeat it if necessary. The stomach must be strengthened for a few days by bitters, &c.: where the weakness or cramps at first are excessive, give the opium or laudanum immediately, without putting off the time by giving diluents.

Bile.

In hot climates the biliary system is apt to be affected; and it is, therefore, a good thing to take now then a dose of calomel, 3 or 5 grs., either alone, or with rhubarb, or compound extract of colocynth, &c., if the health feels deranged; but merely to keep the bowels open in a regular way, take occasionally one of the following pills, which are what are called aperient pills (No. 16.): take, of calomel 5 scruples, rhubarb, compound extract of colocynth, each 8 scruples, powdered ginger or cinnamon, &c. 1 dram, hard soap 2 drams, to

Opening Pills.

be well mixed with syrup into a mass, of a consistence proper for making pills of 5 grs. each: these can be used as a purgative in greater doses.

Inflamed Eyes.

A good smart dose of physic; repeat it if necessary; foment with hot water, either plain or with a little vinegar in it, or with an eye-water made of

Eye Water. spirit of mindererus and water, equal parts, or 2 grs. of sugar of lead to 1 oz. of water, or another made by dissolving 4 grs. of white vitriol in 1 oz. of water, and mixing it with a solution of 3 grs. of sugar of lead in 1 oz. of water; the white powder which falls to the bottom is to be separated and thrown away; these should be made a little warm, their strength may be increased when the painful inflammatory state is gone off. Use 2 grs. of white vitriol to 1 oz. of water or a weak solution of alum or wine and water, &c. If the eyelids stick together, anoint them with simple ointment, or mix with a little calomel or a little white vitriol in the finest powder. Where the disease is bad, blisters on the temples, or behind the ears, or the nape of the neck, may be applied.

Sore Throat.

Physic; rubbing the throat with volatile liniment, (oil and hartshorn;) blister; gargle with vinegar and water, or the same with a little spirits, or with honey, vinegar, and water, or wine and water, solution of alum, decoction of oak bark, &c.; if it persists in going on towards suppuration, gargle with barley water, decoction of figs, &c.

In severe Coughs and Colds:

When there is little or no fever, a draught of wine-whey at going to bed, with bathing the feet, or mustard whey, which is made by pouring 1 oz. of pounded mustard seed into 1 pint of milk, rubbing it all the time, then add a little vinegar and boil it till the curds separate; or from 5 to 10 grs. of salt of hartshorn in water; or the anodyne draught; but if there is much fever, these are not proper, only use cooling drinks as in a fever, wine-whey, &c., the mixtures of spirit

To stop the Cough. of mindererus or emetic tartar, or the antimonial powder: to stop the cough, sip frequently some thickish gruel, rice-water, linseed-tea, &c.; equal parts of vinegar and honey simmered on the fire till it is of the thickness of syrup. Emulsion of almonds, or of the seeds of melons. If the cough is very bad, together with a pain in the breast or side, bleed. To promote expectoration inhale the steam of water and vinegar; a pill made of equal parts of garlic and soap several times a-day ¼ gr.; of emetic tartar in a pill three or four times a-day; to these may be joined myrrh, or other gums of the same sort.

Rheumatism.

If much fever, bleed or purge. The medicines which moderate fevers must be given; then sweating by Dover's powders, the anodyne draught, warm bathing. When chronic, (*i. e.* without fever) use strong rubefacients, such as opodeldoc with hartshorn or mustard, turpentine, &c.; internally, calomel in small doses, with opium and camphor; mustard whey.

Wounds and Cuts.

The lips must, without exception, be brought together, (even should a bone be wounded,) and kept so by sticking-plaster, by binding so as to draw the muscles and skin towards the wound; stitches are not so good as sticking-plaster, but are necessary in wounds of the face and other places; if a blood-vessel of any size is divided it must be tied; nothing irritating should be applied to a recent wound. The first dressing should not be touched until it begins to be loosened by the suppuration taking place, and then it must be soaked so as to come off easily. In gun-shot wounds, very seldom any thing is to be done at first; keeping wet with cold water, or a common poultice, to bring on as soon as possible the suppuration which is to separate the killed parts, and then it becomes the same as any other sore, and must so be treated. If the discharge from the sore is excessive, it may be washed with vinegar, lemon-juice, decoction of oak-bark, &c. &c. If there is proud flesh, sprinkle on it calomel, or rhubarb, or verdigrease, (which is easily made, by letting water stand on copper for some time and then evaporating it to dryness.) If a sore is indolent, stimulate it by mixing some resin or myrrh, or other gums with the ointment. If you want to dry it, mix sugar of lead with the ointment, or some finely pounded white vitriol. If a sore or ulcer is on the leg, a bandage should be put on from the toe to the knee, taking care that it be evenly laid on, so as to press equally on every part. If the leg swells, or is painful, keep it wet with cold water; charcoal-powder sprinkled on fœtid ulcers is good.

Gun-shot Wounds.

Bruises.

Prevent or diminish inflammation by leeches, or scarification, keeping it constantly wet with cold water, water and vinegar, or with spirit of minderarus; vinegar, and the spirits each 1 part, water 6 parts; goulard water, or cold poultices of vinegar and meal or bread: if goulard, then gentle rubbing with spirits and soap, or opodeldoc; and for sprains the same treatment.

Suspended Animation,

From drowning. The head and shoulders must be kept high, because there is congestion of blood in the head, the body to be dried and gently rubbed, also to be warmed before the fire, or by the application of warm cloths; only dry cloths, flan-

nel, &c. to be used in rubbing; at the same time imitate respiration by blowing into the lungs, and emptying them alternately; applying stimulants to different parts. As soon as the power of swallowing returns, give warm wine and water, either with or without spices: keep the head still high. If much headache or fullness remains, bleed a little.

Suspended Animation,

From the fumes of charcoal, or bad air of wells, vaults, &c. Remove the body from the place; undress and expose it freely to the cool air; sprinkle the face and pit of the stomach with vinegar or cold water; the temples and nostrils to be stimulated by hartshorn; the body rubbed after each sprinkling: after a time to be covered with clothes, bottles of warm water applied to the feet, artificial respiration used; if an inclination to vomiting comes on, encourage it by introducing a feather.

Infectious Air.

In order to destroy infectious air, fumigate by pouring oil of vitriol on some common salt, in an earthen pot previously made warm, or on nitre; the fumes of the former cannot be breathed, therefore must not be used in a place where people remain; but it soon disappears; the latter may be used without the people having to go out: both these destroy iron articles.

Itch.

For the itch, sulphur and butter, or any fat, made into an ointment; or an infusion of tobacco, 1 dram to 1 pint of water, but this must be used very cautiously; or make a solution of corrosive sublimate, 1 gr. to 1 oz. of water, or even stronger: such a solution is also good when applied to foul ulcers; corrosive sublimate should always be first dissolved in a little spirits.

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